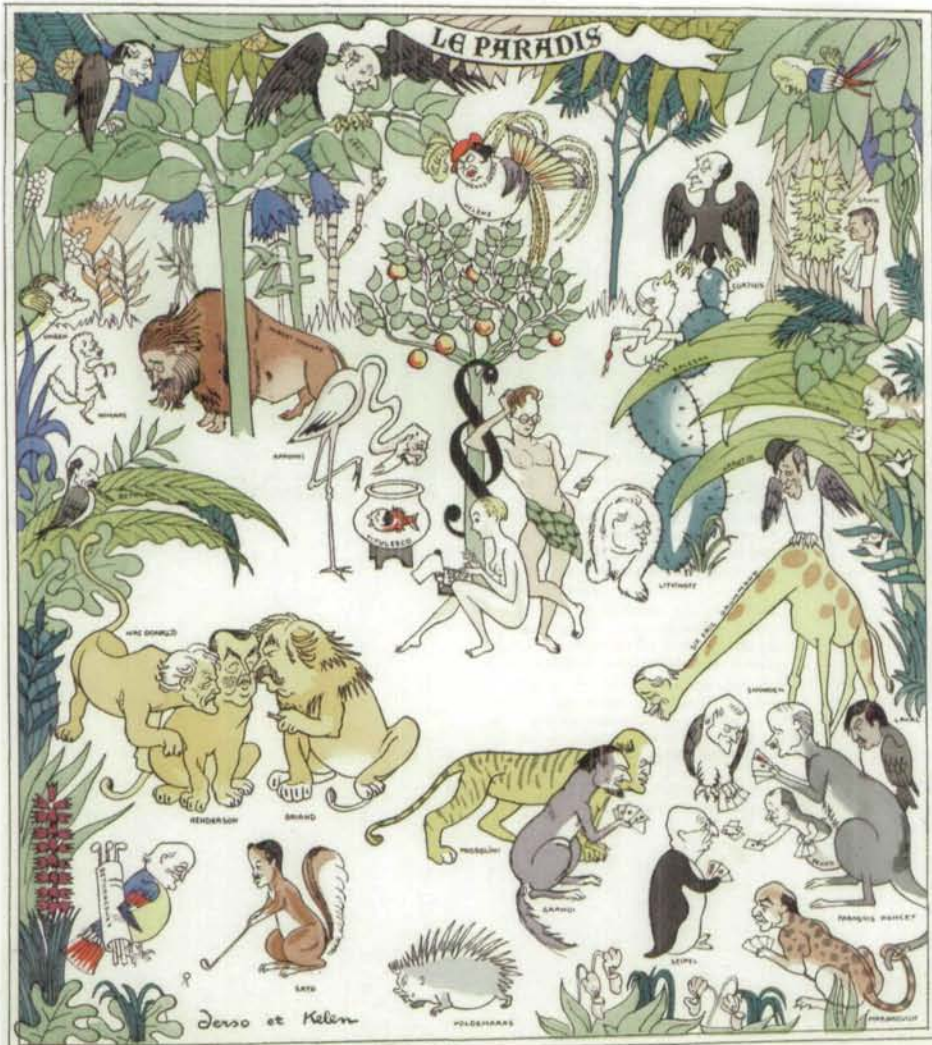


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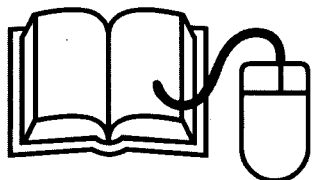
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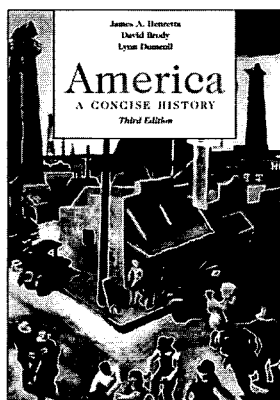
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In This Issue

This issue contains three articles and two review essays. The articles take us from the early Islamic world, then to seventeenth-century England, and finally to Africa and the U.S. South in the nineteenth century. The review essays examine recent military history and the League of Nations. Along with six featured reviews, there is also our usual extensive book review section. The October issue is the first to be published in conjunction with the University of Chicago Press.

Articles

“‘Do Prophets Come with a Sword?’ Conquest, Empire, and Historical Narrative in the Early Islamic World,” by **Thomas Sizgorich**, delves into the conflict between Imperial Rome and emergent Islam. It offers us a rare look at both how Islam defined itself as an uncompromising, highly principled faith and how Christians misinterpreted this attitude for mere militancy. In order to establish this contrast, Sizgorich first reconstructs the patterns of interaction, especially of a military sort, that governed relations between both Roman and Persian imperial forces and Arab peoples before Muhammad. In this pre-Islamic period, Arab warriors typically participated in the centuries-old patterns of negotiation and trade-off—allowing for military skirmishes on imperial frontiers to conclude in exchanges of tokens and tributes. With the advent of Islam, however, such exchanges came to an end. Now imbued with the rectitude of their faith, pious Muslim warriors refused to participate in the ancient economy of imperial power, a refusal that formed the basis of early Christianity’s interpretation of this new faith.

In “Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship, and State Formation in Early Modern England,” **Phil Withington** engages with Jürgen Habermas’s influential thesis on the emergence of the public sphere during the Enlightenment, but he does so from the perspective of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. His central contention is that the corporate associations of traditional urban life actually fostered notions of publicness, thus suggesting greater lines of continuity than Habermas’s narrative allows. Withington argues, indeed, that medieval corporatism, civic humanism, and the public sphere were more related than we might expect. It was in their increasing participation in the corporate urban life that England’s middling sorts became discursively skillful citizens, ultimately leading to the emergence of national public

spheres in the seventeenth century. His essay raises important questions about the relationship between early and later modernity and illuminates the underlying humanism of Habermas's Enlightenment project.

In "The Claims of Slaves and Ex-Slaves to Family and Property: A Transatlantic Comparison," **Dylan C. Penningroth** offers a comparison between the U.S. South and the southern Gold Coast in the nineteenth century. His focus is on the claims to property and family by slaves and former slaves in these two societies. His study is intended to be suggestive rather than definitive, but he presents it as an experiment in comparative history, bringing together two regions and two slaveholding cultures that are rarely considered together. In significant ways, he finds, the histories of both regions were shaped by debates over claims made by slaves and their descendants to kinship and the products of their labor. Those debates drew upon and, in turn, influenced understandings of property, slavery, and social identity for all people, not only slaves, leaving a legacy for the twentieth century.

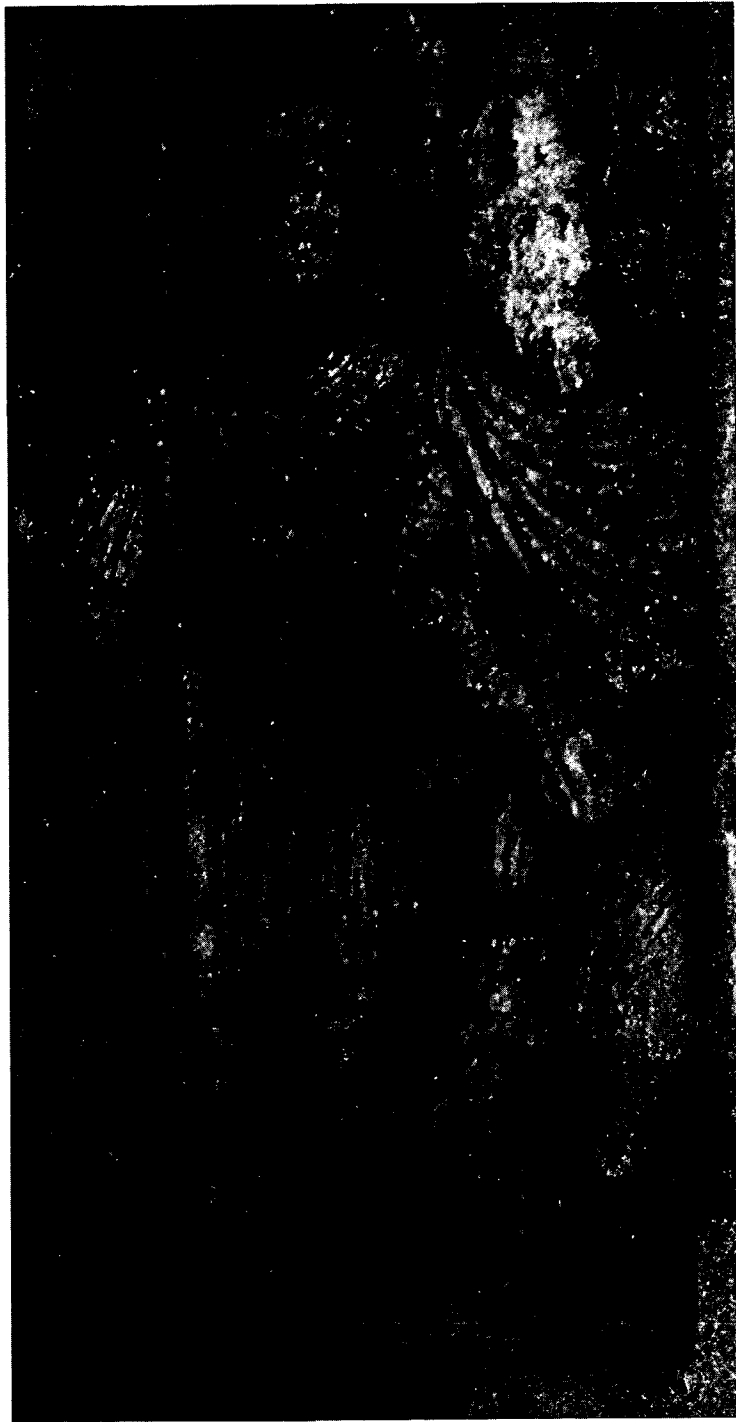
Review Essays

The first review essay, "Military Histories Old and New: A Reintroduction," by **Robert M. Citino**, reminds us of the burgeoning output of scholars in this field, a field that has long been considered of marginal interest by many historians. Citino sees this literature following three broad tracks. The first emphasizes the connections between armies, society, and war. Often referred to as the "new military history," it now dominates the field. Alongside this track is the older tradition of operational military history. Once an exclusive haunt of "drum and trumpet" battle histories, it now seeks to go beyond the personal and heroic to a more systematic analysis of the military and battlefield combat. Finally, there is the track that has emerged as part of a larger interest among contemporary historians in culture and, especially, memory. Citino surveys all three, offering an encouraging portrait of military history as a field open to the newest scholarly trends but still committed to its origins in the history of war and war-making.

"Back to the League of Nations," by **Susan Pedersen**, is the second review essay. Noting that the study of international networks and organizations has, with the rise of transnational and global history, experienced something of a renaissance, Pedersen explores how this scholarship has revised and expanded our appreciation of the significance of the League of Nations. Although founded as a security pact, the League was charged with many other tasks as well: to protect minority populations in many of the new or newly established states in 1919; to oversee the administration of conquered Ottoman and German territories granted to the Allies under mandate; and to craft international agreements to combat or manage disease, refugees, drugs, and other cross-border traffics or hazards. Pedersen surveys the extensive scholarly literature that deals with these varied efforts of the League, showing how they not only provided the foundation for later agreements but also inaugurated or strengthened many of the institutions and conventions that govern international society to-

day. The international bureaucracies, transnational lobbies, petition processes, and publicity mechanisms operating in Geneva between the wars left a lasting imprint on future global institutions and practices.

December's issue will include, along with several articles and the book review section, an *AHR* Conversation on "Religious Identities and Violence."



A Roman legionary subdues a barbarian in a panel from the Arch of Constantine in Rome. Although the image itself is of Trajanic origin, enduring tenets of Roman imperial ethnology and ideology made this image as ideally suited to adorn the monument of a fourth-century emperor as it had been to illustrate the virtues of his second-century predecessor. The stubborn resistance of Roman imperial ethnology to change would eventually emerge as an important *topos* within early Islamic historiography.

“Do Prophets Come with a Sword?” Conquest, Empire, and Historical Narrative in the Early Islamic World

THOMAS SIZGORICH

IN THE NINTH CENTURY OF THE COMMON ERA, a Christian apologist living and writing under Muslim rule in Iraq repeated a very old critique of Islam. ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī wrote that Islam, like the religion of the *Banū Isrāʾīl* (roughly “the Sons of Israel”), had been spread by the sword, whereas Christianity forbade the use of the sword as a means of promulgating the faith.¹ However much we may doubt the assertion that late ancient and early medieval Christians scrupulously abstained from the use of the sword in spreading their religion, the Christian apologist clearly meant to suggest that Islam’s history of faith-driven conquest had made moot any claims that Muslims may have advanced concerning the status of their religion as the one true religion of God upon the Earth.²

In tandem with its theological implications, this Christian author’s critique of Islam’s use of the sword also seems to have taken aim at the early Muslim community or *umma*’s organizing historical narratives about the origins of the Islamic community itself. For Muslims of the era, the events of the conquest period were recalled as a series of monumental episodes that located contemporary Islam and its adherents within an overarching narrative of prophecy, revelation, and salvation.³ Although ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī was a Christian intellectual, he was intimately acquainted

For their kind and patient efforts in reading previous drafts of this article, I should like to express my gratitude to Hal Drake, Nadia Maria El Cheikh, Greg Fisher, Timothy C. Graham, Angela Hakkila, Michael Maas, Nancy McLoughlin, Jay Rubinstein, Jonathan Sciarcon, David Torres-Rouff, and the anonymous readers whose wonderfully rigorous comments guided my final revisions.

This article is dedicated to the memory of Timothy David Moy.

¹ ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-burhān*, in Michel Hayek, ed., *‘Ammār al-Baṣrī: Apologie et controverses* (Beirut, 1977), 32–33. This critique appears, for example, in the seventh-century *Doctrina Jacobi Nuper Baptizati*, 5.16.11, ed. and French trans. Vincent Déroche, *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991): 209, where a former Jew recalls that when he asked an elderly and learned Jew about the prophet who had appeared among the Saracens, the old man replied, “He is a false [prophet]. For do prophets come with a sword and a war chariot?”

² See Sidney Griffith, “‘Ammār al-Baṣrī’s *Kitāb al-Burhān*: Christian *Kalām* in the First Abbasid Century,” *Le Muséon* 96 (1983): 145–181, esp. 164–165.

³ For the *futūḥ* in early Islamic thought, see Fred M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing* (Princeton, N.J., 1998), 174–182; Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); Thomas Sizgorich, “Narrative and Community in Islamic Late Antiquity,” *Past & Present* 185 (2004): 9–42; Lawrence I. Conrad, “The Conquest of Arwad: A Source Critical Study in the Historiography of the Early Medieval Near East,” in Averil Cameron and Lawrence I. Conrad, eds., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East: Problems in the Literary Source Material* (Princeton, N.J., 1992), 317–401; Chase F. Robinson, *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest: The Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia* (Cambridge, 2000).

with the holy texts of the Muslims—he was one of a group of Christian scholars who are believed to have often met and studied with local Muslim religious scholars—and he clearly understood the place of the conquests in Muslim sacred history.⁴ Indeed, the Iraqi Christian author seems to have alluded directly to this early Muslim interpretation of the conquests when, using the Arabic term favored in Muslim histories, he wrote that Muslims of his age boasted about the gains made by their community “with the sword” during the *futūḥ* (literally “openings” or “conquests”) of the lands taken by early Muslim armies.⁵

For the apologist’s Muslim contemporaries, however, to focus on the sword as the primary symbol of the conquests of the lands of the Eastern Roman and Sāsānid Persian empires was in many ways to miss the true significance of those conquests. The significance of the *futūḥ* as depicted in the texts of most of our early Muslim sources was the profound reordering of the present world that they brought about. This global reordering was in turn occasioned by the changes effected in the hearts and minds of Muḥammad’s followers and companions by the Prophet’s message and mission.⁶

For these Muslims, the great imperial powers of late antiquity represented crucial landmarks within the cultural, political, and religious environment that was realigned and remade by Muḥammad’s revelation.⁷ Perhaps paradoxically, however, the grand-scale changes wrought through conquest were but traces left upon the landscape of the present world by the far more profound transformation that had taken place in the hearts of those who had embraced Muḥammad’s message and mission. This

⁴ See Griffith, “Ammār al-Baṣrī’s *Kitāb al-Burhān*,” 146.

⁵ ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-burhān*, ed. Hayek, 32–34. ‘Ammār uses the verb *fataḥa*, which is derived from the same root (*fā’-iā’-ḥā’*) from which the term *futūḥ* is derived. ‘Ammār seems to have been the kind of Christian religious scholar (*mutakallim*) to whom al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868–869) referred in his tract *Al-Radd ‘alā al-Naṣārī* (Against the Christians) (in al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā’il al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. Muḥammad Bāsil ‘Uyūn al-Saud, 4 vols. [Beirut, 2000], 3:243). Al-Jāḥiẓ says that the Christian *mutakallimūn* have favorite Qur’ānic verses (e.g., Qur’ān 5, *Sūrat al-mā’ida*:82) that they memorize and deploy in argumentation; *ibid.*, 3:235. For the familiarity of Christian authors with Muslim historical narratives and the distinctive *topoi* of these narratives, see Robert Hoyland, “Arabic, Syriac and Greek Historiography in the First Abbasid Century: An Inquiry into Inter-Cultural Traffic,” *ARAM Periodical* 3 (1991): 211–233, esp. 223–233; Lawrence I. Conrad, “Theophanes and the Arabic Tradition: Some Indications of Intercultural Transmission,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15 (1988): 1–44.

⁶ See, for example, Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rasul wa-’l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et al., 15 vols. (Leiden, 1887–1901), 1:2098; trans. Khalid Yahya Blankinship, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 11: *The Challenge to the Empires* (Albany, 1993), 96–97. For *futūḥ* as a theme, see Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 174–182; Albrecht Noth and Lawrence I. Conrad, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 31–33, 109–171; Chase F. Robinson, “The Study of Islamic Historiography: A Progress Report,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 7, no. 2 (1997): 199–227, esp. 214–217.

⁷ One rich pool of sources of information concerning the role of the great empires of late antiquity in the imaginary of early Muslims is the corpus of very early exegetical texts. See Nadia Maria El Cheikh, “Sūrat al-Rūm: A Study of Exegetical Literature,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118 (1998): 356–364; El Cheikh, “Muḥammad and Heraclius: A Study in Legitimacy,” *Studia Islamica* 89 (1999): 5–21. See also, for example, al-Ṭabarī’s explication of the term *al-nās* as it appears in *Sūrat al-anfāl*. Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi’ al-bayān ‘an ta’wīl al-Qur’ān*, 30 vols. (Cairo, 1954), 9:220. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:2294–2295; trans. Yohanan Friedmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 12: *The Battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the Conquest of Syria and Palestine, A.D. 635–637/A.H. 14–15* (Albany, N.Y., 1992), 89–90. See especially Friedmann’s note at 89 n. 305. Cf. Hūd b. Muḥakkam al-Hawwārī, *Tafsīr kitāb Allāh al-‘azīz*, ed. Bālḥāj b. Sa’id Sharīfī, 4 vols. (Beirut, 1990), 2:83; ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan’ānī (al-Himyarī), *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān*, ed. Muṣṭafā Muslim Muḥammad, 4 vols. (Riyad, 1989), 2b:257; Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr Muqātil b. Sulaymān*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd, 3 vols. (Beirut, 2003), 3:5–6; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi’ al-bayān ‘an ta’wīl al-Qur’ān*, 21:18–19.

otherwise invisible revolution of the spirit was, according to the contemporary Muslim narratives of Islam's birth and early growth, manifested in the character and behaviors of the men who carried Islam into the territories of the Romans and Persians.

By the time 'Ammār al-Baṣrī produced his *Kitāb al-burhān* (The Book of Proof), the text in which he claimed that true religion forbids that the sword be taken up in its service, Muslim authors had for a century and more crafted histories of the conquest period in which the purified souls of Muslim Arab *mujāhidūn* (practitioners of *jihād*) were manifested in their interactions with Roman and Persian imperial agents. In these texts, poor and pious Muslim warriors confronted and bested the armies of the great powers of late antiquity. Intriguingly, however, the meaning that these battles carried within the larger narrative of the conquest period (and so within the evolving metanarrative of Islam's formative past) was signaled in small, quiet meetings between Muslim and Roman warriors just before their respective armies clashed on the field. In a *topos* common to most early Muslim accounts of the conquests, Muslim authors framed the landmark battles of the period by setting poor and pious Muslim Arab warriors in dialogue with agents of Roman and Persian imperial power. The point of these meetings was always to allow the Muslim heroes to hear and reject offers of imperial beneficence, gifts, and friendship from the Romans and Persians they met.⁸

In so refusing, these early Muslim heroes were understood by later Muslims to have subverted, disrupted, and reinvented the place of the Arabs within the late ancient political world, and to have done so by means of a revolution fought and won in the hearts of Muḥammad's followers long before they appeared, swords in hand, on the horizon of Syria or Mesopotamia. Moreover, the narratives in which these claims were advanced seem to have taken the form that they did in part as a result of the centuries-long relationships between Rome and her Arab clients, allies, and enemies. This becomes apparent, however, only when we read later Roman and early Muslim sources *in tandem*, a strategy that has not yet gained wide currency among scholars of late antiquity and early Islam.⁹

Proceeding in this way, it becomes clear that many accounts preserved in later Roman histories concerning imperial relations with nomadic tribesmen in general and the Arabs in particular specify a fixed array of diplomatic tactics and strategies to be used in dealing with fractious frontier warriors. When we in turn survey the extant early Islamic Arabic accounts of relations between Arab tribesmen and Roman imperial officials during the first days of the conquests, these specific tactics and strategies emerge as crucial elements within the dominant early Muslim narrative of

⁸ See Sizgorich, "Narrative and Community," 29–38. See as an example the long series of such scenes collected in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:2268–2285; trans. Friedmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 12:63–81. See also Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. 'Umar b. Gharāma al-'Amrawī and 'Alī Shīrī, 80 vols. (Beirut, 1995–2001), 2:81–82. On Ibn 'Asākir as a source for early Islamic history, see James E. Lindsey, ed., *Ibn 'Asākir and Early Islamic History* (Princeton, N.J., 2001). On the use of *topoi* in early Islamic historiography, see Noth and Conrad, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*; Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 266–271.

⁹ See Walter E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge, 1992); Robinson, *Empire and Elites*; Chase F. Robinson, "The Conquest of Khūzistān: A Historiographical Reassessment," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 67 (2004): 14–39; Conrad, "Theophanes and the Arabic Tradition"; Hoyland, "Arabic, Syriac and Greek Historiography"; Robert Hoyland, "Writing the Biography of the Prophet Muhammad: Problems and Solutions," *History Compass* 5 (2007): 581–602; Sizgorich, "Narrative and Community."

the conquests, the advent of Islam as a community of God, and the establishment of an Islamic empire.

This approach to the early Islamic past represents a departure from a long-established scholarly tradition whose adherents have frequently found themselves frustrated in their aims. Formerly, the primary goal of most researchers was to determine how closely individual manifestations of early Islamic memory coincided with demonstrable historical fact. In so doing, these historians took it as their primary task to determine the value of various literary texts as documentary sources for the formulation of a narrative of early Islamic history "as it really was." Worthy though this pursuit may have been, it most often proved to be a project of diminishing returns for historians; the greater the scrutiny to which early Muslim texts were subjected, the less dependably "factual" information they tended to yield. By the 1970s and 1980s, some researchers had begun to despair of ever developing a satisfying portrait of the first centuries after the *hijra* (the seventh and eighth centuries C.E.), while others, although rather more optimistic, had nevertheless to admit that the challenges they faced in producing empiricist recollections of early Islamic history were indeed grave, if not absolutely intractable.¹⁰

A change is under way, however. Increasing awareness among Islamic specialists of the work of theorists in other fields has begun to profitably shift the focus of much research on early Islam. One particularly fertile strain of this research suggests that appreciating the development and character of the early Islamic *umma*'s origin narratives is crucial not only for understanding the imaginative bases for early Muslim identities, but also for tracing with greater nuance certain key political and cultural developments within the medieval Muslim community. The foundational work of Fred Donner on the formation of early Islamic communal narratives, for example, explores the evolution of these narratives from scattered oral histories and tribal battle accounts into highly elaborated written histories, and argues that it was in articulating these histories that the monotheistic Arab "community of believers" collected around Muḥammad's personality and prophecy defined itself as the "Muslim *umma*" known to history.¹¹

While Donner's work has proved invaluable for foregrounding the importance of narrative as a component of early Islamic history, beyond the field of Islamic history such scholars as Margaret Somers, Jerome Bruner, Francesca Polletta, Paul Ricoeur, and Hayden White have articulated a highly stimulating set of theoretical positions regarding the role of narrative in the hermeneutic processes whereby human subjects negotiate such problems as individual and communal identity, political

¹⁰ See, as examples, Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge, 1977); Patricia Crone, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge, 1980); G. R. Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History* (Cambridge, 1999); Andrew Rippin, "Literary Analysis of Qur'ān, Tafsīr and Sīra: The Methodologies of John Wansbrough," in Richard C. Martin, ed., *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies* (Oxford, 2001), 151–163; Judith Koren and Yehuda D. Nevo, "Methodological Approaches to Islamic Studies," *Der Islam* 68 (1991): 87–107. For concise overviews, see Donner's "Introduction" to his *Narratives of Islamic Origins*; R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), chap. 3; Robinson, "The Study of Islamic Historiography."

¹¹ Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*. See also Fred M. Donner, "From Believers to Muslims: Confessional Self-Identity in the Early Islamic Community," *al-Abhath* 50–51 (2002–2003): 9–53. I am indebted to Professor Donner for providing me with a copy of this article.

decision-making, and cultural patterning.¹² In turn, this body of research often coincides very usefully with current examinations of the roles of remembrance, memory production, and commemoration in the articulation of communal identities, whether these are national, ethnic, political, confessional, or some combination thereof.¹³ Although they differ in their objects of study, methodologies, and conclusions, most examples of this literature necessarily attend to the problem of narrative and narration.¹⁴ For many narratologists, this connection between memory and narrative can be explained by one simple but compelling argument: these scholars contend that the capacity of any human subject to imagine any past (or present or future) depends upon the arrangement of that past into either discrete but comprehensible episodes or a theme-driven story arranged into a plot, which in turn lends cohesive meaning to the characters and events from which that story is constructed.¹⁵

Many of these studies suggest that it is through memory—conceived of as an ever-evolving and socially constructed constellation of recollected episodes, characters, themes, truth claims, and plots, all inflected with meaning via the hermeneutic power of narrative—that individuals tend to locate themselves within specific social, political, and cultural matrices.¹⁶ That is, it is by understanding one's community and

¹² See Margaret R. Somers, "The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relationship and Network Approach," *Theory and Society* 23, no. 5 (1994): 605–660; Jerome Bruner, "The Narrative Construction of Reality," *Critical Inquiry* 18 (1991): 1–21; Francesca Polleta, "Contending Stories: Narrative in Social Movements," *Qualitative Sociology* 21 (1998): 419–446; Polleta, "'It Was Like a Fever . . .': Narrative and Identity in Social Protest," *Social Problems* 45 (1998): 137–159; Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1984); Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in W. J. Thomas Mitchell, ed., *On Narrative* (Chicago, 1981), 1–23. For the intersection of narrative and memory among the communities of late antiquity, see Thomas Sizgorich, "'Not Easily Were Stones Joined by the Strongest Bonds Pulled Asunder': Religious Violence and Imperial Order in the Later Roman World," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 17 (2007): 75–101, esp. 76–79, 97–101.

¹³ The literature on the role of memory in the humanities and social sciences is vast and growing prodigiously. See, as concise overviews of the growth of the field, Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Stern, "Introduction," *Representations* 26 (1989): 1–6; Susan A. Crane, "Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (December 1997): 1372–1385; Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69 (2000): 127–150; Hue-Tam Ho Tai, "Remembered Realms: Pierre Nora and French National Memory," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (June 2001): 906–922; David Berliner, "The Abuses of Memory: Reflections on the Memory Boom in Anthropology," *Anthropological Quarterly* 78 (2005): 197–211. See also Daniel J. Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France* (Chicago, 1999); Katherine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, eds., *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory* (London, 2003); Edward Said, "Invention, Memory and Place," *Critical Inquiry* 26 (2000): 175–192.

¹⁴ See, for example, John Seed, "History and Narrative Identity: Religious Dissent and the Politics of Memory in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005): 46–63; Thomas A. Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among the Andean People* (Madison, Wis., 1998), 12–15.

¹⁵ For the "narrative vs. episode debate," see Paul John Eakin, "What Are We Reading When We Read Autobiography?" *Narrative* 12 (2004): 121–132; George Butte, "I Know That I Know That I Know: Reflections on Paul John Eakin's 'What Are We Reading When We Read Autobiography?'" *Narrative* 13 (2005): 299–306; James Phelan, "Who's Here? Thoughts on Narrative Identity and Narrative Imperialism," *Narrative* 13 (2005): 205–210; Paul John Eakin, "Selfhood, Autobiography, and Interdisciplinary Inquiry: A Reply to George Butte," *Narrative* 13 (2005): 307–311; Galen Strawson, "Against Narrativity," *Ratio* 17 (2004): 428–452; Paul John Eakin, "Narrative Identity and Narrative Imperialism: A Response to Galen Strawson and James Phelan," *Narrative* 14 (2006): 180–187.

¹⁶ See Seed, "History and Narrative Identity," 46–47, 61–63. See also Ronald Grigor Suny, "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations," *The Journal of Modern History* 71 (2001): 862–896; Suny, "Provisional Stabilities: The Politics of Identities in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *International Security* 24, no. 3 (2000): 139–178.

communal self as actors in a procession of past episodes—all of them impregnated with specific and often even metaphysical meaning, and all of them culminating in the contemporary social and political order—that one can come to understand as innate not only the legal, social, and political boundaries that give shape to the known world, but also the normative relations between individuals and communities mandated by those boundaries.¹⁷

For historians of early Islam, the application of these insights can bring new life and new possibilities to very old and much-worried problems. In particular, attention to the question of early Islamic communal memory, specifically the forms that it took and the resources with which it was articulated, has the potential to dramatically elucidate the cultural, political, and social circumstances in which early Muslims thought and wrote. In better understanding these circumstances, it may then be possible to better understand how and why the early Muslim community came to define itself in the ways that it did, and why its members fashioned themselves and their empire as they did. Once we can more readily comprehend these matters, it becomes possible to more effectively address many of the underlying questions that have so motivated empirically minded Islam scholars over the past centuries. In a move that would likely have surprised those scholars, however, we will begin by asking what certain pre-Islamic Roman sources can tell us about the ways in which the early Muslim community recalled its past.

OUR ROMAN SOURCES FOR THE EVENTS OF THE CONQUESTS frequently leave much to be desired.¹⁸ In composite, they often allow us to say with surety only that one day soon after the final Roman defeat of the Persian Sāsānid shah, Roman imperial officials looked out across the great expanses of the Syrian steppe and watched the approach of mounted Arab warriors. From Roman texts of a slightly earlier era, we know that they and generations of their predecessors on Rome's eastern frontiers had seen this many times before. For the Roman soldiers and administrators re-

¹⁷ See, for example, Sherman, *The Construction of Memory*; Sizgorich, "Not Easily Were Stones Joined," 95–101; Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–24; Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman, eds., *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, 3 vols. (New York, 1996–1998); Hue-Tam, "Remembered Realms"; Michael Feige, "Introduction: Rethinking Israeli Memory and Identity," *Israeli Studies* 7 (2002): v–xiv; John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, "The Graves of the Gallant Highlanders: Memory, Interpretation and Narratives of Culloden," *History & Memory* 19 (2007): 5–38. Following Maurice Halbwachs's work on "collective memory," most treatments of the question of memory now underscore the ways in which the cultural and political circumstances in which human subjects imagine the past tend to determine the ways in which particular pasts are envisioned by both individuals and communities. Accordingly, as a process of alternately recalling and forgetting, the social production of memory can be understood as a process by which possible iterations of the past are assembled not only to reflect the concerns of the contemporary social, cultural, and political order, but with semiotic figures selected from a much larger universe of possible signs and symbols. See Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago, 1992). See also Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125–133. On the "rediscovery" of Halbwachs's work, see F. R. Ankersmit, *Historical Representation* (Stanford, Calif., 2001), 155–160; Michael Rothberg, "Between Auschwitz and Algeria: Multidirectional Memory and the Counterpublic Witness," *Critical Inquiry* 33 (2006): 158–184.

¹⁸ For an admirable analytical survey of non-Muslim sources for the conquest period, see Robert Hoyland, *Seeing Islam As Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton, N.J., 1997).

sponsible for the maintenance of order on the eastern deserts, bands of nomadic warriors had come to represent both a persistent dilemma and a vital resource.¹⁹ For centuries, the Arab clients of the two empires had served as dreaded light infantry, whose raids across those empires' frontiers represented a crucial component of each army's tactical array. Through the fifth and sixth centuries, powerful Arab tribal confederations had become each empire's first line of defense against nomadic raids and large-scale invasions.²⁰

As they watched the Arab bands ride toward them, these Roman soldiers and officials would have had at their disposal an old and well-tested diplomatic strategy for handling troublesome Arab tribesmen. Whether they faced small but threatening bands of Arab raiders or found themselves in need of the support of large tribal confederations, the Romans' diplomatic strategies with regard to the Arabs were regularly predicated upon strategic exchanges of capital in the forms of gifts, honors, and titles.²¹ It was through such exchanges that they built ties of obligation with their

¹⁹ Irfan Shahid has insisted upon the sedentary nature of the Ghassānid allies of Rome, and I have no desire to take issue with him on this point. In what follows, however, I will refer to the Arabs as they appear in our sources—that is, as they are described by such Roman authors as Procopius, Menander Protector, and Theophylact Simocatta. These authors interpret the Arabs they describe through the prism of Roman ethnographic traditions concerning nomads in general and Arab nomads in particular. It is also clear, as I will suggest below, that the diplomatic strategies described by these sources were imagined on the model of those that were deployed with regard to other "nomadic" peoples, such as the Huns. See the comments of Elizabeth Key Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 141–144; and Shahid's review of *The Barbarian Plain* in the *Catholic Historical Review* 86 (2000): 650–652, esp. 651. For the pastoralist in the Roman ethnographic imaginary, see Brent D. Shaw, "Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk: The Ancient Mediterranean Ideology of the Pastoral Nomad," *Ancient Society* 13/14 (1982): 5–31. For the Arabs, see Elizabeth M. Jeffreys, "The Image of the Arabs in Byzantine Literature," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers, Dumbarton Oaks/Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., August 3–8, 1986* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1986), 305–323; J. B. Segal, "Arabs in Syriac Literature before the Rise of Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4 (1984): 89–123. For the Ghassānids, see Irfan Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, vol. 1, pt. 1: *Political and Military History* (Washington, D.C., 1995); Mark Whittow, "Rome and the Jafnids: Writing the History of a 6th-C. Tribal Dynasty," in John H. Humphrey, ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research, Volume 2* (Portsmouth, R.I., 1999), 207–224; Theodor Nöldeke, *Die Ghassānischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's* (Berlin, 1887). For the Lakhmids, see Gustav Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Hira: Ein Versuch zur arabisch-persischen Geschichte zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (1899; repr., Hildesheim, 1968).

²⁰ See, for example, Procopius's comments concerning Persia's Lakhmid allies; *History of the Wars, Books I and II* [hereafter *Wars*], ed. and trans. H. B. Dewing (1914; Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 1.17.40–48. All references are to this edition and translation. See also Lawrence I. Conrad, "The Arabs," in Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 14: *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600* (Cambridge, 2000), 678–700, esp. 689–695; C. E. Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," in Ehsan Yarshater, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3(1): *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods* (Cambridge, 1983), 593–612; David F. Graf, "The Saracens and the Defense of the Arabian Frontier," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 229 (1978): 1–26, esp. 16–17; Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 52–65; Philip Mayerson, "The Saracens and the Limes," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 262 (1986): 35–47, esp. 43–47; Mayerson, "The First Muslim Attacks on Southern Palestine (A.D. 633–634)," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 95 (1964): 155–199. For an overview of Roman-Sasanian relations, see James Howard-Johnston, "The Two Great Powers in Late Antiquity: A Comparison," in Averil Cameron, ed., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. 3: *States, Resources and Armies* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 157–226.

²¹ See, for example, Procopius, *Wars*, 1.17.47. For the enticements with which the Romans seem to have incited Arab cooperation, see Irfan Shahid, "Philological Observations on the Namāra Inscription," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 24 (1979): 429–436. A. F. L. Beeston, "Nemara and Faw," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42 (1979): 1–6; G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), chap. 10; James A. Bellamy, "A New Reading for the Nemarah Inscription," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1985): 31–51; Evangelos K. Chrysos, "The Title Basileus in Early Byzantine

nomadic allies, or bought off troublesome war bands intent on raiding Roman settlements or caravan routes. Wars with nomads were profitless and exceedingly difficult, and nomads, as every Roman knew, were unsuited for inclusion in the ordering bounds of Roman *imperium*.²² Accordingly, the strategies with which the Romans handled Arab tribesmen reflected quite closely the policies with which they dealt with other nomadic peoples, most notably the Huns.²³

Indeed, it was because nomadic Arabs were, in Roman eyes, roving, rootless barbarians who could not be civilized, and whose desert domains were inhospitable to *romanitas* (roughly "Roman-ness") and the imperial Roman "civilized ideal" of *humanitas*, that strategies of gift exchange were ideally suited to the pursuance of Rome's imperial agenda on the eastern frontier.²⁴ Through exchanges of gifts, Arab tribesmen could be bound to the Roman (or Persian) Empire in a way that could not be achieved via Rome's other, preferred methods of inciting consensus and compliance. The Arabs of the desert seemed to have no need of access to Roman law, for example; nor would those Arabs who dwelled in the border spaces between empires have had much occasion to interact with the Roman state on the basis of a shared culture, encounters with officialdom, or public performances of *romanitas* of the sort that linked settled and urbanized Roman provincials to the centralized government.²⁵ Meanwhile, direct coercion of the Arabs who resided in the borderlands that stretched between the two empires was particularly tricky for the Romans, because if pressured, the Arabs could ally with their Persian enemies, turn their fighting prowess back on their former masters, or simply fade away into the desert, where the settled peoples dared not follow.²⁶ Despite these difficulties, however, throughout the fifth and sixth centuries, the Arabs were increasingly crucial to the defense of the Romans' eastern domains.²⁷

Relations," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 32 (1978): 50–51; C. D. Gordon, "Subsidies in Roman Imperial Defense," *Phoenix* 3 (1949): 60–69.

²² See Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000), 325–326. See also Procopius, *Wars*, 2.10.23–24. For nomads motivated by the poverty of native lands, see Strabo, *Geographica*, 17.3.15, in *The Geography of Strabo*, ed. and trans. Horace Leonard Jones, 8 vols. (London, 1917–1933). All references are to this edition and translation. For nomads as weak, poor fighters, see *ibid.*, 16.4.23, 17.1.3.

²³ See, for example, Procopius, *Wars*, 2.1.12–15 and 2.3.47. See also *ibid.*, 2.10.20–24.

²⁴ For *humanitas* in Roman imperial and ethnographic thought, see Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge, 1998), 16, 54–76.

²⁵ Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty*, esp. 41–42, 73–80, 101–108, 131–138, 206–215; Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, chap. 3. For some strategies undertaken by Justinian as means for inciting compliance among local populations during his sixth-century reconquest of formerly "Roman" territories in Italy and North Africa, see Charles Pazdernik, "Procopius and Thucydides on the Labors of War: Belisarius and Brasidas in the Field," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 130 (2000): 149–187. The strategies examined by Pazdernik, which involved stressing a common "Roman" past shared by the occupants of those lands and the invading army, and declaring that the invasion represented a restoration of "freedom" to Romans "enslaved" by Gothic and Vandal barbarians, would also have found little to recommend them in relations with nomadic or settled Arabs.

²⁶ See Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 44.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 43–49. In the late sixth century, changes in Roman policy toward the Arabs under the emperor Maurice seriously diminished the power of Ghassān, Rome's long-time ally, and created an array of smaller tribal groups with which the Romans could negotiate. See F. E. Peters, "Introduction," in Peters, ed., *The Arabs and Arabia on the Eve of Islam* (Aldershot, 1999), esp. xxii–xxiii. In the early seventh century, we are told, Heraclius suspended payments to some Arab tribesmen in service of the empire. See Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, AM 6123 (631–632 C.E.), ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (1883; repr., Hildesheim, 1963), 1:335–336; Nikephoros, *Breviarium*, 20.11–21, in Cyril Mango, ed. and

The strategies favored by the Romans in their dealings with the Arab tribes emerge from our sources in scattered anecdotes. In the Roman author Procopius's sixth-century history of the emperor Justinian's wars, for example, we read of an exchange of gifts that took place between Justinian (ca. 482–565) and a band of Syrian nomads. The exchange began when a particularly formidable group of nomads gave the emperor a grove of palm trees, to which the emperor responded with a gift of his own. As Procopius points out, however, the palm grove given to Justinian was the "mere form of a gift": it was inaccessible to anyone but the nomads themselves because of its desert location. What Justinian had really received, Procopius says, was the allegiance of the nomads against the enemies of the empire.²⁸

Elsewhere we learn that Justinian made a practice of bestowing gifts even upon the Arab allies of Persia during a period of peace between the two empires. He did so, we are told, because he felt sorry for the "leaderless" desert nomads, and so entered into an exchange of gifts with them. When his nephew and successor Justin II (d. 578) ended the practice, however, the Arabs protested that from their point of view, Justinian's gifts had been a sort of payoff to buy their forbearance from the raiding of Roman lands. The Romans took strenuous objection to this, insisting that the relationship had been an exchange between the emperor and the Arabs based on altruistic benevolence on Justinian's part.²⁹ In any case, the Romans and Persians tended to agree that one could not expect much from nomads in the way of loyalty.³⁰ Nevertheless, Justinian and his predecessors seem to have given frequently and liberally in their exchanges with nomads, particularly Arabs.³¹

In addition to material items, the Romans and the Persians bestowed honors upon their Arab allies, and these seem to have become an important aspect of the prestige economy of pre-Islamic Arabs. Titles including "King of the Arabs" and such honors as the chance to take one's place among the great men of the Romans were bits of capital distributed to the Arab allies of both empires, and competition for them could be deadly. Moreover, the capital accrued from relations with the imperial powers was used by powerful tribal entities including the Ghassānids and Lakhmids as a means of consolidating and widening their influence within Arab tribal politics.³²

trans., *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople: Short History* (Washington, D.C., 1990), 68 (Greek), 69 (English). See also n. 40 below.

²⁸ Procopius, *Wars*, 1.19.8–16.

²⁹ See Menander Protector, *History*, Fragment 9.1.29–95, in R. C. Blockley, ed. and trans., *The History of Menander the Guardsman* (Liverpool, 1985), 98, 100, 102 (Greek), 99, 101, 103 (English).

³⁰ The late-sixth-/early-seventh-century Roman historian Theophylact Simocatta wrote that the "Saracen tribe is known to be most unreliable and fickle, their mind is not steadfast and their judgment is not firmly grounded in prudence"; *History*, 3.17.7, trans. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* (Oxford, 1986), 99–100. Elsewhere, the sixth-century Roman historian Menander Protector reports that one Roman envoy to the Persian court urged his listeners, "When I say 'Saracens,' think, Medes, upon the uncouthness and unreliability of that people," as he discussed a dispute involving the Arab tribes allied with the Persians; *History*, Fragment 9.1.67–69, in Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, 100 (Greek), 101 (English). See also Procopius, *Wars*, 1.17.47–48, where Procopius expresses doubt about the loyalty of the Roman Ghassānid ally Hārith, and wonders whether his lack of success in the field after becoming a Roman ally resulted from his "having turned traitor as quickly as possible."

³¹ For the early origins of such arrangements, see Strabo, *Geographica*, 16.1.28; Procopius, *Wars*, 1.19.32–35.

³² See Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 43–49. For the use of titles such as "King of the Arabs," see

Negotiations for such tokens of imperially granted capital could begin with attacks by the Arabs against the territories or interests of their imperial neighbors. In the fifth century, for example, an Arab warrior once allied with the Persians attacked some Roman territories, routed the Romans' Arab allies, kicked out the Roman tax collectors, and began collecting taxes himself. Then he sent the bishop of his tribe to negotiate with the Romans. In the end, the Arab chieftain went to the imperial capital, exchanged gifts with the emperor, and was allowed to sit among the great men of the Romans. It was this last honor that our Roman source for this incident, Malchus of Philadelphia, found most disturbing; that so great an honor should be paid to a barbarian was unheard of, he said, and was simply too much for the Roman people to bear.³³ This may have been a bitter concession in the estimation of the elites of the Eastern Roman capital of Constantinople, but on the frontiers of the empire that it was the emperor's duty to defend, such exchanges of prized capital with formidable Arab chieftains were the one semi-dependable means of ensuring the compliance of restive and potentially dangerous Arab tribesmen.

And so as our seventh-century Roman imperial officials watched the approach of those Arab raiders, they likely had in mind a plan for dealing with them, one crafted in accordance with a centuries-old mode of diplomatic comportment with regard to nomadic Arabs. If necessary, they would pay the Arabs off, and if possible, they would bind them to the service of the Roman imperial state through gifts of treasure and honor. Then, presumably, with the barbarians pacified and co-opted, the world would go on as it had for the better part of a millennium.

OUR MUSLIM SOURCES FOR THE CONQUEST PERIOD are both more plentiful and in some ways more problematic than our Roman sources. Transmitted orally for unknown and invisible periods of years, and set down in writing more than a century after the events they describe, they speak to us through the use of persistent *topoi* and abstracted, stylized narratives.³⁴ Those narratives tell us repeatedly that one day soon after the death of the Prophet, a band of Arab *mujāhidūn*, practitioners of *jihād* "on the path of God," approached the Roman army in Syria. These warriors were mounted on horses and camels and dressed for riding. Some of them, we are told, wore their hair plaited "like the horns of a goat." Many of them were all but naked; some of them carried only rudimentary weapons and wore no armor, while others bristled with weapons and sported coats of chain mail. They were members of a community that had cohered around the revelation of a Meccan merchant, that had endured persecution, and that had, in time, won control of Arabia. Now they had

Procopius, *Wars*, 1.17.47. See also Shahid, "Philological Observations on the Namāra Inscription"; Beeston, "Nemara and Faw"; Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, 138–147; Bellamy, "A New Reading for the Nemarah Inscription"; Chrysos, "The Title Basileus in Early Byzantine Relations." For the potentially lethal competition over these titles, see Abū l-Faraj 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 20 vols. (1868; repr., Beirut, 1970), 2:104–107, and below.

³³ Malchus, Fragment 1, in R. C. Blockley, ed. and trans., *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire* (Liverpool, 1983), 404, 406 (Greek), 405, 407 (English). For this incident, see Irfan Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 59–113.

³⁴ See Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*; Humphreys, *Islamic History*, chap. 3; Robinson, "The Study of Islamic Historiography."

come to call the peoples of the areas outside of Arabia to embrace the revelation of their prophet.³⁵

As recalled by their descendants more than a century later, these men were defined by their intransigence, their ascetic virtue, and their piety. They were taken as models for the fashioning of specifically Muslim selves by those descendants, and as the agents of God in the "opening" of the lands of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt to the Arab Muslim *umma*, the one true community of God upon the Earth.³⁶ The lands they would conquer would become the imperial patrimony of those descendants, and the stories told about them would become the basis for a specifically Islamic imperial narrative, the story of the founding of God's final empire. It was the function of those stories to explain how the creation of that empire had been a manifestation of God's will and proof of the truth of Muḥammad's revelation.³⁷ Over the space of centuries, the descendants of the ragged and ultimately victorious Muslim army that rode onto the field opposite the mighty Roman army would draw upon two modes of remembrance as they narrated the story of the conquests.

On the one hand, the Muslim authors of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries often drew upon a lexicon of signs and symbols common to many late antique communities in order to craft portraits of their imagined forebears and their deeds.³⁸ The figure of the Christian monk, for example, recurs frequently in very early Muslim texts as a model upon which the image of conquest-era *mujāhidūn* is fashioned, just as the institution of Christian monasticism was evoked as one means of communicating the essential character of *jihād*.³⁹

In concert with this "late antique" semiotic system, however, the narrative of

³⁵ For the appearance and character of early *mujāhidūn*, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:2271, 2274–2275, 2351; trans. Friedmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 12:66–67, 70–71, 130–131. See Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, 1.197, for the array of weapons that Muḥīra b. Shu'ba al-Thaqafī carried with him to meet the Persian shah. See also Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *Tārīkh futūḥ al-Shām*, ed. 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Abd Allāh 'Amir (Cairo, 1970), 201, for the appearance of Khālīd b. al-Walīd, and *ibid.*, 28, where Heraclius describes the Muslims as "barefoot, naked and hungry." Cf. the following Christian Syrian sources for the meager appearance of the Muslim soldiers: *The Chronicle of AD 1234*, cxii, ed. and Latin trans. Jean-Baptiste Chabot, *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, 3 vols. (CSCO 81–82, 109, 354) (Paris, 1916, 1920, 1937, and Louvain, 1974), CSCO 81:246–247 (Syriac), CSCO 109:192–193 (Latin); English trans. in Andrew Palmer, Sebastian Brock, and Robert Hoyland, *The Seventh Century in West Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool, 1993), 151–153; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, 11.6, ed. and trans. Jean-Baptiste Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1899–1910), 2:422 (French), 4:417 (Syriac); English trans. in Palmer, Brock, and Hoyland, *The Seventh Century in West Syrian Chronicles*, 152 n. 363.

³⁶ Sizgorich, "Narrative and Community," 29–42.

³⁷ See Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 177–182.

³⁸ Sizgorich, "Narrative and Community." The Islamic era is dated from 622 C.E., the year in which Muḥammad and his embattled community made a migration, or *hijra*, from Mecca to the city of Yathrib (later "Medina"). It is reckoned using lunar years. Here and elsewhere I have referred to the dates in question with the formula Hijri (Muslim) date/Common Era date. For the role of the *hijra* in Islamic chronology and narrative, see Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 230–239.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 29–38. For conquest-era *mujāhidūn* compared to monks, see as examples al-Azdī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, ed. 'Amir, 211; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:2125–2126; trans. Blankinship, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 11:126–127; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:2395; trans. Friedmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 12:181–182; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. al-'Amrawī and Shīrī, 2:95–96. For *jihād* as "the monasticism of the Muslims" in prophetic *aḥādīth*, see 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-jihād*, ed. Nazīh Hammād (Beirut, 1978), no. 15–17; 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-zuhd wa-'l-raqā'iq*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī (Beirut, 1970), no. 840, 845. See also Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī 'Adawī, 4 vols. (1925; repr., Cairo, 1973), 2:297, cited by and trans. Suleiman A. Mourad, "Christian Monks in Islamic Literature: A Preliminary Report on Some Arabic *Apophthegmata Patrum*," *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 6 (2004): 90.

Islam's advent and victory in the lands of Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia also drew upon the "memory" of relations between pre-Islamic Arabs and the great imperial powers of the late ancient world. In the early Muslim imaginary, relations with the Romans and Persians underscored the wretchedness of life in the pre-Islamic *jāhiliyya* or "time of ignorance."⁴⁰ The evolving metanarrative of the advent and triumph of a distinctively Arab Islam in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries cast the dire conditions of life in Arabia during the *jāhiliyya* in stark contrast to the enlightened and civilized condition of life within the Islamic empire. Implicit in this contrast were the effects of Muḥammad's revelation; the word of God had brought unity, piety, and order to the Arab communities of Arabia even before the conquests of the lands of Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia.⁴¹

In another sense, however, the empire built by those conquests was in many ways the geographical home of the post-*jāhiliyya* Islamic world. Arabia remained a powerful imaginative space in the lives of early Muslims, but the vast new Arab-ruled domain in the lands outside Arabia was the true fruit of Muḥammad's revelation and mission; it was here that the consequences of his revelation were manifested in the formation of new, specifically Muslim communities, and in Muslim control of ancient cities and populations that long bore the splendid markings of their former imperial masters.⁴² The figures of the great imperial powers of late antiquity would be crucial resources as Muslim authors sought to trace the trajectory of these changes.

IT SEEMS CLEAR FROM WHAT NON-MUSLIM SOURCES WE POSSESS for the seventh-century conquests that at first the Romans had little idea what to make of the Muslims. For example, the *Doctrina Jacobi*, an anti-Jewish seventh-century text, draws upon the borrowed gaze of "the Jews," long believed to possess arcane, numinous knowledge, to interpret the new prophet who had appeared among the Arabs in accordance with certain Christian apocalyptic expectations concerning the Jews.⁴³ Indeed, as Robert Hoyland has suggested, "the Jews" provided seventh-century Christian communities with a familiar paradigm of alterity as they attempted to make sense of the Muslims.⁴⁴ Eventually, Muslim, Syrian, Armenian, and Greek authors would all come to dif-

⁴⁰ See, for example, al-Azdī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, ed. ʿĀmir, 204–205. See also Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 1:199, for one Muslim warrior's explication before the Persian shah of exactly how bad things were in Arabia before the appearance of Muḥammad as a prophet. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, 1:2283–2284, 2352–2353; trans. Friedmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 12:78–79, 137–138.

⁴¹ See, for example, al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan tāwīl al-Qurʾān*, 9:220.

⁴² For the role of *futūḥ* narratives in negotiating the problem of Muslim rulership over subject populations, see Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 180–181. For the self-conscious presence of Islam in ancient metropolises such as Jerusalem, see Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven, Conn., 1973). For the formation of specifically Muslim cities, see Hichem Djait, *Al-Kūfa: Naissance de la ville islamique* (Paris, 1986).

⁴³ *Doctrina Jacobi Nuper Baptizati*, 16.14–16, 17.21–22, ed. and French trans. Déroche, 209, 211, 213. For Christian beliefs about Jews as possessors of secret or arcane knowledge, see, for example, Han J. W. Drijvers and Jan Willem Drijvers, *The Finding of the True Cross: The Judas Kyriakos Legend in Syriac* (Louvain, 1997). See also Andrew S. Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews: The Holy Land and Christian Empire in Late Antiquity* (Stanford, Calif., 2004). For the dangerous attraction of "Jewish" knowledge for late antique Christians, see John Chrysostom, *Adversus Judaeos orationes*, I–VIII, in J. Minge, ed., *Patrologia Cursus Completus: Series Graeca*, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–1866), 48:843–942.

⁴⁴ Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 78–87.

fering versions of the same explanation for the advent of the Muslims; they were an army of God sent to punish the proud and arrogant imperial powers of the age.⁴⁵

At the time of the conquests themselves, however, the Romans would have had no reason to understand the Muslim bands they encountered as anything other than yet more Arab raiders, or at best a new Arab tribal confederation to be co-opted into imperial service. Indeed, even the Byzantine historian Nikephoros, writing almost two centuries after the events he describes, still referred to the Muslim leader ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ as a "phylarch," the title traditionally applied to tribal leaders taken into Roman service, as he described attempts to co-opt ʿAmr with gifts and bribes.⁴⁶ It would seem that for the Romans of the seventh, eighth, and early ninth centuries, the weight of long centuries of diplomatic and ethnographic tradition regarding Arab tribesmen produced a kind of hermeneutic inertia that carried through the beginnings of the conquest period.⁴⁷

The earliest Muslim accounts we possess of the conquest period also seem to suggest that as Roman imperial agents encountered the first Muslim expeditions, they interpreted the encounters through the prism of imperial memory. In time-tested fashion, the Roman officials pictured in these accounts consistently attempted to initiate gift exchanges with the Arabs as a means of winning their compliance with the Roman imperial order. Such scenes as we find them in the works of second/eighth- and third/ninth-century Muslim authors are not examples of "factual" reportage in any strict sense, however; instead they are occurrences of a common *topos* employed to frame subsequent scenes of military gallantry.

The great historian of Muslim historiography Albrecht Noth identified such scenes as a rather insignificant component of what he termed the "Summons to Islam" or "*daʿwa*" *topos*, in which Muslims summon non-Muslims to Islam as a prelude

⁴⁵ Ibid., 524–531. See S. P. Brock, "North Mesopotamia in the Seventh Century: Book XV of John Bar Penkāyē's *Riṣ Mellē*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987): 51–75, esp. 57–61; *The Chronicle of AD 1234*, xciv, ed. and Latin trans. Chabot, CSCO 81:228 (Syriac), CSCO 109:178–179 (Latin). See also ibid., cii, CSCO 81:237 (Syriac), CSCO 109:185 (Latin), and ibid., cviii, CSCO 81:242–244 (Syriac), CSCO 109:190–191 (Latin). English trans. Palmer, in Palmer, Brock, and Hoyland, *The Seventh Century in West Syrian Chronicles*, 130–131, 148–149; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, 11.6, ed. and French trans. Chabot, 2:422 (French), 4:417 (Syriac) = English trans. Palmer, in Palmer, Brock, and Hoyland, *The Seventh Century in West Syrian Chronicles*, 152 n. 363. Agapios (Maḥbūb) of Manbij, *Kitāb al-ʿUnwān*, 2.211, 213–214, ed. and French trans. Alexandre Vasiliev, *Patrologia Orientalis* 5, no. 4 (1947), 7, no. 4 (1948), 8, no. 3 (1971), 11, no. 1 (1974) [PO 8.3:471, 473–474], where the emperor Heraclius orders the Roman forces and citizens of the eastern provinces to stop fighting the Arabs, because to do so is to resist the will of God. In his *Annales*, ed. L. Cheikho (CSCO 50, 51) (Beirut, 1906), CSCO 51:9–11, the Melkite Christian author Eutychios provides a remarkably flattering portrait of the first Muslim caliph, Abū Bakr, and such conquest-era Muslim heroes as ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, incorporating a version of the Roman official-*mujāhid* meeting-offer-rejection trope we encounter so often in Muslim *fuṭūḥ* texts. This is unsurprising given Eutychios's reliance on Muslim historical traditions. What is intriguing, however, is that Eutychios's irenic rendering of the *fuṭūḥ* comes immediately after his rendering of Heraclius's war with the Persians, in which the Roman emperor is depicted as killing every Persian man, woman, and child he encounters, and ripping open the bellies of pregnant Persian women and smashing their fetuses on rocks, claiming to perform the words of the prophet David in Psalms.

⁴⁶ Nikephoros, *Breviarium*, 26.18–19, ed. and trans. Mango, 74 (Greek), 75 (English). For the sixth-century use of the term "phylarch," see, for example, Procopius, *Wars*, 1.17.48. See also n. 21 above.

⁴⁷ See Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600–1800* (Cambridge, 2003), 73–74. For the archaizing tendency in Roman ethnographic thought, see Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty*, 329.

to battle.⁴⁸ Noth further argued that the summons of enemies to Islam before engaging them in battle was likely of little importance by the time of the Muslim campaigns outside Arabia; accordingly, scenes featuring this *topos* are likely fictional.⁴⁹ For our purposes, however, the operative question is not whether such scenes are empirically “factual,” but rather why Muslim scholars so consistently included them in their renditions of the *futūḥ*. A subsidiary question is why these scholars chose to craft iterations of this *topos* in the specific way they did—that is, why do the scenes structured around this *topos* look as they do and not some other way?

The recurrence of such *topoi* is significant because it was through the use of these hermeneutic guideposts that the conquest period became comprehensible not simply as a time of military conquest, but more importantly as a period during which the changes wrought in the souls of Muḥammad’s followers brought about a momentous transformation of the present world.⁵⁰ Moreover, the specific forms that this *topos* took in the texts of early Muslim authors seem to reflect not arbitrary editorial or authorial decisions made by those writers, but rather the lingering impression left by certain late Roman diplomatic strategies upon the imaginations of those who contributed the raw material from which early Muslim origin narratives were constituted.⁵¹

Typical of this *topos* are two passages from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Azdī al-Baṣrī’s second/eighth-century *Tārīkh futūḥ al-Shām* (History of the Conquest of Syria).⁵² In these passages, the conquest-era heroes Khālīd b. al-Walīd and Mu‘ādh b. Jabal meet with Roman imperial officials on the eve of two battles during the conquest of Syria. Although the details of these scenes differ intriguingly, they share a common theme. In both cases, the Roman imperial officials attempt to seduce their Muslim counterparts into cooperation with the Roman imperial state by extending offers of gifts and honors. In his meeting with Khālīd, for example, the Roman general “Bāhān” professes great admiration for a red tanned-leather tent purchased by Khālīd before their meeting, and offers to trade anything that Khālīd might desire for it. Rather than accept anything in return for the tent, however, Khālīd simply gives it to Bāhān, explaining that he wants nothing from the Romans.⁵³

In the story of Mu‘ādh’s meeting with the Romans, Mu‘ādh, too, rejects an offer of material gifts in return for his cooperation, but not before he similarly turns down what is presented in the text as a profoundly attractive offer on the part of the Ro-

⁴⁸ Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, 146–167, esp. 147. Cf. Robinson, “The Study of Islamic Historiography,” 217–218.

⁴⁹ Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, 160–167.

⁵⁰ See Sizgorich, “Narrative and Community,” 29–38.

⁵¹ For one important theory concerning the ways in which very old material found its way into early Islamic texts, see Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 203–212.

⁵² Al-Azdī’s *Futūḥ al-Shām* is believed to be one of the oldest Muslim historical sources we have for the conquest period. On this text, see Sulayman Mourad, “On Early Islamic Historiography: Abu Ismā‘īl al-Azdī and his *Futūḥ al-Shām*,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120 (2000): 577–593; Lawrence I. Conrad, “Al-Azdī’s History of the Arab Conquests in Bilād al-Shām: Some Historiographical Observations,” in Muḥammad Adnan Bakhit, ed., *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām during the Early Islamic Period up to 40 AH/640 AD*, 3 vols. (Amman, 1987), 1:28–62; Hoyland, “Arabic, Syriac and Greek Historiography,” esp. 223–233; Nadia Maria El Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 37–38, 120–121.

⁵³ Al-Azdī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, ed. ‘Āmir, 201. Cf. Ibn A‘tham, *Futūḥ*, 1:241. For *qubba* as a grand red leather tent set up for important men, see R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1927), 2:297, sub “qabba.”

mans. Upon arriving in the Roman camp, Mu'adh is informed that he has been accorded a great honor—he is to be allowed to attend a gathering of prominent Romans. This, he is assured, will be ennobling for him. There is a catch, however. The Romans explain that the Arab may not sit with his interlocutors; he must stand in the presence of the great men of the Romans. Predictably, Mu'adh refuses to do so, explaining that the prophet of his community has forbidden his followers to stand in honor of any creature. Accordingly, he sits in the presence of the Romans. Notably, Mu'adh also refuses to have anything to do with the effete finery of the Roman nobles, their carpets and cushions, and so he takes his seat on the ground ("God's carpet," as he calls it), holding the reins of his horse.⁵⁴

Repetitions of these *topoi*, situated in tales of various conquest-era battles against both the Romans and the Persians, are to be found in many early Muslim accounts of the *futūḥ*, including those of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 871), Ibn A'tham (d. 926), and al-Ṭabarī (d. 923). In Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's history of the Muslim conquest of Egypt, for example, 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ, whom we encountered above described by the Roman historian Nikephoros as an Arab "phylarch," also refuses Roman overtures toward a negotiated, exchange-based settlement, and does so very much in the style of al-Azdī's Khālīd b. Walīd and Mu'adh b. Jabal. One remarkable feature of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's iteration of this *topos* follows 'Amr's initial refusal, however, and seems to underscore its significance. After turning down an offer of negotiated settlement from the Alexandrian bishop Muqawqis, who is acting as the representative of Roman power on the scene, 'Amr sends one of his men, the black-skinned 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, to speak with Muqawqis once more. When 'Ubāda appears before him, however, Muqawqis screeches, "Save me from this black! Send someone other than him to negotiate with me!" 'Ubāda's companions promptly explain to the official that 'Ubāda is the most accomplished Muslim among them, and is accordingly the most fitting representative of their community.⁵⁵ The central point of the conquest narratives we have encountered thus far seems dramatically underscored here: the consequences of Muḥammad's revelation have upended the arrangements of power taken for granted by Roman imperial officials, whether these manifested themselves in economies of power and wealth or in hierarchies of human taxonomy or physiognomy.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Al-Azdī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, ed. 'Āmir, 115–117. Cf. Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, 1:184. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:2103; trans. Blankinship, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 11:103–104, where Muslim visitors to a Roman camp during the conquest of Syria refuse to enter the Romans' silken tents; and *ibid.*, 1:2271, where a Muslim visitor to a Persian camp slashes pillows and destroys the carpets of his hosts; trans. Friedmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 12:66–67.

⁵⁵ See Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Kitāb futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbārḥā*, ed. Charles Torrey (1922; repr., Piscataway, N.J., 2002), 65–66. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:2288; trans. Friedmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 12:84. For race as a signifier in early Muslim discussions about ranking in Islamic society on the basis of personal, Islamic merit alone, see Patricia Crone, "'Even an Ethiopian Slave': The Transformation of a Sunni Tradition," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 57 (1994): 59–67.

⁵⁶ It is difficult to discern whether Muqawqis's reaction to 'Ubāda's black skin reflects some early Muslim knowledge about late Roman and/or Christian attitudes to skin color, or whether it simply reflects certain attitudes toward black-skinned persons common among Abbasid-era Arabs. Either could well serve as the basis of the remarks attributed to Muqawqis. See David Brakke, "Ethiopian Demons: Male Sexuality, the Black-Skinned Other, and the Monastic Self," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10 (2001): 501–535; Vincent L. Wimbush, "Ascetic Behavior and Colorful Language: Stories about Ethiopian Moses," *Semeia* 58 (1992): 81–92, esp. 89. See also Philip Mayerson, "Anti-Black Sentiment in the *Vitae Patrum*," *Harvard Theological Review* 71 (1978): 304–311. For popular Arab views of black-

There were other ways of making much the same point. In Ibn Aʿtham's epic compilation of early Muslim conquest accounts, a Muslim warrior named al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba punctuates his refusal to accept gifts and friendship from the Persian shah Yazdgird III by dropping heavily into the King of Kings' throne. "[Al-Mughīra] was a huge man and he tipped the throne until Yazdgird was about to tumble from his throne," Ibn Aʿtham wrote. "Al-Mughīra ended up on the center of the throne and Yazdgird landed on the left side of it. And Yazdgird was displeased by this." However slapstick the tone of this episode, its point is a familiar one: Muḥammad's revelation has overturned the old economy of imperial power, and even at the court of the Persian shah, the terrors and enticements of that economy no longer touch the hearts of Muḥammad's followers.⁵⁷

Other early Muslim texts repeat a number of stories that are best understood as variants of those we have examined above. As they appear in the texts of early Muslim authors, these stories vary in their cast; Khālīd turns up frequently in them, as do Abū ʿUbayda and other prominent conquest-era Muslims. The Roman Bāhān is a frequently recurring character as well, but the imperial official in question can also be an anonymous Roman soldier or diplomat, the Persian general Rustam, or, as we have seen, even the last Sāsānid shah, Yazdgird III.⁵⁸ What is constant, however, and what serves as the defining act of such episodes, is the refusal of the Muslim *mujāhid* in question to enter into any kind of agreement with the imperial officials, and in particular his refusal to accept their gifts, whether these are offered in material form or as bits of the kind of social and political capital that Muʿādh b. Jabal turned down when he declined the "honor" of joining the council of the Romans.

The texts in which Muʿādh, al-Mughīra, and their fellow *mujāhidūn* refuse such honors invariably go on to describe monumental conquest-era battles such as those that took place at al-Yarmūk and al-Qādisiyya. The descriptions of these battles as they appear in early Muslim *futūḥ* accounts are showcases for martial heroics of the sort we often find celebrated in pre-Islamic *ayyām al-ʿArab* or "battle days" poetry.⁵⁹ As Lawrence Conrad has illustrated in the case of al-Azdī, moreover, such accounts could also contain elements gleaned from jealously cultivated tribal histories.⁶⁰ However, these episodes of Bedouin gallantry become comprehensible as episodes within

skinned persons, see, for example, the disparagements against which al-Jāhīz defends blacks in his *Kitāb fakhr al-sūdānʿalā al-bīdān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, in *Rasāʾil al-Jāhīz*, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1965), 1:173–226, esp. 196, 211–212. See also Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (Oxford, 1990), esp. 92–98.

⁵⁷ Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 1:196–198.

⁵⁸ For Bāhān, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:2081–2082, 2084, 2088–2089, 2091, 2146; trans. Blankinship, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 11:76–78, 80–81, 85–88, 160–161; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:2349; trans. Friedmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 12:135; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 2:104. At *ibid.*, 2:72, as at Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 1:239–271, and Eutychios, *Annales*, ed. Cheikho, CSCO 51:14, this figure appears as "Māhān." Bāhān is described as a Persian who converted to Christianity and took up with the Romans in Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, ed. Akram Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿUmarī (Beirut, 1977), 130. For Yazdgird III, see Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 1:195–203. For Rustam, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:2271–2287; trans. Friedmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 12:66–83. For Abū ʿUbayda, see Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 1:184–189.

⁵⁹ See Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge, 1994), 63–67. See also Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 180, 203–208.

⁶⁰ See Lawrence I. Conrad, "Heraclius in Early Islamic Kerygma," in Gerrit J. Reinink and Bernard H. Stolte, eds., *The Reign of Heraclius (610–641): Crisis and Confrontation* (Leuven, 2002), 113–156. See also Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 104–107, 165–166, 178–180.

a specifically Muslim narrative of the *futūḥ* era only when they are read in tandem with scenes like those sampled above, in which poor and pious Muslim warriors, men such as Mu'ādh and Khālīd, stand intransigently before representatives of the late ancient imperial powers and refuse to accept the enticements of this world held out to them by Roman and Persian imperial agents. These are not simply refusals of the gifts and honors offered by the Roman and Persian imperial officials; rather, they should be understood as repudiations of the system through which the empires of late antiquity had long bound Arab tribesmen to themselves and to their imperial agendas. This rejection was in turn to be understood as the result of such men's submission to Islam and the disdain for the present world that this submission inspired.⁶¹

In composing such histories, early Muslim authors consistently allude to a common pool of knowledge concerning the diplomatic tactics of late ancient imperial officials, tactics that did their work at the level of the imperial subjects' desires, ambitions, and fears. The precise provenance of this knowledge is difficult to know; as with most questions about the "memories" of the pre-Islamic world one encounters in early Muslim texts, there is no way of tracing satisfactorily the origins of this body of knowledge.⁶² Nevertheless, it corresponds remarkably well with what one reads in Roman texts produced over the space of centuries describing relations between the empire and its Arab clients.

Indeed, it is difficult to avoid the sense that later Roman imperial officials would have readily recognized their own diplomatic tactics in the portraits that our Muslim authors crafted of them. Think, for example, of the second/eighth-century Muslim author al-Azdī's story of the Roman general Bāhān's professed desire for Khālīd b. al-Walīd's leather tent, and his offer to trade anything the Arab might want for it, and then of the Roman author Procopius's story of the inaccessible palm grove accepted by Justinian from the Arabs of Syria. The palm grove was presumably as valueless to Justinian as the tent would have been to Bāhān, except that both items would have initiated a process of gift exchange through which frontier Arabs would have been bound to a Roman imperial patron. Al-Azdī, like Procopius, seems to have understood very well the point of such exchanges, and to have taken this tenet of Roman imperial practice in service of his own narrative.

Consider also the story cited above of the Arab chieftain who was called to Constantinople and allowed to sit among the great men of the Romans as one means of seducing him into the service of the empire. As we have noted, the Roman author of this text seems to offer testimony to the significance of the capital that such meetings represented through the vehemence with which he condemns the emperor's decision to allow a barbarian such an honor. When we read this text in tandem with al-Azdī's story of Mu'ādh b. Jabal's meeting with the council of Roman nobles and what that meeting was assumed to represent to such a man as Mu'ādh, it would seem

⁶¹ See, for example, al-Azdī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, ed. 'Āmir, 116, where Mu'ādh b. Jabal explains explicitly that God, through Muḥammad, induced a loathing of the present world and forbidden covetousness of those things that are in it. See also Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Kitāb futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 65, where Roman envoys report back to the bishop of Alexandria and acting governor of Egypt that the Muslim invaders they have visited desire death more than life, humility more than prominence, and care nothing for the present world or what is in it.

⁶² See Humphreys, *Islamic History*, chap. 3.

that al-Azdī, writing in the eighth century but presumably working with much older sources, understood quite well the role that such meetings played in Roman diplomatic practice with troublesome Arabs.⁶³

Nor does it seem a mere coincidence that in the context of Muslim accounts of meetings between Roman and Persian officials and Muslim warriors, the imperial officials are often made to refer in concise and rather accurate ways to the history of relations between the Romans and the Arab peoples.⁶⁴ In the Roman general Bāhān's conference with Khālīd b. al-Walīd as it appears in al-Azdī's history, for example, Bāhān makes reference to the long history of what he styles as traditional Roman generosity to the Arabs. He recalls, for example, that the Romans long had Arab "neighbors" whom they allowed to settle in Roman territory and with whom they scrupulously maintained their treaty obligations and kept faith in all things. He then expresses dismay that any Arab would attack the Roman Empire—he would have thought, he explains, that the empire's kindness to its Arab neighbors would incite the admiration and loyalty even of "those Arabs who are not our neighbors."⁶⁵

The Romans did indeed enjoy long and valuable relations with Arab tribes and tribal confederations. In the version of Bāhān and Khālīd's dialogue that he includes in his own history of the conquests, for example, Ibn A'tham identifies the Arabs to whom Bāhān refers here as the tribal confederation of Ghassān, which was to become the Roman Empire's counter to the Persian Arab ally the Lakhmid confederation.⁶⁶ To understand the true significance of Bāhān's reference to these relationships, however, it is necessary to understand that reference within the context of Bāhān's meeting with Khālīd, and within the history of Rome's relationship with the Arabs as it was recalled within the evolving Islamic metanarrative in accordance with which al-Azdī shaped his history. In al-Azdī's text, Bāhān's narrative of the history of Roman-Arab relations is situated within a larger and multifaceted campaign undertaken by Bāhān to draw Khālīd into cooperation with the Romans, and at each turn this campaign hinges upon offers of gifts and friendship. Khālīd is not fooled, however, and while acknowledging the past benefactions of the Romans with regard to their Arab neighbors, he observes that this was all done to benefit the Roman Empire and to further its worldly aims. "For," he asks, "did you not think a third of them or half of [the Arabs] would take up with you in your religion and they would fight with you?"⁶⁷

⁶³ It would seem that personal meetings with highly placed imperial officials were understood by Roman writers as a source of valued capital for nomad allies other than the Arabs as well. See, for example, Zachariah, *Chronicle*, 7.3, in E.W. Brooks, ed., *Historia Ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta* (Paris, 1919–1924); trans. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, *The Syriac Chronicle* (London, 1899), 151–152.

⁶⁴ See, for example, al-Azdī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, ed. 'Āmir, 202–205; Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, 1:195–199, 242–243; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. al-'Amrawī and Shīrī, 2:81–82; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:2275–2277, 2280–2285, 2352–2353; trans. Friedmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 12:71–73, 76–81, 137–138; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Kutāb futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 66.

⁶⁵ Al-Azdī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, ed. 'Āmir, 202.

⁶⁶ Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, 1:244.

⁶⁷ Al-Azdī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, ed. 'Āmir, 204.

FROM THE THIRD/NINTH-CENTURY MUSLIM AUTHOR Ibn Hishām's collection of pre-Islamic Arabian tribal lore, we get a vivid illustration of the way in which early Muslims would likely have understood the sort of imperial clientage to which Khālīd is invited in al-Azdī's text. According to Ibn Hishām (d. 834), whose work depended upon much earlier sources, the relationship between the mighty Arab tribal group called Ghassān and Rome began with Ghassān's desire to escape hard living and conflict, and to live in peace and quiet in the lands of Caesar. To this end, they convinced the Roman client tribe of Salīḥ to vouch for them with the emperor. They were accepted, and took up residence in Syria as "neighbors with Salīḥ in a most beautiful area."⁶⁸

Soon, however, Ghassān learned that residence in Roman lands meant paying Roman taxes. This revelation came during the visit of an imperial tax collector to their new home area. He is recalled as a man who was "hard on [Ghassān] and hard to bear," a strutting and abrasive man whose manner was peremptory and whose methods were crude.⁶⁹ He is described as making his way among the proud Ghassānid warriors, demanding one *dīnār* from each of them. Finally he came to one elderly man who explained that he did not have the required tax, but offered his sword as a hostage until he could come up with the money. The tax collector responded to this offer by suggesting that the old man perform with his sword what would have been an uncomfortable and unhygienic act. When the man's fellow tribesmen explained to him what the Roman had said, the old warrior struck the Roman official on the head with this sword, drawing blood.⁷⁰

War with the Romans ensued. The central tragedy of this conflict, as it is described in Ibn Hishām's text, was that it pitted two kindred Arab peoples against one another. Ordered into the field against Ghassān by their Roman imperial masters, the people of Salīḥ lamented, "We are betraying our brothers and they have sought asylum with us, and we see only good in them." A comment attributed to one of the men of Salīḥ captures the dilemma that he and his tribesmen faced. "You are between two paths," he said. "On the one hand is Caesar, and on the other is Ghassān. So let your bodies be with Caesar, but let your hearts be with Ghassān." Accordingly, Arab unwillingly fought Arab on Rome's behalf. In the ensuing battle, the skulls of those slain by Ghassān were said to litter the ground like so many ostrich eggs.⁷¹

This, in the opinion of our early Muslim sources, was one cost of accepting Roman beneficence. But there were also other, more profound prices to be paid for the

⁶⁸ 'Abd al-Malik b. Hishām, *Kitāb al-tījān fī mulūk Ḥimyar*, ed. F. Krenkow (1928; repr., Sa'nā', 1979), 294. For Salīḥ, see, with due caution, Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 220, 242–244, 282–288, 301–306, 507–509.

⁶⁹ Irfan Shahīd, following Ibn Ḥabībī (d. 245/860), identifies the tax collector as a man of Salīḥ who was empowered by the Romans to perform this duty. See Muḥammad b. Ḥabībī, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstadter (Hyderabad, 1942), 370–371. Shahīd also suggests that the third/ninth-century Arab author al-Ya'qūbī supports the notion that this man was a Salīḥid tax collector authorized by the Romans; *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 285 n. 264. In my reading, however, al-Ya'qūbī refers to the man whom the old Ghassānid struck as "a man from the companions of the king of the Romans [*raḡul min aṣḥāb malik al-Rūm*]" rather than specifically identifying him as a man of Salīḥ. See al-Ya'qūbī, *al-Ta'rikh*, in M. Th. Houtsma, ed., *Ibn-Wādhīh qui Dicitur al-Ja'qubī, Historiae*, 2 vols. (1883; repr., Leiden, 1969), 1:235. For Shahīd's interpretation of the falling-out between Salīḥ and Ghassān, see his *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 282–289.

⁷⁰ Ibn Hishām, *al-Tījān fī mulūk Ḥimyar*, ed. Krenkow, 294–295.

⁷¹ Ibid., 297–300.

acceptance of Roman and Persian imperial largess. To accept the gifts of the Romans or Persians had been to submit to the terrestrial order for which those two empires were universally legible emblems. This, at least, was the contention set forth in the texts of many early Muslim authors, and it was hardly a suggestion with which the Romans would have disagreed. Indeed, the diplomatic strategies deployed by the Roman Empire with regard to the nomadic peoples on its frontiers, and particularly the Arabs, had, by the seventh century, long depended upon rituals of gift exchange as a means of domesticating threatening nomadic groups and binding them to the imperial agenda of the Roman state. The Roman relationship with Ghassān, for example, was recalled by the Romans to have been cemented by means of the bestowal of the title “King of the Arabs” by Justinian upon one Ḥārith, a Ghassānid chieftain.⁷² From the point of view of early Muslim authors, however, Arabs who entered into such exchanges made themselves subject to the will of the great imperial powers of late antiquity, often to their great peril.

An incident described in Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī’s third/ninth-century *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Book of Songs) provides an intriguing illustration. Among the figures we know to have been involved in pre-Islamic political relations between the Arabs and the imperial powers of late antiquity is ‘Adī b. Zayd, a Christian poet and ambassador native to the Arab cultural center of al-Ḥīra. Abū l-Faraj’s *Kitāb al-aghānī* contains an account of the effort of the Persian shah Kīsrā (presumably Hormizd IV, son of Khusraw I, who ruled from 579 to 590) to find a new “King of the Arabs,” a project in which he enlisted the aid of ‘Adī b. Zayd.⁷³

When the head of the Lakhmid tribal confederation, al-Mundhir IV, died around 580, he left behind a number of sons, all of whom seem to have been contenders for rulership among the Arabs of Kīsrā’s realm. When the King of Kings’ initial efforts to find a suitable successor to al-Mundhir failed, the shah turned to ‘Adī b. Zayd and asked him, “Who remains of the family of al-Mundhir? And is there any one of them with any good in him?” ‘Adī replied that there were several sons of al-Mundhir left, and that there was good in all of them. ‘Adī then summoned the sons of al-Mundhir to meet with the shah, so that he might choose a new ruler of the Arabs in his domain.⁷⁴

‘Adī now acted as a broker of both political power and cultural taste. He met with the candidates for power one by one, and instructed them in the proper mode of comportment for their meeting with the shah. He advised them to wear their most splendid garments when they met with the king, and to eat modestly in his presence. When asked if they could control the Arabs on the king’s behalf, they should say yes, all except their own brothers.⁷⁵

⁷² Procopius, *Wars*, 1.17.47–48. This was done, Procopius says, to no immediate effect, as a means of countering the strength and successes of al-Mundhir, a Lakhmid ally of the Persians.

⁷³ Abū l-Faraj, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 2:104–107. A version of this story that lacks the element of ‘Adī’s advice to the competing candidates on their self-presentation with regard to their dress and table manners is included in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:1016–1019; trans. C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5: *The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and the Yemen* (Albany, N.Y., 1999), 338–345. See particularly Bosworth’s copious and very helpful notes. On Abū l-Faraj and his work, see Hilary Kilpatrick, *Making the Great Book of Songs: Compilation and the Author’s Craft in Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī’s Kitāb al-aghānī* (London, 2003).

⁷⁴ Abū l-Faraj, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 2:105; al-Ya’qūbī, *al-Tārīkh*, ed. Houtsma, 1:241–242.

⁷⁵ Abū l-Faraj, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 2:105.

Finally, however, ʿAdī met with a man named al-Nuʿmān and told him confidentially that he would support no other than him for sovereignty over the Arabs. Then ʿAdī gave al-Nuʿmān very different advice from that which he had given al-Nuʿmān's kinsmen about their meeting with Kisrā:

Wear riding clothes, and gird yourself with your sword. When you sit down to eat, make your mouthfuls large, and chew and swallow rapidly, and then take more food and act hungry after that. For copious eating as a special quality of the Arabs pleases Kisrā, and he believes that there is no good in an Arab who does not eat ravenously . . . And when he asks you, "Can you protect me from the Arabs?" say, "Yes." And when he says to you, "And [what about] your brothers?" say, "If I am weak with them, then surely I will be weak with other than them."⁷⁶

Al-Nuʿmān followed ʿAdī's advice, and Kisrā made him king, giving him a crown of gold bedecked with pearls. Later, however, ʿAdī was imprisoned and killed when the patron of one of those whom he had deceived with his advice arranged a falling-out between the poet and the new king. The patron did so, significantly, by initiating a gift exchange with the king by which he eventually gained ascendancy among the nobles of the realm. Finally, the vengeful patron incited the new king, al-Nuʿmān—who owed his position to ʿAdī b. Zayd's loyalty and support—to put his benefactor to death.⁷⁷

To be sure, interventions in imperial politics were always potentially perilous for the Arabs, and often involved great sacrifice. Think, for example, of the sadness with which the dilemma of Salīḥ was recalled when its members were forced to fight against their Ghassānid brothers on Rome's behalf, and in the end to leave the skulls of many of their sons strewn gleaming and vulnerable in the dirt. Indeed, those Arabs who accepted the gifts and friendship of the Romans or the Persians would very likely find themselves, like Ghassān and Salīḥ, set Arab against Arab in service of one or the other of the late ancient empires. Similarly, those whose souls coveted the power and prestige that the Romans or Persians held forth as enticements would find themselves pitted brother against brother like the sons of al-Mundhir, or crushed in the machinery of imperial politics like ʿAdī b. Zayd, whose erstwhile client al-Nuʿmān would also eventually fall victim to Arab-on-Arab rivalry and imperial caprice.⁷⁸

Nor should we forget that in order to gain ascendancy over his brothers, al-Nuʿmān had been required to demean himself by playing the barbarous Arab before the Persian king, performing for Kisrā in accordance with the shah's ethnographic expectations concerning "the Arab." Nor again did this sort of humiliation end with al-Nuʿmān's ascendancy. Even after he became king, we are told that al-Nuʿmān was obliged to listen as Kisrā described the Arabs as filthy, despicable, and barbarous.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Ibid. Cf. Procopius, *Wars*, 1.19.8–16, where Procopius describes another sixth-century series of gift exchanges between the emperor Justinian and a group of frontier Arabs that resulted in an alliance between Rome and a band of Bedouin warriors. The Arab was appealing to Justinian, Procopius says, because "to the barbarians he ruled and to the enemy [he] seemed a man to be feared."

⁷⁷ Abū l-Faraj, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 2:118–121; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:1012–1024; trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 5:333–352. See Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden in al-Ḥira*, 109–114.

⁷⁸ See Abū l-Faraj, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 2:119–125; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:1024–1029; trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 5:351–359. See also Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden in al-Ḥira*, 114–119, especially Rothstein's bleak conclusion regarding the downfall of al-Nuʿmān for the fortunes of the Lakhmids: "Der Sturz Nuʿman's bedeute den Sturz der Dynastie."

⁷⁹ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rabbih, *Kitāb al-ʿiqd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amin, Aḥmad al-Zayn,

Kisrā made this pronouncement before a gathering of Indian and Roman ambassadors; after praising the qualities of the nations of the other dignitaries, the King of Kings told his visitors, “I see nothing good among the Arabs in matters of religion or the present world.” The Arabs, he continued, were weak, shiftless, animal-like, insignificant, incapable of hospitality, eaters of camel meat—which even beasts of prey found loathsome—and given to killing their own children out of poverty.⁸⁰

ALL OF THIS ALLOWS US A DETAILED SENSE OF WHAT, for early Muslim authors, the rejection of Roman offers of friendship or Persian attempts at gift-giving betokened in the texts of al-Azdī, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Aʿtham, and others. Such refusals subverted the humiliation, dependency, and weakness that the pre-Islamic Arabs endured before the power of the Roman and Persian empires. Acts such as gift-giving and exchanges of capital with imperial agents were, from the point of view of such authors, practices that supported the late antique structures of power that had so long subjugated and abased the Arabs. It was these structures, moreover, that Islam had come to overturn. Not only had Muḥammad’s revelation undone the power elite in Arabia, it had also undone the imperial arrangements that gave contour to the operations of Roman and Persian power from one horizon to the other. Culturally and politically, the empires had exuded a deadly gravitational pull upon the lives and imaginations of those who resided on their peripheries. This dynamic functioned through the medium of gift exchange. From the point of view of early Muslim and late Roman authors, it was gift exchange that drew the Arabs into the embrace (and so the control) of the imperial powers.

The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has suggested that such exchanges are of particular utility when they are undertaken by individuals or institutions that have an agenda but lack the means to force the acceptance of that agenda from those whose cooperation it requires.⁸¹ In such cases, the exchange of gifts builds ties of obligation between giver and acceptor, setting in place what Bourdieu calls a “gentle violence” through which actors with no means of physical coercion can induce cooperation with their agenda.⁸² In the case of the pre-Islamic Arabs, gifts bestowed by the imperial powers of late antiquity, whether in the form of material goods or the prestige associated with honors derived from imperial ceremonies or titles, became a highly valued form of capital among the Arabs themselves, and seem to have played an important role in Arab social and political hierarchies.

and Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, 7 vols. (1940; repr., Cairo, 1968), 2:4–5. El Cheikh notes that this text must be understood as a product of the *Shuʿūbiyya* controversies of the second/eighth and third/tenth centuries; *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*, 111.

⁸⁰ Ibn ʿAbd al-Rabbih, *Kitāb al-iqd al-farīd*, ed. Amin et al., 2:4–5. On the issue of the repulsiveness of camel meat to “civilized” peoples, see Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 9.29, ed. and trans. Chabot, 2:246–248 (French), 4:311–312 (Syriac), where the non-Chalcedonian (Monophysite) Ghassānid chief-tain al-Hārith has camel meat set before Ephrem, the Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch (whom Michael calls “the Jew”), as a means of making the bishop understand why al-Hārith will not take communion with the Chalcedonian “heretics.” Cited by Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain*, 142–143.

⁸¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977; repr., Cambridge, 1999), 191–197. On the function of gift exchanges in a slightly later era, see Anthony Cutler, “Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and Related Economies,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001): 247–278.

⁸² Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 192–193.

The effect of this exchange, however, was that those who accepted these gifts and those who gave them were bound through ties of obligation; the imperial powers took on a crucial role in Arab economies of prestige and power, and the Arabs themselves were accordingly bound to the imperial agendas of those entities through the double imperative of personal ambition and patron-client obligations. This did not always work to the advantage of the imperial powers; think, for example, of the Arab tribesmen who looked upon the gifts they took from the emperor Justinian as payoffs, while the Romans insisted that they had been part of an exchange between the emperor and the "leaderless" nomads of the desert. Despite this, however, it is clear from our Roman and Arab sources that these gift exchanges were the foundational element for Roman-Arab relations over the space of centuries, and that the point of these relations was that the Arabs should serve the agenda of their imperial masters.

In this sense, the hold the imperial entities enjoyed over their Arab clients was one that resided finally in the hearts of those Arab tribesmen; it did its work in the double register of worldly ambition and dependent clientage. It was through the bonds represented and preserved by the process of gift exchange that pre-Islamic Arabs had been bound to the history of the late ancient world. With the advent of Islam, however, the role of the Arabs in this world changed profoundly. Now, although they were still taken for Bedouin raiders by the agents of the imperial powers, the Arab Muslims in many ways mimicked and then supplanted the monotheistic Romans as the one community of God upon the Earth. The imperial arrogance that blinded the Romans to the true character of the Muslim Arabs became the shroud in which the old order was wrapped and then buried.

The token of this change in early Muslim narratives of the *futūḥ* was the refusal of Arab warriors to extend their hands and accept from the Romans or the Persians the hollow honors and lying trinkets upon which the old economy of power had depended. Khālid could now give away his tent to the Roman general Bāhān, but would take nothing in return; Mu'ādh no longer saw anything to be desired from an audience with the great men of the Romans. In text after text, early Muslim authors narrated such refusals, always framing battlefield victories with such performed signals of the changes wrought by Muḥammad and his revelation in the invisible terrain of his followers' hearts. So narrated, it was the poor and pious Muslim warrior's refusal, and not his sword, that signaled for early Muslim authors and readers the significance and implications of Islam's emergence.

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Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship, and State Formation in Early Modern England

PHIL WITHINGTON

IN JUNE 1638, WILLIAM ABELL, a citizen and alderman of London and also Master of the Company of London Vintners, struck a deal in the office of the King's Attorney. When Abell entered the office, the Vintners' Company was a self-governing body of tradesmen which, by right of its ancient and chartered privileges, was responsible for all aspects of retailing wine in London. By the time he left, Abell had used the common seal of the company to sign a four-part indenture, or contract, which transformed the Vintners into a royal monopoly.¹ Any powers or profits relating to the retail of wine were now part of a "farm" that the company was to purchase from courtiers of Charles I for an annual fee of £37,000.² The distinction between corporate self-governance and royal monopoly carried immense significance for seventeenth-century English men and women, and once Charles I was forced to call the infamous Long Parliament in 1640, the wine farm came under close public scrutiny.³ This involved interrogation by parliamentary committee as England's elected representatives sought to establish why and by whom the monopoly had been authorized. More unusually, it also involved arbitration by the "public" as the warring citizens and freemen of the company resorted to the printing press in order to exonerate and blame each other.

This scenario introduces a concern that has largely escaped historiographical attention: the relationship between public discourse and corporate citizenship in early modern England. The printed pamphlets disputing the wine monopoly between 1640 and 1642 all stressed the discursive basis of corporate governance and decision-making.⁴ Abell and his supporters asserted that the deal struck in 1638 was the culmination of two years of public debate and discussion within the company, that it had been sanctioned by a full vote of assembly, and that his use of the common seal

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¹ London Guildhall Library [hereafter GL], MS15, 201, 3, f. 169.

² For a clear discussion of the financial arrangements, see Anne Crawford, *A History of the Vintners' Company* (London, 1977), 121.

³ Catherine Patterson, "Quo Warranto and Borough Corporations in Early Stuart England: Royal Prerogative and Local Privileges in the Central Courts," *English Historical Review* 120 (2005): 894–895; Crawford, *A History of the Vintners' Company*, 124–125.

⁴ For an example of this neglect, see Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800* (Oxford, 2000). The Vintners' discussions on the issue can be found in GL, MS15, 201, 3, ff. 143, 145, 146, 147, 149, 154, 155, 157, 158, 161, 163, 164, 166, 169, 172.

to sign the indenture was therefore entirely authorized.⁵ His opponents, who claimed to speak for the majority of the Vintners, begged to differ. They argued that Abell had secured the company's consent only through sustained and strategic discursive violence, undermining the conversational conventions through which decisions relating to the public good of the company were traditionally made.⁶ This alleged bullying was based on "two sorts of argument"—"many promises and persuasions" and "divers and fearful threatenings"—that contravened basic rules of civility and counsel. Moreover,

As anyone spoke in dislike of [the project], the Alderman [Abell] retorted most bitter words, frowns and sharp rebukes (able to daunt a weak spirit) causing to be put apart, and not permitting him any further liberty of speech, telling them that when he was a young man they durst not speak so saucily, or oppose the Master and Wardens; for if they did, they should be sent away by an Officer to prison.⁷

Not only had Abell robbed the Vintners of their corporate powers and privileges—the legal basis of their citizenship—but he had done so by subverting the very discursive practices upon which that citizenship rested. It was in the face of this double emasculation that the Vintners now took the opportunity of the national political crisis to reclaim their civic credentials and voice. This they did by turning to the printed public sphere. Indeed, by 1642, none other than Henry Parker, the most eminent of parliamentary pamphleteers, was employing his expansive rhetorical skills to defend the Vintners' "own Reputations to the world."⁸ Even as they were robbed of one forum in which to act and talk publicly, they used the medium of print to forge another.

The discursive sophistication demonstrated by the London Vintners was no accident. Rather, it reflected the skills and aptitudes of citizens more generally—not merely in London, but across the incorporated cities and boroughs of England. As this suggests, "citizen" is meant here in the medieval sense of the term, to denote householders who joined and participated in corporate communities. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, corporate "bodies"—guilds and companies such as the London Vintners, and also the incorporated cities and towns such as York and Cambridge—provided a framework, or structure, for continuous and systematic public activity by their citizens. Indeed, in the course of the sixteenth century, this corporate citizenship was infused and enthused by Renaissance notions of public service, participation, and activity: citizenship in a more general, civic-humanist sense of the term. This, in turn, was a product of the developing state—or what early modern people termed a commonwealth—and the way its influence worked downward upon and within communities. Viewed in these terms, the story of early modern state formation is as much about the creation of citizens defined by their capacity for public activity as it is about the centralization of functions conventionally associated with modern polities: war, taxation, and bureaucracy. Central to such cit-

⁵ *A True Discovery of the Projectors of the Wine Project* (London, 1641).

⁶ *A True Relation of the Proposing, Threatening and Persuading the Vintners to Yield to the Imposition upon Wines* (London, 1641).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 3, 5.

⁸ Henry Parker, *Vintners' Answer to Some Scandalous Pamphlets, Published (as is supposed) by Richard Kilvert* (London, 1642).

izenship were discussion and debate and the adaptation of requisite conventions and attributes, most notably civility. These skills were learned and used in the context of traditional communities such as incorporated guilds and towns, where corporate citizenship intersected with the ideals of civic humanism to create a new kind of urban political culture. Public participation in this incorporated commonwealth was middling in its social composition and significantly broader than the eighteenth-century “bourgeois public sphere,” which it predated. Moreover, its discursive conventions and institutional structures anticipated in complex ways the institutions often (erroneously) assumed to have first structured public discourse for the middle classes—most notably the “press” and “town” of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This earlier story of discursive activity enables continuities with subsequent theories and practices of public discourse to be recognized. In particular, it demands engagement with Jürgen Habermas’s idea of the “bourgeois public sphere” and its “belated adoption” in English historiography.⁹ Habermas was the first to conceptualize for historians the communicative basis of politics and to consider “the public” in the context of social, cultural, and economic processes. He also suggested that it was in England that the bourgeois public sphere first emerged. As Keith Michael Baker wilyly observes, Britain is Habermas’s “model case”; “France appears (with Germany) only as one of the ‘continental variants.’”¹⁰ More pertinently, Habermas regarded this discursive precocity as “a problem not yet resolved.”¹¹ While his conceptualization of the public sphere may have been misleading, he was astute in noting the English penchant for public discussion. One explanation for this discursive aptitude is the conversational aptitude and public consciousness demanded by the early modern commonwealth: that what might be termed a “civic public sphere” was an antecedent and facilitator for the formation of subsequent publics.

Habermas offers a further theoretical challenge, in that by providing historians with the conceptual tools to fathom “our subjects and their history,” he also encourages them to invert the relationship between critical theory and historical empiricism.¹² As John B. Thompson notes, it is Habermas’s use of the past that allows him to “recast” the “ideas of his intellectual progenitors” and enhance his own critical authority over the present.¹³ The very instrumentalism of this technique nevertheless invites historians to engage “with our contemporary public culture” on a critical basis.¹⁴ This is the more so because Habermas’s historicism is fundamental to the process of recasting—the very crucible upon which “the normative category

⁹ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, 1989); Anne Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004), 410.

¹⁰ Keith Michael Baker, “Defining the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France: Variations on a Theme by Habermas,” in Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 189.

¹¹ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 57.

¹² Craig Calhoun, “Habermas and the Public Sphere,” in Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 41; Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603–1660* (Cambridge, 2002), 18.

¹³ John B. Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), 109.

¹⁴ Lloyd Kramer, “Habermas, History and Critical Theory,” in Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 257.

for political critique," against which he judges modern culture, is forged.¹⁵ Thus, the historical veracity of the bourgeois public sphere matters from a contemporary as well as antiquarian perspective.

An additional concern from an early modern perspective is that Habermas uses the onset of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century to forge this critical paradigm. He does so with a historical specificity that belies the normative quality of the bourgeois public sphere that supposedly was discovered. Although embodying the universal aspiration of "communicatively generated rationality," Habermas insists that the bourgeois public sphere cannot be abstracted, transferred, or generalized "to any number of historical situations that represent formally similar constellations."¹⁶ The preceding two centuries are consequently condemned to a pre-modern silence.¹⁷ This enclosure of the "long eighteenth century" is common enough among historically minded cultural theorists.¹⁸ Foucault notes that the Enlightenment looms as "a set of events and complex historical processes . . . located at a certain point in the development of European societies"—at the onset, that is, of modernity.¹⁹ In the case of public discussion, however, Foucault and Habermas are both a century too late.

There is another concept of public discourse that is at once non-normative and resonant with early modern understandings of those terms, defined as the discussion of affairs of state in the presence—face-to-face or mediated—of others. It reflects sixteenth- and seventeenth-century understandings of public as "open, common, abroad"—in the presence of an audience (whether literal or metaphorical).²⁰ It incorporates the early modern sense of discourse as communication, or "confabulation," written or oral.²¹ And it emphasizes the political nature of such discussion, which is concerned with the actors, actions, institutions, languages, and policies relating to the exercise of public authority within any given community (local and national). The definition serves as a basic analytical category which nevertheless recognizes the wide variety of public discourse in the early modern period—in terms both of the theories, media, protagonists, settings, languages, and access informing and constituting it, and of the politics of its historical interpretation. The bourgeois public sphere—in which the rules, locations, and participants of certain kinds of political discussion were thought by Habermas to be configured in certain ways—is one such variation. Ethan Shagan's recent reconstruction of popular politics during the Reformation, which he defines as "the presence of ordinary, non-elite subjects as the audience for or interlocutors with a political action," can be regarded as an-

¹⁵ Peter U. Hohendahl, "Critical Theory, Public Sphere and Culture: Jürgen Habermas and His Critics," *New German Critique* 16 (1979): 92; Calhoun, "Habermas and the Public Sphere," 39, 29, 10.

¹⁶ Rick Roderick, *Habermas and the Foundations of Critical Theory* (Basingstoke, 1986), 43; Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, xvii. The (ahistorical) philosophical agenda is clearly enunciated in Jürgen Habermas, "The Public Sphere," *New German Critique* 3 (1974): 49.

¹⁷ Geoff Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century," in Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 290.

¹⁸ Geoff Eley notes the similarities between Habermas and Raymond Williams in this and other respects; *ibid.*, 294. Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950* (London, 1958).

¹⁹ Michel Foucault, "What Is Enlightenment?" in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (Harmondsworth, 1984), 43.

²⁰ John Bullock, *An English Expositor: Teaching the Interpretation of the Hardest Words in Our Language* (London, 1616); Edward Phillips, *New World of Words* (London, 1695).

²¹ Bullock, *English Expositor* (London, 1667); Phillips, *New World of Words* (London, 1658).

other.²² But the civic public sphere is also important: the modes of discourse and activity associated with corporate governance and citizenship.

There is a crucial aspect of Habermas's account that has largely been neglected by his critics: namely the depiction of the rise of the bourgeois town at the expense of the corporate citizens (known as "freemen," "burgesses," or "citizens" in England) inhabiting medieval boroughs and cities. These groups were particularly crucial to early modern state formation and the dissemination of civic humanist notions of citizenship—processes that must make us reconsider the bourgeois public sphere and the institutions that supposedly structured it. The travails of the Vintners' Company dramatically illuminate the relationship between civic and printed public discourse. Rather than superseding the civic public sphere at some stage during the seventeenth century, alternative modes of public discourse developed alongside and even under the auspices of corporate citizenship.

THE STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE identifies a period in European history when private people (in effect, propertied men) publicly discussed political matters rationally, freely, and disinterestedly—like citizens "of the fully developed Greek city state."²³ This classical ideal was closest to fulfillment with the bourgeois public sphere that emerged first in England, then in France and Germany, in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁴ It was nevertheless distinguished from the classical ideal in important respects.²⁵ The first was the emergence of the modern state: what Habermas terms the sphere of public authority, distinct from the "personal holdings" or "estate" of the "prince." The state consisted of "a *permanent* administration and a *standing* army."²⁶ The inhabitants "subject to it" and "only negatively defined by it" were "the private people who, because they held no office, were excluded from any share of public authority."²⁷ This was accompanied by the emergence of civil society, an economic process involving the removal of economic activity from the medieval household economy into "a commodity market that had expanded under public direction and supervision."²⁸ The development of civil society coincided with the consolidation of "the conjugal family's intimate domain." This realm of affection and privacy was the primary source of private experiences and subjectivity governing the public use of reason.²⁹

The bourgeois public sphere emerged between the realm of public (state) authority and the private realms of civil society and domestic intimacy.³⁰ It was structured by two developments (one literary, one associational): newspapers, periodicals, journals, and other outputs of the press; and coffeehouses, clubs, salons, and

²² Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), 19.

²³ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 3–4. Useful summaries of the thesis include Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture*, 109–121; Calhoun, "Habermas and the Public Sphere," 1–29.

²⁴ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 58; Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture*, 111.

²⁵ Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture*, 110; Calhoun, "Habermas and the Public Sphere," 6–7.

²⁶ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 17–18. Emphasis in the original.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 19–20; Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture*, 110.

²⁹ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 28–29.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 30, 27.

other places of the town.³¹ Although initially “bound up with aristocratic society,” the town was essentially “the preserve of the ‘bourgeois,’ the real carrier of the public, which from the outset was a reading public.”³² It included the “new category of scholars,” such as lawyers and clergy, and “capitalists,” such as “merchants, bankers, entrepreneurs, and manufacturers.”³³ Before the press and town, monarchs and nobles represented their power and status publicly or negotiated privately with other estates; they did not allow public criticism or engage in public discourse. With the demise of the bourgeois public sphere through industrialization and mass consumerism, public life was effectively refeudalized, a process of degeneration that Habermas critiques through the discursive achievements of the bourgeois public sphere. These achievements included a “kind of social intercourse” replacing the “celebration of rank with a tact befitting equals,” the potential discussion of all topics “of common concern,” and the establishment of the “public” as “in principle inclusive” (no matter the exclusions of any given instance).³⁴

Historians of early modern England have engaged with this narrative in one of three ways. The first has been to use Habermas as “a crucial starting point of research” while avoiding his “idealism,” “teleology,” and “tedious and misleading game” of collecting or discarding phenomena according to “his criteria of publicness, rationality or criticism.”³⁵ Michelle O’Callaghan has noted “a plurality of political languages that are located in and arise out of the practices of a number of different communities . . . jostling for public space in the early seventeenth-century.”³⁶ Religious historians such as Peter Lake and Michael Questier have backdated this plurality further, arguing that the impact of post-Reformation religious debate was to construct the public in at least three ways: as an audience to convince, as a concept of legitimacy (whereby sectarian interest was re-described as “public interest”), and as an arbiter of truth.³⁷ The list of these early modern publics, and the variety of their protagonists, languages, genres, and concerns, is long—so much so that Lake and Questier have coined the “de-Habermased notion of the public sphere” to describe public discussion in the period.³⁸

Historians of the English Revolution have been more explicit in refuting the model, showing that the 1640s witnessed an astonishing increase in the market for political literature as well as the emergence of parties intent on representing, influencing, and claiming public opinion and public interest.³⁹ Just as new media, such as newsbooks, were developed, so traditional genres, including almanacs and ballads,

³¹ Ibid., 23, 30–43.

³² Ibid., 43, 23.

³³ Ibid., 23.

³⁴ Ibid., 36–37.

³⁵ Bellamy, *The Politics of Court Scandal*, 18.

³⁶ Michelle O’Callaghan, “‘Now thou may’st speak freely’: Entering the Public Sphere in 1614,” in Stephen Clucas and Rosalind Davies, eds., *The Crisis of 1614 and the Addled Parliament: Literary and Historical Perspectives* (Aldershot, 2003), 74–75.

³⁷ Peter Lake and Michael Questier, “Puritans, Papists and the ‘Public Sphere’ in Early Modern England: The Edmond Campion Affair in Context,” *Journal of Modern History* 72 (2000): 589–590.

³⁸ Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven, Conn., 2002), 324; Ian Atherton, “The Press and Popular Political Opinion,” in Barry Coward, ed., *A Companion to Stuart Britain* (Oxford, 2003), 100.

³⁹ The full complexity of the situation is suggested in Hughes, *Gangraena*, 222–318; David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 174–175.

were appropriated for political purposes.⁴⁰ According to Joad Raymond, there developed a public sphere in print both distinct from the oral and scribal publics of previous decades and foreshadowing any developments that might have occurred in the later seventeenth century.⁴¹ Moreover, it was driven by factors antithetical to Habermas's model, not least religious heterodoxy and ideological instrumentalism.⁴² David Zaret argues that it was in the 1640s, not the 1690s, that "contending elites [first] used the medium of print to appeal to a mass audience, and activist members of that audience invoked the authority of opinion to lobby those elites."⁴³ Printed petitions and subscriptions made unprecedented demands on public reason and readers' judgment.⁴⁴ Zaret suggests that these new markets and tactics caused a fundamental shift from secrecy to public opinion insofar as normative expectations of political communication were concerned. Moreover, they were "practical developments" that "made it possible for Locke and subsequent philosophers to uphold democratic conceptions of political order that presuppose the existence, rationality, and normative authority of public opinion."⁴⁵

A third response to Habermas's model has been broad, if qualified, concurrence. Steven Pincus argues for the emergence of a Habermasian-type public sphere in the 1660s. Based on the coffeehouse, it was sociologically more inclusive than Habermas allowed in terms of class, gender, and party affiliation; moreover, its genesis lay not so much in the rise of the bourgeoisie as in "a taste for news that could not be suppressed." However, for Pincus there is little doubt that this public sphere marked a major discontinuity with the past, coffeehouses embodying the town and the public sphere that it structured.⁴⁶ Geoff Eley goes further, suggesting that in the eighteenth century, "voluntary association and associational life" became "the main medium for the definition of public commitments" for the bourgeois, and "voluntary association was in principle the logical form of bourgeois emancipation and bourgeois self-affirmation."⁴⁷ In particular, "the ideal and practice of association were explicitly hostile, by organisation and intent, to older practices of corporate organisation, which ascribed social place by hereditary and legal estate."⁴⁸

These various responses suggest that the bourgeois public sphere profoundly underestimates the public spaces of later-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Eng-

⁴⁰ Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford, 1996); Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs, 1500–1800* (London, 1979); Patrick Curry, *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England* (Princeton, N.J., 1989); Angela McShane Jones, "Rime and Reason: The Political World of the English Broadside Ballad, 1640–1689" (Ph.D. diss., University of Warwick, 2004).

⁴¹ Joad Raymond, "The Language of the Public: Print, Politics, and the Book Trade in 1614," in Clucas and Davies, *The Crisis of 1614 and the Addled Parliament*, 107; Raymond, "The Newspaper, Public Opinion, and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century," in Raymond, ed., *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London, 1999), 109–141.

⁴² Raymond, "The Newspaper, Public Opinion, and the Public Sphere," 128–129.

⁴³ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, 6–7, 10.

⁴⁴ Peter Lake, "Puritans, Popularity and Petitions: Local Politics in National Context, Cheshire, 1641," in Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust, and Peter Lake, eds., *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell* (Cambridge, 2002), 259–290; Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, chap. 8.

⁴⁵ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, 8, 9.

⁴⁶ Steve Pincus, "'Coffee Politicians Does Create': Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture," *Journal of Modern History* 67 (1995): 834, 811.

⁴⁷ Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures," 290, 294.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 296, 298–299.

land—a position emphatically endorsed by complementary work on the popular politics of the period.⁴⁹ That political culture was multifarious is clearly demonstrated by the English Revolution, which galvanized a print culture—a press broadly defined—at once penetrative, commercial, and partisan; which drew local antagonisms into a national framework; and which provided the essential context for public activity at the Restoration.⁵⁰ It likewise facilitated female political participation, women petitioning Parliament, writing and printing political literature, and engaging directly in public debate.⁵¹

At least three features of the Habermasian schema nevertheless remain unanswered. First, this literature fails to address in any systematic fashion precisely that aspect of Habermas's argument which appeals to Pincus and Eley: the sociology of public space and the emergence of an explicitly bourgeois public sphere after 1660. The multiplicity of early modern publics does not preclude the emergence of new forms of urban association such as the town. Second, much of the critical engagement with Habermas before the Restoration has focused on discourse as a literary activity, articulated within and through texts. It has much less to say about discourse as ways of talking and meeting—of physically interacting—or the social, economic, and ideological circumstances structuring such talk. However, much of the force of Habermas's account stems from the convergence of literary and associational culture as a context for discourse. Third, the essential humanism of Habermas's account is generally dismissed as idealism. However, David Norbrook has strongly argued that the model remains of historical interest precisely because of the "congruence between its own terms and those of seventeenth-century republicans." If, as he observes, Habermas was primarily concerned with "recovering the spirit of the classical forum and adapting it to modern conditions," then the early modern period was apposite for these purposes because certain people were engaged in exactly that project.⁵²

These three aspects of Habermas's approach—urban association, discourse as talk, and Renaissance humanism—are reasons to regard the bourgeois public sphere as an animal wounded, certainly, but not yet expired. However, it also transpires that

⁴⁹ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford, 2000), chaps. 6 and 7; Fox, "Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England," *Past & Present* 145 (1994): 47–83; Shagan, *Popular Politics*; Ethan Shagan, "Rumours and Popular Politics in the Reign of Henry VIII," in Tim Harris, ed., *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500–1800* (Aldershot, 2001); John Walter, *Understanding Popular Violence in the English Revolution: The Colchester Plunderers* (Cambridge, 1999), esp. chap. 7; Andy Wood, *The Politics of Social Conflict: The Peak Country, 1520–1770* (Cambridge, 1999), esp. chap. 11; Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2002).

⁵⁰ The impact is demonstrated by Walter, *Understanding Popular Violence*, esp. chap. 8. See also the suggestive comments in Keith Wrightson, "Sorts of People in Tudor and Stuart England," in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks, eds., *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke, 1994), 44, 48–49. For some of the Revolution's discursive consequences, see Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2005), esp. 48–53.

⁵¹ Ann Hughes, "Gender and Politics in Leveller Literature," in Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky, eds., *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in England: Essays Presented to David Underdown* (Manchester, 1995), 162–188; Marcus Nevitt, "Women in the Business of Revolutionary News: Elizabeth Alkin, 'Parliament Joan,' and the Commonwealth Newsbook," in Raymond, *News, Newspapers, and Society*, 84–109.

⁵² David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627–1660* (Cambridge, 1999), 13. See also Sharon Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 3.

they were defining attributes of the corporate citizenship that the “bourgeois public sphere” supposedly eclipsed.

ELEY’S CONTRAST BETWEEN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION and “older practices of corporate organisation” highlights a crucial and largely neglected feature of the bourgeois public sphere. Habermas regarded the town—the new institutions of urban sociability structuring the bourgeois public sphere—as replacing the guilds and common councils that shaped the corporate life of “genuine burghers, the old occupational orders of craftsmen and shopkeepers” of traditional medieval cities: companies, in effect, like the London Vintners.⁵³ He cites Percy Ernst Schramm to note that “The feature that constituted the authentic townsman (*Burger*) is precisely what [the “bourgeois”] lacked, namely, membership in a town community confirmed by an oath of citizenship.”⁵⁴ The very factors that precipitated the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere—commercialization, state formation, the breakup of the household economy—caused their “downward social mobility; they lost their importance along with the very towns upon whose citizens’ rights their status was based.”⁵⁵

Until recently, there was nothing in this story of corporate decline and bourgeois insurgency to surprise historians of English towns and cities. On the contrary, it would have confirmed expectations.⁵⁶ However, more recently the story has begun to be retold.⁵⁷ Its retelling is part of a larger historical revisionism suggesting that a process of public and discursive change informed by classical precepts and embedded in social practice did, in fact, take place in early modern England. However, it cannot be pinpointed to a single year or decade. Nor is it to be found in the isolated analysis of publics created or invoked by religious controversy, tavern banter, tactical petitioning, print markets, English republicanism, or drinking coffee—important though each of those is. Rather, these moments and interactions must be understood in relation to longer-term developments within the English polity that hold implications not merely for the concept of the bourgeois public sphere but also for two of its structural handmaidens: public authority and civil society. The crux of the matter is that, unbeknownst to Habermas, the English monarchy was in no sense, shape, or form a fiscal-military state in 1500; and it did not resemble much of one two centuries later.⁵⁸ Rather, it was an amalgamation of jurisdictions, offices, privileges, communities, and corporations encompassing, often on semi-autonomous

⁵³ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 57, 23, 31.

⁵⁴ Percy Ernst Schramm, *Hamburg, Deutschland und die Welt* (Munich, 1943), 37, cited in Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 255 n. 53.

⁵⁵ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 19, 23.

⁵⁶ Peter Clark and Paul Slack, *English Towns in Transition, 1500–1700* (Oxford, 1976); Clark and Slack, “Introduction,” in Clark and Slack, eds., *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500–1700* (London, 1972). For the rise of the “town” after 1660, see Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford, 1990). The narrative is nicely put by Patrick Collinson, “The Protestant Town,” in Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988), 121.

⁵⁷ Robert Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political Culture, c.1540–1640* (Oxford, 1991), 335–343; Jonathan Barry, “Bourgeois Collectivism? Urban Association and the Middling Sort,” in Barry and Brooks, *The Middling Sort of People*, 84–113; Phil Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth: Citizens and Freemen in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2005).

⁵⁸ John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (London, 1994),

and competitive bases, a range of public participants, languages, and interests. This was as true for the summit of government, in London, as it was for the localities—England's principalities, counties, cities, boroughs, townships, parishes, and manors. As Patrick Collinson has influentially put it, "Early modern England consisted of a series of overlapping, superimposed communities which were also semi-autonomous, self-governing political cultures. These may be called, but always in quotes, 'republics': village republics; in the counties, gentry republics; and at a transcendent level, the commonwealth of England, which Sir Thomas Smith thought it proper to render in Latin a *Republica Anglorum*."⁵⁹

This commonwealth of Englishmen—what Collinson also describes as a "Monarchical Republic"—has received much recent attention from historians interested in the social depth of political power.⁶⁰ It has also attracted intellectual and literary historians concerned with the vernacularization and dissemination of Renaissance humanism.⁶¹ Together they have unearthed the convergence of two processes that transformed national and urban political culture in early modern England—though not in the manner envisaged by Habermas. First, the undoubted extension of centralized public authority in this period enhanced rather than diminished the power and corporate identity of officeholders within local communities. New methods of keeping the peace, serving on juries, regulating credit relations, or relieving the poor required, in practice, an unprecedented level of self-governance and discretion both personally and communally.⁶² Successful government required at once a persuasive center and participatory locales—or, as historians have shown, male heads of household from the middle and upper echelons of particular communities willing to take on the increasing burdens and responsibilities of public office for social rather than bureaucratic reasons.⁶³ Indeed, Mark Goldie has estimated that as late as 1700, about one-twentieth of adult males held public office in any year, one-half in any

chap. 1; David Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces, 1700–1870* (London, 1997), 17.

⁵⁹ Patrick Collinson, *De Republica Anglorum; or, History with the Politics Put Back* (Cambridge, 1990), reprinted in Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London, 1994), 19.

⁶⁰ Patrick Collinson, "The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 69 (1987): 394–424; Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays*; Keith Wrightson, "The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England," in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle, eds., *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1994); Mike Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550–1700* (Cambridge, 2000); Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c.1540–1640* (Basingstoke, 2000); Hindle, "Hierarchy and Community in the Elizabethan Parish: The Swallowfield Articles of 1596," *Historical Journal* 42 (1999): 835–851.

⁶¹ Mark Goldie, "The Unacknowledged Republic: Office-holding in Early Modern England," in Harris, *The Politics of the Excluded*, 153–194; Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1995); Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2004).

⁶² Steve Hindle, "The Keeping of the Public Peace," in Griffiths, Fox, and Hindle, *The Experience of Authority*, 213–249; Hindle, *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England, c.1550–1750* (Oxford, 2004); Cynthia Herrup, *The Common Peace: Participation and the Criminal Law in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1987); Craig Muldrew, "From a 'Light Cloak' to an 'Iron Cage': Historical Changes in the Relation between Community and Individualism," in Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington, eds., *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester, 2000), 156–179.

⁶³ For the process in rural society, see Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580–1680* (London, 1982), 222–228; Wrightson, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525–1700*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1995), 173–184. For urban officeholding, see Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991).

decade.⁶⁴ Second, during the sixteenth century, the predominant intellectual influence on the main brokers in public life—from councilors and lawyers in London to senior officeholders in counties, cities, and parishes—was Ciceronian humanism.⁶⁵ In England's cities and boroughs, not only was politics reconceived in terms of the active life and service to the public, the public good, and the commonwealth (local and national), but also many procedures and practices of local governance were recast in this language of vernacular civic humanism. This promoted the establishment within local commonwealths of cultures of civic aristocracy—in the Aristotelian sense of rule by the meritorious and “best” rather than by blood and inheritance.⁶⁶ It also valorized and inculcated a culture of civility or *honestas* among local inhabitants. These were personal attributes of “discretion,” “honesty,” “judgment,” “decorum,” and “moderation” by which people were supposed to converse with each other and order their domestic and public lives.⁶⁷

These twin processes of institutional realignment and vernacular humanism had implications across society. However, the experience was particularly intense in England's incorporated boroughs and cities, or what were also known as “city commonwealths.”⁶⁸ These were urban settlements with some kind of tradition of corporate governance and citizenship around which the public and economic lives of community members—freemen, burgesses, and citizens—were organized. They ranged in scale and complexity from the City of London and its companies and guilds (the Vintners' Company included), to provincial capitals such as Norwich, Bristol, and York, to county towns such as Gloucester and Cambridge, to smaller market towns such as Stratford-upon-Avon and Ludlow. As the English manifestation of those genuine burghers and occupational orders lamented by Habermas, they were communities that should have been in terminal decline. Instead, the century after 1540 saw their proliferation and formation into what might be regarded as an English corporate system.⁶⁹

This was a process whereby corporate citizenship became more rather than less

⁶⁴ Goldie, “The Unacknowledged Republic,” 161.

⁶⁵ Stephen Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558–1569* (Cambridge, 1998); Cathy Shrank, “Rhetorical Constructions of a National Community: The Role of the King's English in Mid-Tudor Writing,” in Shepard and Withington, *Communities in Early Modern England*, 180–199; Shrank, *Writing the Nation*, esp. chaps. 3 and 5; Jennifer Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge, 2003); Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government, 1572–1651* (Cambridge, 1993), chap. 1; Paul Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), chap. 1; Phil Withington, “Two Renaissances: Urban Political Culture in Post-Reformation England Reconsidered,” *Historical Journal* 44 (2001): 239–267.

⁶⁶ Christopher Brooks, “Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort, 1550–1800,” in Barry and Brooks, *The Middling Sort of People*, 52–84; Jonathan Barry, “Civility and Civic Culture in Early Modern England: The Meanings of Urban Freedom,” in Peter Burke, Brian Harrison, and Paul Slack, eds., *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford, 2000), 181–197; Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns*, 183–188; Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth*, 66–75.

⁶⁷ Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness*, 2–3; Barry, “Civility and Civic Culture,” 192–195; Brooks, “Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort,” 77; Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth*, 137–149.

⁶⁸ Thomas Wilson, *The State of England anno. Dom. 1600*, ed. F. J. Fisher (London, 1936), 20. For the survival of the concept into the later seventeenth century, see Robert Brady, *An Historical Treatise of Cities and Burghs, or Boroughs* (London, 1690), 2.

⁶⁹ Paul Slack, “Great and Good Towns, 1540–1700,” in Peter Clark, ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 2: 1540–1700 (Cambridge, 2000); Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth*, chap. 2.

significant within the commonwealth as a whole, and through which inhabitants of increasing numbers of city commonwealths claimed and exercised the powers and responsibilities of semi-autonomous governance. Its main mechanism was the charter of incorporation. This involved townsmen petitioning the crown for a legal charter that either recognized or created the corporate status of the settlement in question, and the crown standardizing the kinds of language, institutions, and practices through which that status was thenceforward constituted.⁷⁰ Incorporation perpetuated medieval concepts of political corporeality into the seventeenth century, the community of freemen, burgesses (in boroughs), and citizens (in cities) becoming a fictional person or body that could own property and be represented both at law and in Parliament. It prescribed a culture of civic aristocracy and *honestas* as the normative mode of urban governance—that is, by tiers of “common councils” in which the “discreet,” “better,” “able,” and “honest” members of the community were expected to assemble, counsel, and act according to their “wisdoms” and “discretions.” It retained and enhanced the economic powers of crafts and guilds—institutions that also inculcated *honestas*. And it transposed onto this culture of citizenship more general powers and responsibilities that were usually the preserve of county gentry. As a result of incorporation, for example, citizens and burgesses were largely responsible for their own magistracy, elected two representatives to Parliament, collected their own taxes (local and national), and, in larger cities such as London, Norwich, and York, expected to control their militia.⁷¹

It is significant, then, that in 1540 there were 44 incorporated cities and boroughs in England and 4 in Wales, compared to 35 “royal burghs” in Scotland (the Scottish equivalent). By 1640, this figure had risen to 181 in England, 14 in Wales, and 58 in Scotland. Not only had the number of English city commonwealths quadrupled, but it also outstripped the extent of corporate citizenship north of the border.⁷² In the process, between 1584 and 1641, the proportion of English parliamentary representation located in the corporate system—the number of parliamentary representatives elected by inhabitants of city commonwealths—rose from 35 percent to 52 percent, making corporate citizens the single largest constituency in the commonwealth.⁷³ As a process of state formation, this was clearly not one that made urban freemen and citizens private objects of impersonal and permanent public authority. Rather, it created subjects more than capable of talking and acting, as citizens, against the fiscal, bureaucratic, or military conceits of central authority and the paternalism of county and urbane gentry—a concern for “freedom” and “independence” that survived well into the eighteenth century.⁷⁴ Neither did it drown

⁷⁰ Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns*, 87–96, 161–176; Catherine F. Patterson, *Urban Patronage in Early Modern England: Corporate Boroughs, the Landed Elite, and the Crown, 1580–1640* (Stanford, Calif., 1999); Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth*, 8–12.

⁷¹ The most astute accounts of the process remain F. W. Maitland, *Township and Borough* (Cambridge, 1898); and Maitland and Mary Bateson, eds., *The Charters of the Boroughs of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1901).

⁷² Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth*, 18–19.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 40–41.

⁷⁴ Jonathan Barry, “Provincial Town Culture, 1640–1780: Urban or Civic,” in J. H. Pittock and Andrew Wear, eds., *Interpretation and Cultural History* (London, 1991), 198–234; Rosemary Sweet, “Freedom and Independence in English Borough Politics, c.1770–1830,” *Past & Present* 161 (1998): 85–115.

freemen in the relentless waves of civil society. On the contrary, there is every suggestion that guilds and companies continued to play crucial roles in urban economies well into the eighteenth century and provided templates for the new companies, clubs, and societies.⁷⁵ Most telling, however, are the implications for public discourse, because inherent to the practice of corporate citizenship was the valorization of talk concerned with public matters that was governed by *honestas*. Through their participation in the parishes, guilds, assemblies, common councils, and aldermanic benches that proliferated across post-Reformation England, male heads of household from the middling strata of English society learned to apply, twist, and break the rules of civil conversation. It was on this basis that they engaged in the new discursive struggles of the English Revolution. And it was from this vantage that they subsequently participated in the sociability of the town.

The idiom of this talk was not the use of reason in a Kantian sense but the kind of “tact” ascribed by Habermas to early manifestations of the town—a *modus operandi* that espoused the circumspection of counsel and anticipated the more aesthetic and rarefied eighteenth-century culture of politeness.⁷⁶ Its general aim was to create conversational moments in which all speakers could use their discretion no matter their relative power and status.⁷⁷ The expectation was not that speakers should ignore inequalities in wealth and position, which conversations inevitably exposed, but that they should rather negotiate them, or indeed use them advantageously, through their conversational acuity.⁷⁸ Structurally this required conversationally decorous and ordered spaces such as counsels and courts. The challenge for interlocutors was both to learn conversational conventions and to cultivate the social awareness and self-knowledge with which to deploy them—to speak with profit for themselves and, when appropriate, the wider community. This amounted to the “extraordinary skill” of knowing, like the effective counselors described by Thomas More, when to say what and how according to time, place, and audience.⁷⁹

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these insights were disseminated through various channels—not least advice books, written explicitly for middling sections of society, that explained how to write “epistles” (letters and petitions) or act the “complete citizen” according to classical strictures.⁸⁰ The institutional corollary of this was the burgeoning number of councils, committees, and assemblies through which public life was organized, and the saturation of civic prescription with the language of honesty and discretion. It is this type of conversational setting that

⁷⁵ Brooks, “Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort,” 65. For London guilds, see Perry Gauci, “Informality and Influence: The Overseas Merchant and the Livery Companies, 1660–1720,” in Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis, eds., *Guilds, Society and Economy in London, 1450–1800* (London, 2002), 127–140; and Giorgio Riello, “The Shaping of a Family Trade: The Cordwainers Company in Eighteenth-Century London,” *ibid.*, 141–162.

⁷⁶ David Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 2005). For “politeness,” see Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness* (Cambridge, 1994); and Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, Conn., 2005), chap. 8.

⁷⁷ Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness*, 13.

⁷⁸ Manuals targeted at the middling sort include Angel Daye, *The English Secreterie* (London, 1586); William Fulwood, *The Enemie of Idleness: Teaching a Perfect Platform How to Indite Epistles and Letters of Divers Sorts* (London, 1593); and William Scott, *An Essay on Drapery; or, The Complete Citizen* (London, 1635).

⁷⁹ Scott, *An Essay on Drapery*, 136; Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge, 1998), 35–37.

⁸⁰ See fn. 78.



FIGURE 1: Civic discourse in action: Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Syndics of the Amsterdam Drapers' Guild* (*The Staalmeesters*), 1662. Oil on canvas. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Rembrandt represents in his famous portrait *The Syndics of the Amsterdam Drapers' Guild* (*The Staalmeesters*). (See Figure 1.) In England, the spirit of this idealism is captured by a burgess of early-seventeenth-century Great Yarmouth who, ruminating on the nature of governance in his borough (which he likened to Venice), opined that "it is on counsel that all the rest of public government depends . . . and it is by Cicero called the soul, reason and understanding of the commonwealth." As such, "it is very meet that there should be in every great city and town, a competent number of senators elected (but not too many, for that is very dangerous) who are to have a place convenient appointed, where they may all assemble and meet together either for service of the state in general, or for the benefit of the town in particular."⁸¹

The creation of civil environments is powerfully illustrated by Jacobean Cambridge. In October 1608, a "committee" of twenty-four burgesses was granted "full power discretely to peruse the former orders of this town" to assess which were "most fit and convenient."⁸² The following August, their conclusions were "publicly and openly read, allowed and agreed upon to be reasonable and requisite" by all the burgesses assembled at the "common day."⁸³ If the very process of reform was discursive, then one particular order reveals the underlying concern with civil conversation. It was decreed "with full and absolute consent" that when the mayor "shall propound at any common day any matter or cause touching the Town, or the State thereof or any other cause, that then the Recorder or Counsel of this town and the Aldermen of the said Town . . . shall in their places have priority of first speech." Thereafter, "the Commoners or Common Burgesses that shall first stand up to an-

⁸¹ Henry Manship, *The History of Great Yarmouth*, ed. Charles John Palmer (London, 1854), 55.

⁸² Cambridgeshire County Record Office [hereafter CCRO], City Shelf C, Book 7, f. 1.

⁸³ CCRO, City Box II, 9, f. 1.

swer and speak in the same matter shall be first heard with quietness and without disturbance of any other." If two burgesses stood together, "then the mayor shall judge who did first arise." Moreover, "it shall not be lawful to any man that hath once spoken to reply in that matter without licence of the Mayor . . . and so that his speech be to the matter well to be commanded to silence at the discretion of the Mayor and others to speak." Finally, "if any shall speak any indecent or unseemly speeches or shall make reply without leave . . . having formerly spoken," they would be fined 2 shillings 6 pence.⁸⁴ The context so created recognized status, place, and the need for conversational order. However, it also allowed all participants to speak, listen, and be heard—to make public use of their discretion. These were precisely the kinds of discursive attributes that Alderman William Abell was accused of subverting in his attempts to turn the Vintners' Company into a monopoly.

Events in Cambridge and London indicate both the discursive basis of corporate citizenship and attempts during the early modern period to imbue that discourse with *honestas*. They are examples that could be multiplied by as many times as there were city commonwealths, confounding Zaret's claim that before 1640, the English commons were largely deprived of "substantive discussions and debates."⁸⁵ That is not to say that assemblies, councils, and common days were not, in practice, divisive, disorderly, or factionalized. It was, after all, by manipulating the "common day" in Cambridge in 1641 that a puritan faction succeeded in electing Oliver Cromwell as one of the borough's parliamentary burgesses.⁸⁶ Neither is it to deny the exclusionary potential of *honestas*, in the sense that its drive for order and civility, both personal and institutional, could in practice justify the enclosure of power by those able to describe themselves as better or able within communities.⁸⁷ It is to say that civic power and influence was to a large extent based on a control of discursive practice and conventions, and that the response of many urban inhabitants to innovations in the press or town was rooted in this culture of corporate citizenship. The parish vestries, guild assemblies, and common councils of early modern England serve, in effect, as a crucial source—a kind of repository of skills—that made the discursive precocity noted by Habermas possible.

Nor was it only men who were embroiled in this civic public sphere. Although corporate governance was unquestionably patriarchal, there are at least three reasons why the participation of women in its discursive procedures should not be discounted. First, the theoretical exclusion of women was not translated into practice. Patricia Crawford has suggested that the realities of local citizenship entailed a fair degree of public participation by female householders: certainly petitioning was an art in which many women, including poor women, were by necessity versed long before the 1640s.⁸⁸ Second, although *honestas* valorized expressly masculine virtues,

⁸⁴ Ibid., ff. 23–23v.

⁸⁵ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, 12.

⁸⁶ CCRO, City Shelf C, Book 7, ff. 210, 313, 329, 341, 357, 462v. The election is discussed in Phil Withington, "Agency, Custom and the English Corporate System," in Henry French and Jonathan Barry, eds., *Identity and Agency in England, 1500–1800* (Basingstoke, 2004), 217–219.

⁸⁷ Paul Griffiths, "Secrecy and Authority in Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century London," *Historical Journal* 40 (1997): 925–951; Robert Tittler, *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community, c.1500–1640* (Oxford, 1991), esp. chap. 5.

⁸⁸ Patricia Crawford, "The Poorest She': Women and Citizenship in Early Modern England," in

this masculinity was cultural rather than biological: women could also attain it.⁸⁹ This is neatly dramatized in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1597) when Shakespeare transposes the attributes of *honestas* to the borough's female citizens and effeminizes Falstaff, the main male character.⁹⁰ Likewise, the increasing amount of civil litigation during the period, especially regarding defamation, suggests that both men and women were deeply concerned about civility of speech beyond the council chamber.⁹¹ Third, and most important, male and female citizens did not inhabit the "separate spheres" assumed by Habermas. On the contrary, recent historiography stresses the significant overlaps between public and private life, the ongoing importance of the household economy into the eighteenth century, and the manner in which credit and repute were familial rather than individual attributes.⁹² Likewise, it was the household that was enfranchised to the freedom of a city, its head of household representing his dependents in civic arenas. It follows that in practice, public discourse did not cease at the doorstep but rather penetrated parlor and kitchen. This is certainly suggested by a short stanza penned in 1665 to conclude an almanac written and printed in York. The author, a local bookseller named Francis Mawburne, observed that

Now Winter's come, and it is my desire
To get a Toast, and sit down by the fire;
And neighbour-like, we sit and talk and prate,
But not 'gainst King, or Kingdom, Church, or State.⁹³

The "we" is powerfully inclusive, the setting domestic. That Mawburne felt obliged to police, at least rhetorically, his own and his neighbors' "prate" indicates prevailing conversational interests and inclinations. He protests, in effect, too much.

THE FOREGOING DISCUSSION PUTS THE CONTROVERSY over the wine monopoly in a more historicized light. The discursive legitimacy claimed by Abell and the discursive tyranny charged against him were neither incidental to the dispute nor exceptional in tenor. Rather, they reflected the importance of conversational conventions and procedures to corporate sociability more generally. The rapid relocation of the dispute

Michael Mendle, ed., *The Putney Debates of 1647: The Army, the Levellers, and the English State* (Cambridge, 2001), 197–219.

⁸⁹ Barbara Correll, "Malleable Material, Models of Power," *English Literary History* 57 (1990): 258; Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth*, 210–213.

⁹⁰ Leah S. Marcus, "Levelling Shakespeare: Local Customs and Local Texts," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42 (1991): 175.

⁹¹ The astonishing increase in defamation litigation remains to be adequately explained. For an introduction to the phenomenon, see Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1996).

⁹² Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650–1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (Harlow, 1998); Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *Historical Journal* 36 (1993): 412; Naomi Tadmor, "The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England," *Past & Present* 151 (1996): 111–140; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation* (Basingstoke, 1998), 148–173.

⁹³ Francis Mawburne, *Eagle 1666: A New Almanac and Prognostication* (York, 1666). The only surviving copy of the almanac is in York Minster Library, Y/059 NEW.

from civic assembly to printing press, in turn, reveals two contrasting notions of public. In the former, the public good of the company was nevertheless discussed in conditions of relative privacy and secrecy—conditions that characterized, to greater or lesser degrees, all corporate governance during the period.⁹⁴ The power of print was, as Zaret in particular has emphasized, to open public discourse to a wider audience.⁹⁵ In this important sense, the civic public sphere cannot be regarded as the direct equivalent of those publics—bourgeois or otherwise—based upon the circulation and appropriation of printed texts. What corporate citizenship did provide was the skills and acumen for citizens to utilize and engage in alternative and perhaps more accessible forms of discursive activity, either through authorship (it is likely that the Vintners penned their early tracts themselves), through the employment of propagandists such as Henry Parker, or by acting as the wider audience—“the public”—that made the rise of the print market possible.

The modes of civil conversation required of common councils and guild assemblies were even more suited to the socially constructed spaces outside the civic public sphere in which people met, interacted, and discoursed—not least the coffeehouse, which facilitated face-to-face interaction, and the postal service, which enabled discourse across geographical space. Both of these institutions increased exponentially in the Restoration period, so much so that it could plausibly be argued that the travails of the Vintners encapsulate in microcosm a story of public development that is ultimately not too far removed from that envisaged by Habermas. In such an interpretation, citizens, confronted with the monopolistic tendencies of the Stuart monarchy, were first robbed of their public powers and roles before becoming citizens anew through their participation in new media and arenas of public discourse. Viewed in these terms, the emergence and extension of alternative public resources marked a major relocation and restructuring of political agency and debate—a point of discontinuity and change no matter the discursive capacities of citizens before the middle of the seventeenth century.

There are a number of reasons to ward against this potentially teleological narrative. As has been intimated above, historians of political thought are increasingly reluctant to characterize the political culture of the early Enlightenment according to “the canonised text of modern liberal constitutionalism.”⁹⁶ For example, John Locke, far from the prescient innovator of democratic values, retained a vision of “citizen participation” that mirrored “the extensive practice of neighbourhood self-government”—the “plurality of small-scale quasi-republican ‘commonwealths’” that flourished “in the interstices of the monarchical polity.”⁹⁷ Likewise, the most recent historian of the Augustan coffeehouse suggests that, “instead of a Habermasian public sphere, we find in early eighteenth-century political culture a number of advocates for a more ‘civilised’ public life.” Writers at the *Spectator* envisaged the coffeehouse as not so much “a space for the politics of democratic reason” as a fulcrum of civil society—a new bastion for the values that had long characterized conversations in

⁹⁴ Griffiths, “Secrecy and Authority”; Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, chap. 5; Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth*, 201.

⁹⁵ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, chap. 6.

⁹⁶ Mark Goldie, “Introduction,” in John Locke, *Political Essays*, ed. Goldie (Cambridge, 1997), xxvii.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, xxv.



FIGURE 2: Coffee and civility: Anonymous, *The Interior of a Coffeehouse*, ca. 1700. Inscribed in brown ink "A. S. 1668" (believed to be false). The British Museum.

the guild meeting and common council.⁹⁸ This idealization of the coffeehouse interior is suggested by Figure 2.

These continuities in political and discursive theory—and the long genealogy of *honestas* that they suggest—complement the survival of corporate citizenship as a feature of social practice and identity well into the Restoration. For example, the city of York is an English provincial capital renowned for the emergence of its eighteenth-century town and the promulgation of new forms of public culture.⁹⁹ However, it was also an incorporated city that experienced the fusion of corporate and humanist citizenship during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This citizenship was structured by an elaborate mosaic of interlocking parishes, guilds, courts, and councils that continued to flourish after 1660. Moreover, it was practiced by the large proportion of enfranchised heads of household (i.e., freemen and citizens) within the urban population.¹⁰⁰ As late as the 1660s, more than two out of every three household heads in York were citizens, a proportion that rose to eight out of ten in the most commercialized and mercantile parishes.¹⁰¹ This reflected the ongoing centrality of

⁹⁸ Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 256.

⁹⁹ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, 8, 12, 30.

¹⁰⁰ David Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979); Phil Withington, "Views from the Bridge: Revolution and Restoration in Seventeenth-Century York," *Past & Present* 170 (2001): 126–133; Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth*, chap. 4. In York, "freeman" and "citizen" were coterminous, the former denoting economic rights and liberties (most basically the right to keep shop and practice a trade), the latter recognizing the civic responsibilities and obligations that followed.

¹⁰¹ The averages are calculated by combining local assessment lists for parishes in each of the four wards of the city with lists of freemen and poor rate assessments. Borthwick Institute for Historical Research [hereafter BIHR], Y/MB 34 (churchwarden's assessment for St Michael le Belfrey, Bootham), Y/HTG 15 (assessment for constable for Trinity Goodramgate, Monk), CPH 2542, Samuel Buck c. William Green (wages for parish clerk in Peter Little, Walmgate), PR.Y/MG 19 (parish subscription in 1666 for St Martin's, Micklegate). Francis Collins, ed., *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*, vol.

citizenship to the public and economic life of the city: far from being an archaic and honorific estate, it continued to structure governance and commerce and was an important source of urban identity.

Even more telling, the development of the Restoration book trade, coffeehouse, and postal service in York served to enhance rather than diminish the power of corporate citizenship. Put simply, the press and the town emerged as the result of a structural transformation that directly contradicts the orthodox narrative of declining corporatism to which Habermas subscribed. Before 1640, booksellers in York, as elsewhere, had avoided involvement in civic life, preferring to trade outside the civic jurisdiction (in the cathedral precinct) and so avoid the public demands of citizenship.¹⁰² This changed after 1640. The creation of a Company of York Stationers was first mooted in May 1649; the Mayor's Court registered a similar petition in December 1675; "searchers" for the company of "Stationers, Booksellers and Bookbinders" were listed in 1680; and in May 1682 the "Company" was advised to get its ordinary confirmed at the next assizes.¹⁰³ This enthusiasm for civic organization and practices only increased with the next generation of printers.¹⁰⁴

A similar process of civic assimilation characterized the coffeehouse. Far from announcing the unexpected arrival of the town in English cities, the institution quickly "became an integral part of neighbourhood sociability" and its regulation "a matter of local concern."¹⁰⁵ In York, the merchant and religious dissenter William Wombwell purchased both his citizenship and a license before opening his coffeehouse in 1667. That the license was for both "ale and coffee" only adds to the sense of continuity with previous forms of sociability.¹⁰⁶ This continuity is reflected in Thomas Starling's sketches of the annual Norwich Guild Days at the end of the seventeenth century, which show the coffeehouse absorbed into the everyday routine of civic ritual. (See Figure 3.) This proximity of coffee to citizenship made it extremely difficult for the crown to police coffeehouses in the 1670s, when a series of proclamations were issued ordering their closure as seminaries of sedition. It was those citizens responsible for the regulation of coffeehouses who also drank the coffee.¹⁰⁷ The same was true of the postal service. At the Restoration, the position of York postmaster became a gift of the crown and was purchased by a royalist called Jonas Mascall.¹⁰⁸ Over the next seven years, Mascall was a placeman of the crown, supplying political information and working closely with the garrison and lord lieutenant.¹⁰⁹ However, his closeness to the "King's Service" led to his estrangement from the citizenry, the corporation taking the unusual step of threatening legal pro-

2: 1559–1759 (Durham, 1900); York City Archives [hereafter YCA], Series E (Relief of the Poor, 1653–1678).

¹⁰² J. Bernard and M. Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century Book Trade and John Foster's Inventory of 1616* (Leeds, 1994).

¹⁰³ YCA, B36, f. 226; B38, ff. 11–12; C26, f. 53; B38, f. 187.

¹⁰⁴ The National Archives [hereafter TNA], CS, 439/60, 1681; BIHR, Wills, Richard Lambert, August 1690; Collins, *Register of the Freeman of the City of York*, 102, 137; YCA, B38, f. 158.

¹⁰⁵ Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 153.

¹⁰⁶ YCA, B38, ff. 35v–36.

¹⁰⁷ Pincus, "'Coffee Politicians Does Create,'" 823.

¹⁰⁸ TNA, SP29, 219, 69.

¹⁰⁹ Cambridge University Library, Microfilm Reel 381, SP29, 175; TNA, SP29, 218, 93–199; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1663–4*, 307, 309.



FIGURE 3: Coffeehouses and civic ritual (bottom right): Thomas Starling, from *Drawings of Annual Guild Days of Norwich, England*, ca. 1706. Wash drawing. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

ceedings over an unpaid loan in 1665.¹¹⁰ His position worsened in 1667 when court politics led to his “discharge,” leaving Mascall to face “the unsupportable loss of my credit” alone.¹¹¹ His replacement was a citizen less concerned with the “King’s Service” than with eliminating the tampering, overcharging, and inefficiencies “by which the Public suffers and this office much dishonoured.”¹¹²

This combination of public discourse and corporate power coincided, finally, with a thirty-year period in which corporate citizenship represented the most persistent challenge to the prospect (real or imagined) of Stuart absolutism and Catholicism, which was reflected by the monarchy’s repeated attempts to fundamentally remodel the charters upon which corporate citizenship rested.¹¹³ The first campaign began almost immediately upon the king’s return and culminated with the Corporation Act (1661); the second, more systematic attack followed the Exclusion Crisis of the late

¹¹⁰ YCA, B38, f. 14.

¹¹¹ TNA, SP29, 219, 69.

¹¹² Post Office Record Office, PO, 94, 12.

¹¹³ This challenge—and also its discursive basis—is demonstrated for London by Gary S. De Krey, “The London Whigs and the Exclusion Crisis Reconsidered,” in A. L. Beier, David Cannadine, and James M. Rosenheim, eds., *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone* (Cambridge, 1989), 457–482. The best recent account of the attack on corporate privileges is Paul D. Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic: Partisan Politics in England’s Towns, 1650–1730* (Cambridge, 1998).

1670s, when attempts to exclude James, Duke of York, from the throne by Act of Parliament were eventually defeated by his brother, Charles II.¹¹⁴ The so-called Tory Reaction that followed prioritized urban corporations as strategic targets.¹¹⁵ The story in York reflected national trends.¹¹⁶ One amused gentleman noted, “our Mayor and Citizens here have had two meetings since Tuesday last at the Hall to consult their interest in the charter and are much divided . . . They have scolded with one another and have out done the fisherwomen of Billingsgate in that Dialect.”¹¹⁷ Clearly there were limits to *honestas*.¹¹⁸ However, these should not obscure a central feature of politics both before and after the English Revolution: that it was as citizens operating in corporate structures that members of the middling sort were most likely to “develop a civic consciousness, an awareness of [themselves as] political actor[s] in a public realm.”¹¹⁹ Without an appreciation of this preexisting culture of agency and discourse, the emergence of the “public sphere” in England—bourgeois or otherwise—cannot be fully understood.

ZARET COMMENTS THAT in “critical theory and postmodernism, excessive pessimism on the modern public sphere is fuelled by grossly unbalanced assessments of communicative change that attribute novelty in our era to rapid growth in commercialism and the capacity to produce texts.” He suggests that relocating the emergence of an English “public sphere” in the discursive developments of Revolutionary England, and regarding its Enlightenment idealists as simply catching up with changes induced by practical necessities of commercialization and partisanship, “flatly contradicts this premise.” It demonstrates, rather, that “the origins of reasoned appeals to public opinion in politics” were due to “communicative developments that critical theorists and postmodernists hold responsible for the contemporary dissipation of reason.”¹²⁰

The conclusions here are somewhat different. Any changes in discursive theory and practice during the seventeenth century were contiguous with much longer processes of cultural transformation whereby subjects came to act—and talk—like citizens. This process was engendered not from outside the parameters of public authority, or state, but from within them. State formation in England involved not so much the centralization of military, fiscal, and bureaucratic power as the incorporation, and empowerment, of disparate communities within the overarching concept of commonwealth. This was accompanied by the appropriation of certain discursive skills and traits—what we now call *habitus*—among middling sections of the wider

¹¹⁴ Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678–1681* (Cambridge, 1995).

¹¹⁵ Jennifer Levin, *The Charter Controversy in the City of London, 1660–1688, and Its Consequences* (London, 1969).

¹¹⁶ Phil Withington, “Citizens, Community, and Political Culture in Restoration England,” in Shepard and Withington, *Communities in Early Modern England*, 146–152.

¹¹⁷ West Yorkshire Archives Service, Leeds, Mex MSS 25/16.

¹¹⁸ That said, even at this moment of corporate crisis, policy was decided discursively, the citizens’ lesser representatives, the common council, winning the argument against the court of aldermen over the best strategy for preserving the city. YCA, B38, ff. 206–206v.

¹¹⁹ J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 335, 354.

¹²⁰ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, 17.

populace.¹²¹ The rejuvenation of corporate citizenship epitomized this process and the historical irony underpinning it: that the origins of the modern state involved the proliferation of medieval institutions to serve classical ideals.

The experience of the London Vintners suggests the relative ease with which citizens moved from civic to printed discourse once the need and opportunity arose. This is not to say, however, that the one sphere replaced the other as the primary context for public discussion. Far from being eclipsed by the public sphere after 1660, corporate citizenship provided a crucial condition for its emergence, in York serving as a handmaiden for the provincial press and coffeehouse. Its fusion of corporate and humanist values likewise shaped the discursive precocity of England's middle classes, and it provides a historicized context for placing Enlightenment proponents of the public such as Andrew Marvell and John Locke. None of which has prevented corporate citizenship from slipping from historical sight at least twice—first under the weight of later Stuart absolutism, more latterly through the conceptual dazzle of the bourgeois public sphere.

The existence of a civic public sphere in England begs comparative questions, not least the intersections between citizenship and public discourse in other early modern polities and the imperial export of the English variety. This might have been through expressly civic companies, such as the Virginia Company and East India Company, as well as the colonial commonwealths established in seventeenth-century New England.¹²² Certainly the civic dimensions of the English and American revolutions remain to be compared.¹²³ As intriguingly, David D. Bien has noted how the ostensibly feudal system of privileged officeholding and corporate bodies in eighteenth-century France were “not only modern in origin” but also “taught implicit lessons to their members and others.” The practical “schooling” in the “participatory and democratic” decision-making that these bodies provided “resonated well with the spreads of democracy in the broader society.” It also explains why large sections of a population “which never read Rousseau” nevertheless “had a mental framework for understanding the principles of the Revolution.”¹²⁴ In these respects, the parallels with English corporate citizenship in the seventeenth century are striking and suggest that the unexpected legacies—even incipient modernity—of apparently “archaic” corporatism are a subject worth pursuing.

Insofar as they provide a perspective on contemporary public culture, the discursive attributes of London vintners, Cambridge burgesses, or York citizens offer the simple lesson that the quality of public discourse as manufactured and consumed in texts (printed or electronic) cannot be divorced from civic expectations, processes, and participation. They also suggest that in societies governed by participatory publics, change and criticism are as likely to be generated from within governing public structures as from without—that the former is almost a prerequisite for the latter.

¹²¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London, 1989), chap. 3.

¹²² Suggestive in this respect are Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of Colonisation, 1500–1625* (Cambridge, 2003); Peter Thompson, *Rum, Punch and Revolution: Tavern-going and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1999).

¹²³ It is notable by its absence in Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*.

¹²⁴ David D. Bien, “Offices, Corps, and a System of State Credit: The Uses of Privilege under the Ancien Regime,” in Keith Michael Baker, ed., *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, vol. 1: *The Political Culture of the Old Regime* (Bungay, 1987), 111–112.

On both these counts, the modern pessimism refuted by Zaret may, in fact, be warranted: the civic culture of modern Western democracies is constantly lamented, the possibilities of civic participation of the kind enjoyed by early modern citizens diminished.

Be that as it may, the conventions underpinning early modern citizenship were hardly liberal or democratic. They valorized discretion rather than free speech, envisaged civil rather than inclusive conversations, and demanded the subjective internalization of objective practices and procedures. In practice, they nurtured communal as well as national patriotism and were inextricable from both partisan politics and structural inequalities of wealth and power. The activities so prescribed were public, certainly, and also effectively disseminated; but they were never populist, progressive, or open. They were based, rather, on the Ciceronian insight that “without the self-restraint of potentially domineering speakers there can be no conversation or critical reflection”—that, indeed, “managing the relationship between self-interest and social duty, self-restraint and freedom and competition and co-operation” is the point of civil conversation.¹²⁵ It is an ideal that, unlike the bourgeois public sphere, can claim to be a feature of the early modern past rather than a modern construction of it. Whether it provides an appropriate perspective with which to critique the present remains, as it were, open to debate.

¹²⁵ Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness*, 2.

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The Claims of Slaves and Ex-Slaves to Family and Property: A Transatlantic Comparison

DYLAN C. PENNINGROTH

IN 1924, A FARMER NAMED KWADJO AGBANYAMANE and his mother borrowed £20 from a neighbor to buy some land near Peki, in the Gold Coast region of what is now Ghana. In return, Kwadjo “gave” the neighbor his six-year-old brother Kwamin, “to serve for the debt until” he could pay for the land. As the chief who judged the case put it, Kwamin’s labor was “to wash out the interest.”¹ In 1904, in Alabama, another farmer, Hayes Shaw, hired out his nineteen-year-old son Nate to work. “Truthful to God,” Nate Shaw said later, “I got one suit of clothes out of my labor that year . . . and my daddy collectin the balance of it. Well, that was just like slavery with me.”²

Neither Shaw nor Kwamin was a slave, but the subordination and vulnerability they experienced had roots in the era of slavery. Slavery was practiced in the Gold Coast region long before Europeans began buying and shipping people across the Atlantic to provide labor for plantation colonies in the Americas and the Caribbean. In what became the southern United States, slavery flourished for nearly 250 years.³ Although Britain finally banned the transatlantic slave trade in 1807, slavery remained a vital legal category in both Gold Coast and the United States for most of

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¹ *Kwadjo v. Ayimah*, August 31, 1927, Civil Court Record Book, Konor’s Tribunal, Acc. no. 2024/1963, Ghana Public Records and Archives Administration Department at Accra [hereafter PRAAD, and formerly named National Archives of Ghana] (“gave” and “serve”); cross-examination of respondent by Konor, *ibid.* (“wash out the interest”). This article focuses on the largely Akan area around the coastal towns of Cape Coast and Elmina, and, to an extent, the culturally diverse area around the southeastern towns of Accra, Akuse, and Peki. By “Akan,” I mean the broad linguistic/cultural group that occupied large parts of what are today Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire, including Asante (the most prominent Akan state in this period) and large parts of the culturally complex region between Asante and the Atlantic Ocean. Parts of this region came under Asante rule at various points in the 1800s; the coastal area was officially declared a British colony in 1874, leaving the interior area (south of Asante) as a “protectorate” until 1902. By “Africa” and “African,” I mean sub-Saharan Africa excluding the settler societies of southern Africa.

² Theodore Rosengarten, *All God’s Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw* (New York, 1989), 37.

³ The slave systems that Europeans built on the backs of African workers supplanted older systems of slavery among Native Americans in this region.

the nineteenth century, and left a legacy that lasted well into the twentieth. In both regions, the economics and ideology of slavery knit together notions of family and property. People in both places asserted powerful claims over members of their families—to “work em,” hire them out, “turn [them] over” to someone else, or even “give” them away.⁴ And although Shaw chafed at his father’s “bossin” and Kwamin eventually ran away, no one seriously questioned their relatives’ right to dispose of them, not even the boys themselves. Indeed, what bothered Shaw was simply that he “thought [he] was a little too old to be treated that way.”⁵

A limited comparison of the southern United States and southern Gold Coast during the nineteenth century reveals that claims about family and property were rooted in a complex history of change in the two regions, including internal mass migrations of slaves, the rise of large new slave-based economies, and an intensified focus on kinship as a key component of the masters’ ideology of slavery. Masters and slaves struggled over claims to resources—including claims to people—and the social identities that underpinned them. In significant ways, the histories of both regions were shaped by debates about the claims that slaves and their descendants made to kinship and to the products of their labor. Those debates drew substance from—and in turn helped influence—the meanings of property, slavery, and social membership for all people, not just slaves.⁶ And as the stories of Nate Shaw and Kwamin suggest, the links among kinship, property, and slavery remained potent long after slavery itself was officially over.

Comparison has been an undercurrent in writings on slavery since the 1840s, but rarely do the histories of slavery in the United States and Africa come in for direct, sustained scholarly comparison.⁷ Instead, the dominant mode has been diaspora. It was once common for U.S. historians to include a portrait of “traditional” African culture as a baseline for sketching the development of African American culture, and American slavery has long been a foil for studies of slavery in Africa. But those portraits frequently lacked the attention to specific places and changes over time that would make them useful.⁸ Recent work in the Atlantic, or diasporic, school has opened more sophisticated routes between African and African American history,

⁴ Rosengarten, *All God’s Dangers*, 37, 54 (“hire them out” and—speaking of his plans for his own half-brothers—“work em,” “turn [them] over”); *Ayoler v. Yomley et al.*, April 3, 1946, Civil Court Record Book, Konor’s Tribunal, Acc. no. 2024/1963, PRAAD (deeding away a child “as gift”).

⁵ Rosengarten, *All God’s Dangers*, 54 (“bossin”), 37 (“too old”).

⁶ A pair of 1874 laws in Gold Coast banned slave-trading and abolished the “legal status” of slavery, but only within the colony and protectorate. The laws were written so narrowly, moreover, that slaveholding and pawnholding (discussed below at note 31) remained legal until 1908. Governor George Strahan’s 1874 proclamation of “legal status” abolition was different from, yet usefully comparable to, President Abraham Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation. While it did not take place during a civil war, it drew from some of the same ideological assumptions, was aimed at an old and well-established system of slavery, was imposed on slaveholding populations that mostly did not want it, and, far from resolving “the slavery issue,” ushered in massive struggles over defining what would come after.

⁷ As Frederick Cooper wrote nearly thirty years ago, “By and large, Africanists and Americanists are studying slavery in isolation from one another, venturing into the others’ territory only to make a point about their own.” Cooper, “The Problem of Slavery in African Studies,” *Journal of African History* 20, no. 1 (1979): 103.

⁸ Indeed, one problem was that in their portraits of “traditional” Africa, U.S. historians commonly glossed right over slavery. See, for example, Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1972), 197–198, 289, 448–450; Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York, 1976), 198–201, 211–212, 222–224, 242, 328–343, 351–352. For the use of American slavery as a foil for slavery in Africa, see Igor Kopytoff and Suzanne Miers, “African

including political-military developments, cultural identities, religion, and demography.⁹ Much of the newer work draws on the increasingly detailed history of the Atlantic slave trade, thus further emphasizing the connection between “routes” and “roots.” Both studies of slavery in Africa and the diasporic work on the Americas contain, and often are implicitly grounded on, comparisons, but those comparisons are rarely sustained or explicit, and they are usually secondary to some other goal. There are comparative works on slavery, emancipation, and its aftermath, but few compare sites of slavery in Africa with those in the United States.¹⁰

Black life in the Americas has long been interpreted through two major themes, both largely forged in the study of slavery: the dialectic of accommodation and resistance and the debate over cultural survivals and acculturation, themes that are sometimes fused into a framework of cultural adaptation and resistance.¹¹ Acknowledging the tremendous diversity of African cultures, these studies show how slaves in the Americas forged collective identities, families, communities, and distinctive cultures that enabled them to resist the racialized oppression of slavery and carve out a space of autonomy and human dignity. Slaves’ descendants kept up the struggle from Bahia to Birmingham, tactically alternating public protest with the “infrapolitics” of slowdowns, pilfering, and sabotage.¹²

The notion of slave resistance took longer to catch on in studies of Africa, largely because scholars disagreed on how to define slavery itself. One early and influential

‘Slavery’ as an Institution of Marginality,” in Miers and Kopytoff, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, Wis., 1977), 3–6, 48–55.

⁹ Works in this tradition are much too numerous to list here. For overviews and critiques of recent literature, see Kristin Mann, “Shifting Paradigms in the Study of the African Diaspora and of Atlantic History and Culture,” *Slavery and Abolition* 22, no. 1 (2001): 3–21; Emmanuel Akyeampong, “Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa,” *African Affairs* 99, no. 395 (2000): 183–215; Paul E. Lovejoy, “The African Diaspora: Revisionist Interpretations of Ethnicity, Culture and Religion under Slavery,” *Studies in the World History of Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation* 2, no. 1 (1997): n.p., <http://web.archive.org/web/20010606194224/www2.h-net.msu.edu/~slavery/essays/esy9701love.html> (accessed August 5, 2007).

¹⁰ To my knowledge, the only Africa-U.S. comparisons of slavery or emancipation are Harry A. Reed, “Slavery in Ashanti and Colonial South Carolina,” *Black World* 20, no. 4 (1971): 37–40, 70–74; Eric Foner, *Nothing but Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy* (Baton Rouge, La., 1983), 30–38; Ralph Austen, “How Unique Is the New World Plantation?” in Serge Daget, ed., *De la traite à l’esclavage* (Nantes, 1988), 55–71; Frederick Cooper, Thomas C. Holt, and Rebecca J. Scott, “Introduction,” in Cooper, Holt, and Scott, *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), 1–32; and Diana Paton and Pamela Scully, “Introduction,” in Scully and Paton, eds., *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World* (Durham, N.C., 2005), 1–34.

¹¹ W. E. B. Du Bois, Herbert Aptheker, and Kenneth Stampp were the first to frame slaves’ culture in terms of resistance, an idea that later scholars elaborated and reshaped into a thesis about slavery as a dialectic of accommodation and resistance. How African that culture (or cultures) was remains a subject of intense debate. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America* (New York, 1935); Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York, 1943); Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (1956; repr., New York, 1975).

¹² See, for example, Stephanie M. H. Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004); Steven Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003); Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Tera W. Hunter, *To ‘Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women’s Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997); Robin D. G. Kelley, “‘We Are Not What We Seem’: Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South,” *Journal of American History* 80, no. 1 (1993): 75–112. These works have diverse agendas, but all build on the rich scholarship on “infrapolitics,” day-to-day and cultural resistance that dates back to Du Bois.

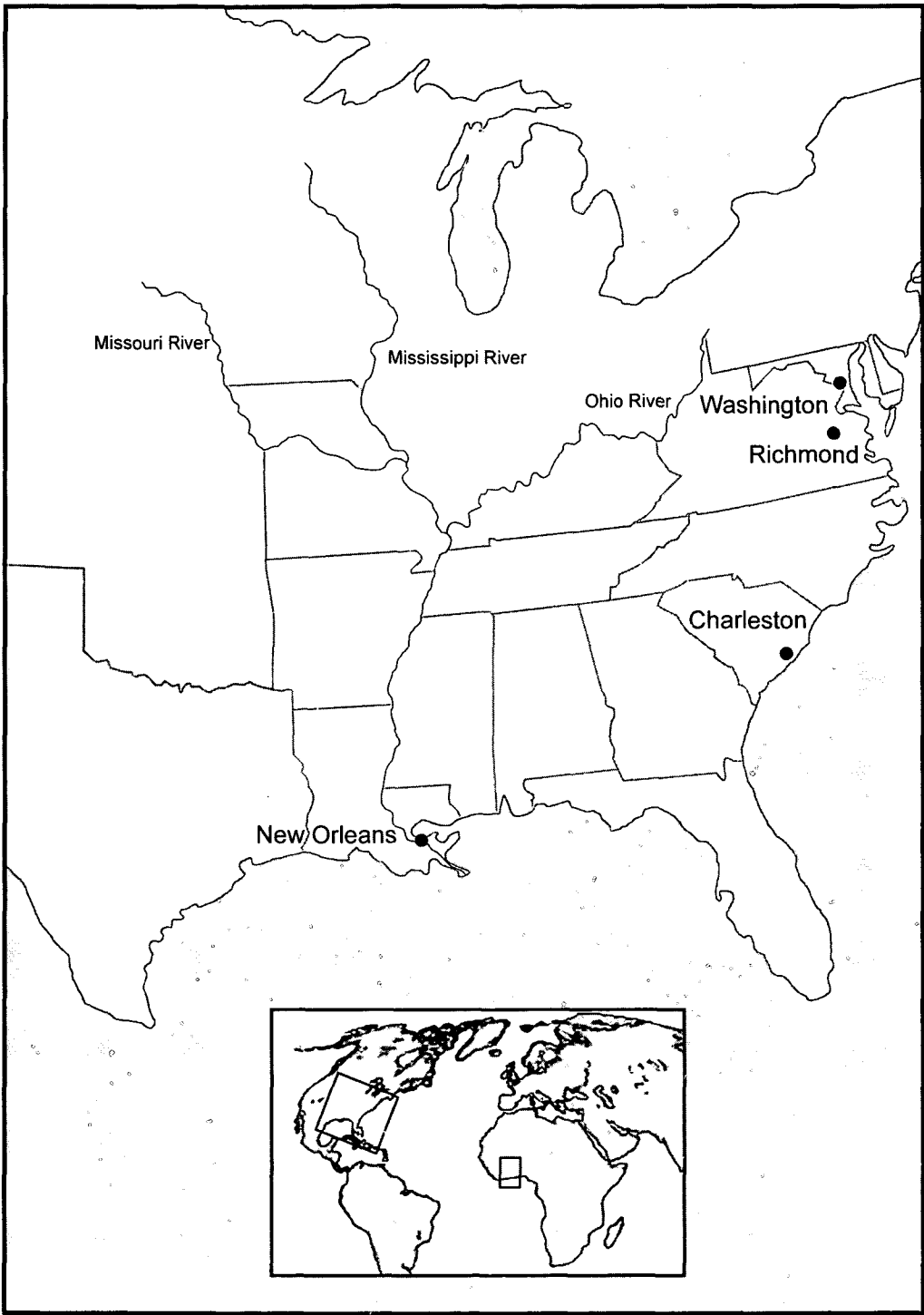


FIGURE 1: The United States South, ca. 1860. Map drawn by Tom O'Connell, Northwestern University Library.

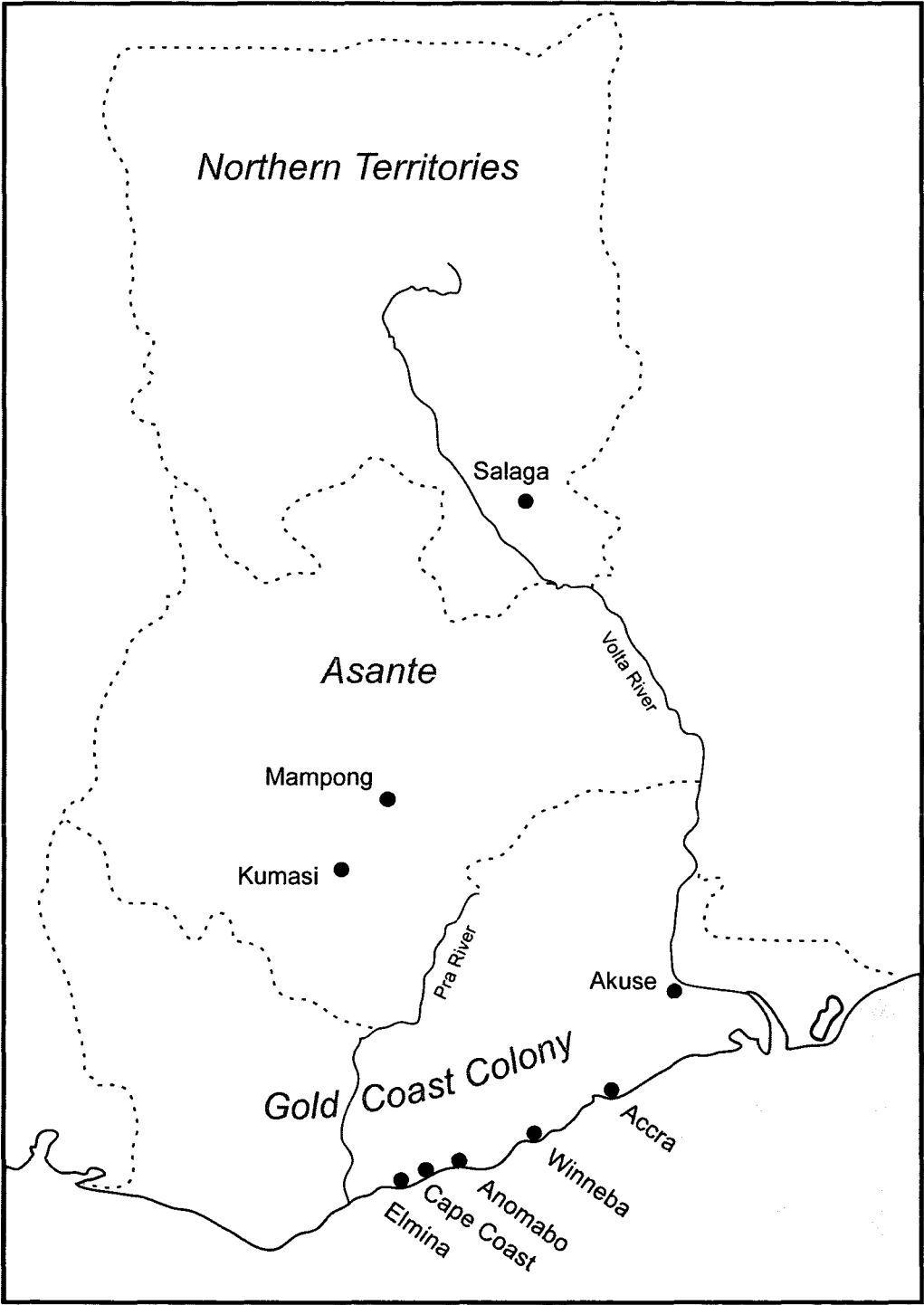


FIGURE 2: The Gold Coast region in the early colonial period. Map drawn by Tom O'Connell, Northwestern University Library.

model, attentive to the variety of slave systems in Africa, portrayed slavery as an institution of marginality. In this view, slaves were kinless, dishonored outsiders, easily bought and sold; over time, that marginality was gradually reduced as slaves (or their descendants) were absorbed into the dominant society, notably through kinship. This model offered the important insight that Africans regarded slavery not as the opposite of autonomy, but as the condition of belonging *to* a master rather than *in* society. A second important model argued that slavery was defined in opposition to kinship, and that, as the most basic kind of property, the slave was the “anti-kin” and could never truly be assimilated.¹³ Neither model dwelled long on what slaves did or said, but resistance has since become a major topic in studies of slavery in Africa, with some scholars arguing that slaves’ responses to abolition efforts show a hunger for freedom and autonomy, while others see the “absorption” process as a struggle in itself, in which slaves made demands not so much for autonomy as to become full members in local institutions of community and kinship.¹⁴ Yet we understand much less about the views and actions of slaves in most parts of Africa than about those of U.S. slaves.¹⁵

The enduring strength of the resistance paradigm is clear. As a basic framework for either African American or African history, however, there are limits to what it can do, and those limits are becoming increasingly apparent. For one thing, it implicitly presumes that autonomy is what oppressed people want, but as observers of both continents have indicated, autonomy is not a universal goal, nor is it universally defined in terms of the embodied individual.¹⁶ Then, too, as many critics have

¹³ On marginality, see M[oses] I. Finley, “Slavery,” in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1968), 308–309; Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), esp. 5–9, 62–65; Kopytoff and Miers, “African ‘Slavery’ as an Institution of Marginality,” 3–81. On the slave as “anti-kin,” see Claude Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold*, trans. Alide Dasnois (Chicago, 1991), and Jonathon Glassman, “No Words of Their Own,” *Slavery and Abolition* 16, no. 1 (1995): 131–145. Earlier scholarship debated whether there even had been slavery in Africa before the Atlantic slave trade. See Walter Rodney, “African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave-Trade,” *Journal of African History* 7, no. 3 (1966): 431–443; J. D. Fage, “Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Context of West African History,” *Journal of African History* 10, no. 3 (1969): 393–404.

¹⁴ Works emphasizing resistance and autonomy include Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge, 1983), esp. 247; Lovejoy, “Fugitive Slaves: Resistance to Slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate,” in Gary Y. Okihiro, ed., *In Resistance: Studies in African, Caribbean, and Afro-American History* (Amherst, Mass., 1986), 71–95; Gad Heuman, ed., *Out of the House of Bondage: Runaways, Resistance and Marronage in Africa and the New World* (London, 1986); Kwabena Opare Akurang-Parry, “‘Missy Queen in Her Palaver Says de Gole Cosse Slaves Is Free’: The British Abolition of Slavery/Pawnship and Colonial Labor Recruitment in the Gold Coast [Southern Ghana], 1874–ca. 1940” (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1999), esp. 326; Gerald M. McSheffrey, “Slavery, Indentured Servitude, Legitimate Trade and the Impact of Abolition in the Gold Coast, 1874–1901: A Reappraisal,” *Journal of African History* 24, no. 3 (1983): 349–368. On struggles over membership and its meaning, see Cooper, “The Problem of Slavery in African Studies,” 122–125; Wyatt MacGaffey, “Lineage Structure, Marriage and the Family amongst the Central Bantu,” *Journal of African History* 24, no. 2 (1983): 181–186; Marcia Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life-Stories from East/Central Africa* (New York, 1993); Edward Alpers, Gwyn Campbell, and Michael Salman, eds., *Slavery and Resistance in Africa and Asia* (London, 2005); Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995), 22–24, 95–107. Kopytoff and Miers themselves did recognize the possibility for “tension” and “contradictions” in the incorporation process; “African ‘Slavery’ as an Institution of Marginality,” 39.

¹⁵ Martin Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa* (New York, 1998), 237–251, contains a thoughtful examination of this problem.

¹⁶ David L. Schoenbrun, “Conjuring the Modern in Africa: Durability and Rupture in Histories of Public Healing between the Great Lakes of East Africa,” *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (De-

pointed out, black history is more than the story of race relations, but the resistance framework makes whites and whiteness the basic reference point for African American history, and forces scholars into an unproductive balancing act between acknowledging the horrors of slavery and showing how the slaves nevertheless “preserve[d] their humanity.” Indeed, historians are increasingly asking whether we can presume a solid and unified “subaltern presence” at all: black churches have grappled with conflicts over gendered “respectability,” “[a] leader of a movement can . . . go home and beat up a wife or children,” colonized people could be colonizers themselves, and some of the strongest resistance to European colonialism came from slaveholding Africans.¹⁷ It would be a mistake to assume that such power relations merely echo, or are ultimately less meaningful than, the story of white-on-black oppression—or that studying the former necessarily means downplaying the latter.¹⁸ Probing the internal dynamics of subaltern families and communities—issues of conflict, authority, and change over time—demands new interpretive frameworks that can complement the familiar dyads of race and resistance: master and slave, colonizer and colonized, white and Other.

Dialogue between African and African American history can help create such frameworks, not only through arguments about diaspora but also through carefully limited comparisons and attention to each other’s questions, perspectives, and methods. Africanists’ tradition of exploring inequality and power among Africans and the

cember 2006): 1403; Kopytoff and Miers, “African ‘Slavery’ as an Institution of Marginality,” 3–24, 40, 49–55, 76–78; Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, 106–114; Walter Johnson, “On Agency,” *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 115. The most famous narrative of American slavery portrayed autonomy in sinister colors, with its accounts of deracinated slave children and brutal, self-willed masters freed from all restraints; Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855; repr., New York, 1969), 33–42, 48–65, 79–80, 119–128.

¹⁷ Thomas C. Holt, “African-American History,” in Eric Foner, ed., *The New American History* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1997), 329–330. On the theoretical difficulties of exploring patriarchy within U.S. black communities, see Susan A. Mann, “Slavery, Sharecropping, and Sexual Inequality,” *Signs* 14, no. 4 (1989): 774–798. Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, 1998), xxiv (“preserve[d] their humanity”); Morgan’s phrasing reflects much broader historiographic trends, and is belied by his careful attention elsewhere to conflict among slaves. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women’s Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); Florencia Mallon, “The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History,” *American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (December 1994): 1511; Eve M. Troutt Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003); Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa*. And see Nell Irvin Painter, “Soul Murder and Slavery: Toward a Fully Loaded Cost Accounting,” in Linda K. Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Kathryn Kish Sklar, eds., *U.S. History as Women’s History: New Feminist Essays* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995), 125–146; Higginbotham, “African-American Women’s History and the Metalanguage of Race,” in Joan W. Scott, ed., *Feminism and History* (New York, 1992), 183–208; Brenda E. Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York, 1996), 164–165, 242–244, 255–256; Anthony E. Kaye, “Neighborhoods and Solidarity in the Natchez District of Mississippi: Rethinking the Antebellum Slave Community,” *Slavery and Abolition* 23, no. 1 (2002): 1–24; James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002); Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Colonial Encounters in the American Great Basin* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006). Walter Johnson deploys histories of resistance to critique the related concept of “agency.” Johnson, “On Agency,” 113–124.

¹⁸ Some Americanists have warned that the focus on resistance threatens to distort or even “whitewash” the history of U.S. slavery. Wilma A. Dunaway, *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation* (New York, 2003), 4; William Dusinger, *Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps* (New York, 1996); Peter A. Coclanis, “The Captivity of a Generation,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (2004): 544–555.

historical construction of seemingly fixed categories such as “kinship,” “tribe,” and “ethnicity” offer ways of rethinking standard narratives about “the black family” and “the black community.” At the same time, Americanists’ intense focus on the master-slave relationship and on the pervasive yet often subtle significance of race long after slavery’s official end can deepen our understanding of places such as Ghana both as colonial societies and as *postslavery* societies, and of how Africans shaped an emancipation process that is still commonly seen as driven mainly by Europeans, and can help trace out the inequality and subordination so carefully hidden behind pleasant-sounding official ideologies such as “kin incorporation.”¹⁹

Comparison suggests different kinds of transatlantic links, links that engage Africa as more than the ancestral homeland of African American peoples and cultures. In contrast to Cuba, Brazil, and the Caribbean (the subjects of the few comparative studies of slavery and emancipation), scholars agree that in southern Gold Coast, as in many parts of Africa, slavery was not built on an ideology of race—at least as race was understood in the southern United States.²⁰ Nor did the plantation, where slaves produced export crops, dominate the institution of slavery in Gold Coast as much as it did in the U.S. The region was much smaller and less populous, spanned several polities, and alongside slavery had a longstanding practice of human pawning, something unknown in the United States. It is difficult even to talk about “slavery in Africa,” given the variety of slave systems in that continent’s history. Yet both regions’ economies leaned heavily on significant enslaved populations—at least a third of the people in each region were slaves—and there were plantations in Gold Coast just as there were slave-worked industries in the United States. And despite a few rich grandees, slaveholding was widely dispersed in both regions by the 1800s, a pattern that had far-reaching political, cultural, and social implications.²¹ For all its differences, slavery (or slaveries) was woven into the fabric of Gold Coast and many other African societies just as tightly as it was in the Americas. That interweaving, along with the crucial differences of ideology and organization, means that comparing slavery in a specific African and a North American region can, as Thomas Bender puts it, help to “restore some sense of strangeness, of unfamiliarity” to the histories of both continents.²² At the same time, historians of each field will find the other realm strangely familiar in some respects.

¹⁹ For a trenchant critique of the tendency to cast emancipation as European-driven, see Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, “‘We Shall Rejoice When Slavery Shall Cease to Exist’: The *Gold Coast Times*, the African Intelligentsia, and Abolition in the Gold Coast,” *History in Africa*, no. 31 (2004): 19–42.

²⁰ Slavery in several Islamic African societies was built on ideologies of race. See, for example, Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*; Rudolph T. Ware III, “Slavery in Islamic Africa, 1400–1800,” in Stanley Engerman and David Eltis, eds., *Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, forthcoming). Of course, as these and other studies show, race itself was always a moving target.

²¹ In the early 1800s, there were slightly more than 500,000 people in Asante’s “southern dependencies,” and roughly 300,000 to 350,000 in Asante itself, of whom as many as half were slaves. Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (1975; repr., New York, 1989), 127; Gareth Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana: From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante, 1807–1956* (Rochester, N.Y., 2005), 59, 126; Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 167. Cf. the U.S. South’s population of 2.45 million in 1800 and 12.3 million in 1860, of whom about one-third were enslaved. Calculated for the fifteen slaveholding states plus the District of Columbia from *Second Census of the United States* (1801; repr., New York, 1990), 1; *Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (1864; repr., New York, 1990), 598–599. One-quarter of U.S. southern white households owned slaves. According to Austin, so did “most commoner matrilineages” in southern Gold Coast; *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*, 117.

²² Thomas Bender, “Historians, the Nation, and the Plenitude of Narratives,” in Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 11.

Focusing on people's experiences with property and family helps us see a world that sprawls beyond debates about smooth absorption or liberal freedom. Because nearly everyone in these societies eventually talked about, acted on, and experienced them, a close look at property and family provides valuable glimpses of the lives of ordinary people, including slaves and former slaves, as they dealt with the powerful and with one another. Because property and family were at the heart of the economics and ideology of slavery, they allow us to take seriously the hegemonic power of masters' ideologies without missing the ways that slaves subverted or contested those ideologies. And because slavery nurtured intimate connections between property and family, they provide a bridge for comparing a variety of historical processes across two regions that otherwise seem incomparably different.

THE OUTLAWING OF THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE in 1807 catalyzed and accelerated enormous changes in the United States and the southern Gold Coast region. Rather than close the book on slavery, the slowdown of overseas slave trading opened new, expansionist chapters for slavery on both sides of the Atlantic. Between 1790 and 1860, the U.S. slave population quadrupled, to nearly 4 million people. Its geographic center swung southwestward as slave owners, encouraged by the federal government's wars against Native Americans, dragged roughly a million black people from their homes in the eastern Carolinas and Chesapeake and forced them "down the river." The collapse of overseas slaving led slavery to swell within Africa, too, and in many places to become more intensive. Since the British navy did nothing about slavery itself, thousands of people who otherwise would have gone into the belly of a slave ship now found themselves working as slaves in Africa. In what became Gold Coast, in the 1830s to 1850s, slaves taken from the north eventually fell into the hands of Akan-speaking masters who lived between the ocean and the slave-raiding hinterland. Those slaves' toils expanded old slave-based economies, such as kola nuts, gold, and cloth, and helped to usher in new ones, including palm oil and eventually rubber and cocoa.²³ In short, cotton became king in the U.S. South at roughly the same time that British officials were congratulating themselves on the rise of (slavery-based) "legitimate commerce" along the West African coast. By 1850, there were more slaves in Africa than in North America. In southern Gold Coast, as much as half of the population was unfree.²⁴

The success or failure of both of these nineteenth-century economies depended

²³ James Sanders, "Palm Oil Production on the Gold Coast in the Aftermath of the Slave Trade: A Case Study of the Fante," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 15, no. 1 (1982): 49–63; Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*, 114–127, 215, 236–241; Beverly Grier, "Pawns, Porters, and Petty Traders: Women in the Transition to Cash Crop Agriculture in Colonial Ghana," *Signs* 17, no. 2 (1992): 304–328. For similar trends elsewhere in Africa, see Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 159–183; Robin Law, ed., *From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa* (New York, 1995). On slave occupations, see Kwame Arhin, "The Economic and Social Significance of Rubber Production and Exchange on the Gold and Ivory Coasts, 1880–1900," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 77–78, no. 1 (1980): 57–60; H. J. Bevin, "The Gold Coast Economy about 1880," *Transactions of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society* 2 (1956): 73–88.

²⁴ Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (New York, 1990), 23. Rough estimate of southern Gold Coast population from Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 167. Austin stops short of a specific number; *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*, 126.

largely on myriad personal struggles between masters and slaves. Those struggles took many different forms. But in the nineteenth century, slave owners increasingly turned to kinship to explain and solidify their mastery. They did so in obviously very different ways: while Akan masters routinely recognized filial ties with their slaves, American slave owners rarely did. Yet both Akan and American slave owners intensified a longstanding focus on kinship as an *ideological* component of slavery, a tendency that coexisted and sometimes competed with the powerful ideology that designated the slave as a fundamentally different kind of being. On the one hand, there were images of slaves as a separate species, as “beasts,” as “vile” and “stupid.”²⁵ In the United States, these ideas helped build the nineteenth century’s virulent ideology of race. On the other hand, there was an image of slaves as *mbofra* (“children”) or (in the U.S.) “mammies” in a master’s household.²⁶ In Gold Coast, political and demographic pressures stemming from the end of the Atlantic slave trade prompted Akan elites—encouraged by the powerful Asante state—to step up a longstanding strategy of assimilating slaves into elite and ordinary households. These people, who made up a growing proportion of the slave population, were referred to in terms that emphasized their belonging in, as well as to, a household: *gyaasefo* (domestics, attendants; from *gya-ase*: place where the hearth stands; kitchen) and slaves “born in the house,” unlike the *nnɔnkɔfo* (“bought” or “northern” slaves; sing. *ɔɔnko*) with their foreign accents and facial scarification. Anchoring this “assimilation” strategy, and further blurring the distinction between “household” and “family,” was an official ban on talking about where people came from: “Obi nkyere obi ase” (“No one reveals the origins of another”).²⁷ Although “domestic slavery” had been around for

²⁵ For images of slaves as vile, animalistic, or stupid, see J. G. Christaller, *A Grammar of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi* (Basel, 1875), 34; Kwaku Dua Panin (1841), quoted in Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century*, 706; T. C. McCaskie, *State and Society in Pre-Colonial Asante* (Cambridge, 1995), 96; McSheffrey, “Slavery, Indentured Servitude,” 363; for West Africa broadly, see Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery*, 61, 74–75, 127; and for the U.S., see Steven Jay Gould, “American Polygeny and Craniometry before Darwin: Blacks and Indians as Separate, Inferior Species,” in Sandra G. Harding, ed., *The “Racial” Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future* (Bloomington, Ind., 1993), 84–115.

²⁶ *Abofra* (pl. *mbofra*) was used for both “child” and “servant”; H. M. J. Trutenau, ed., *Dictionary, English-Tshi (Asante), Enyiresi-Twi* (1909; repr., London, 1973), 35, 168; J. G. Christaller, *A Dictionary, English, Tshi (Asante), Akra* (Basel, 1874), 36, 48, 215. For similar blurring in Gã and Fante-Twi, see Rev. J. Zimmermann, *A Grammatical Sketch of the Akra- or Gã-Language*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1858), 2:28, 242; J. Delaney Russell, *A Fanti-English, English-Fanti Dictionary* (London, ca. 1910), 78; W. M. Cannell and Jacob B. Anaman, *A Concise Fanti-English Dictionary* (London, ca. 1886), 32. Akurang-Parry’s research on *abaawa* (“housemaid,” “servant,” “forced female labor”) suggests that these links kept evolving into the 1900s. Akurang-Parry, “‘Missy Queen in Her Palaver,’” 357–366. On the nineteenth-century “mammy” ideal, which seems to have no Akan counterpart, see Deborah G. White, *Ar’n’t I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South*, rev. ed. (New York, 1999), 46–61. On U.S. paternalism, see Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619–1877* (New York, 1993), 111–127; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, esp. 3–7.

²⁷ On Asante’s shift of policy and the “domestic slavery” ideology, see Anatole Norman Klein, “Inequality in Asante: A Study of the Forms and Meanings of Slavery and Social Servitude in Pre- and Early-Colonial Akan-Asante Society and Culture” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1980), 34, 99–105; and Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century*, 708–709. On the breadth of Akan slaveholding, see Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*, 117. For *gyaasefo*, see J. G. Christaller, *A Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi (Chwee, Twi)* (Basel, 1881), 159. For “domestics” and “house-born slaves” versus *nnɔnkɔfo*, see testimony of Eccuah Bimba in *Bimbah v. Mansah*, November 26, 1891, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/115; Klein, “Inequality in Asante,” 95, 99–100, 193; Trutenau, *Dictionary, English-Tshi (Asante)*, 168, 173; Christaller, *A Grammar of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi*, 121. And for similar linguistic slippage in Gã, see John Parker, *Making the Town: Ga State and Society in Early Colonial Accra* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2000), 148 n. 52; Zimmermann, *A Grammatical*

a long time, we can ask whether Akan slavery in the 1800s may have leaned harder than ever on an idea that was deepening among U.S. slave owners, too: the notion that a slave was one of the family.

Slave owners worked hard to control the assimilation process and limit its implications. Slaves were not really kin. U.S. masters angrily denounced anyone who even mentioned the tan and brown faces that dotted most plantations—obvious evidence (as abolitionists loved to point out) of whites' biological kinship with slaves. Did "slave origins" in Gold Coast operate in ways analogous to race in the United States? Scholars disagree about whether slaves or their descendants could ever really be assimilated into Akan societies.²⁸ What is clear is that the Asante rule against revealing origins was never supposed to be a liberating doctrine, any more than paternalism was. Instead, comparison suggests that both of these were the official expressions of a wider, historically specific strategy by elites. Deeply rooted in the past, this strategy intensified in the early nineteenth century as an attempt to justify and make sense of a dramatic expansion of slavery.²⁹ It helped to set the parameters of master-slave struggles, but it did not determine how they would turn out.

The assimilation strategy had complex and often contradictory implications for relations among free people, because, as both U.S. and African historians have noted, relations among free people contained their own power dynamics, and because slavery itself always had unruly ties with kinship. Masters' wealth and domination over slaves were founded in part on manipulating kinship rules, but such strategies only underlined the most exploitative aspects of kinship in general, not just for slaves. In both regions, having female slaves released many free wives from working in the fields and the house. In Gold Coast, plenty of these enslaved women were married to their masters, as "junior wives."³⁰ The practice of pawning, although

Sketch, 2:242, 326. On scarification, see R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (1929; repr., New York, 1969), 35 n. 2. Scarification thus takes on a very different significance than in Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998). For the ban on origins talk, see Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, 40; Klein, "Inequality in Asante," 95, 184–192. Austin offers evidence that this ban had real legal power, at least in late-nineteenth-century Asante, an impression furthered by its portrayal in R. S. Rattray, *Akan-Ashanti Folk-Tales* (Oxford, 1930), 124–128; Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*, 119. It probably drew from eighteenth-century assumptions and debates, and it applied to all origins disclosures, not just those of slaves.

²⁸ Akosua Adoma Perbi, "A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana from the 15th to the 19th Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., University of Ghana, Legon, 1997), 179–182; Raymond Dumett and Marion Johnson, "Britain and the Suppression of Slavery in the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, and the Northern Territories," in Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts, eds., *The End of Slavery in Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1988), 71–116; Ivor Wilks, *Forests of Gold: Essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante* (Athens, Ohio, 1993), 78–82; and cf. Kwame Arhin, "Rank and Class among the Asante and Fante in the Nineteenth Century," *Africa* 53, no. 1 (1983): 11–12, 18; Akurang-Parry, "Missy Queen in Her Palaver," 366–377; McCaskie, *State and Society in Pre-Colonial Asante*, 95–101; and Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery*, esp. 35, who insists that West African slaves were never assimilated, because slavery was the antithesis of kinship. As important as this insight is, its totalizing logic tends to overlook possibilities for contestation and change.

²⁹ The pro-slavery "apology" in the U.S. arguably peaked after 1835, when northern abolitionists flooded the South with anti-slavery writings. Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830–1860* (Baton Rouge, La., 1981), 9–10. But the underlying logic of paternalism dated back at least to the closing of the Atlantic slave trade in 1808. Peter Kolchin, *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge, 1987), 59–60.

³⁰ Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*, 119, 175–179. On the link between enslaved and free women's workloads elsewhere, see Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery*, 260–261, 276; Claire C.

different from slavery, nevertheless illustrated both the power that a lineage held over its most junior members, who could be pawned as security for debts, and the thin line between property and kinship. Unlike slaves, pawns kept their kin ties and could be redeemed at any time.³¹ *Nwowa* (people pledged as pawns) were different from “domestic” slaves “born in the house,” who in turn were different from *nnɔnkɔfo* (who were not kin), but they all personified how easily property relations could overlap with kinship relations. If *nnɔnkɔfo* foreigners (at least in principle) could look forward to becoming assimilated “domestics,” and pawns to being redeemed, it was still all too easy for either of them to skid into slavery when crisis struck.³²

U.S. slave owners never pawned or sold off their dependent relatives, as Akans sometimes did, but of course this was true only of their *white* relatives.³³ The notion of slaves as family members threw an uncomfortable spotlight on the power dynamics of family itself, an institution where plantation mistresses lost property rights, where free fathers were “masters of small worlds,” and where beloved “mammies” and masters’ light-skinned children could be auctioned off. Indeed, in the early 1800s, just as the Atlantic slave trade was coming to an end, southern elites, backed by the courts, insisted on treating unskilled white workingmen as “domestic dependents,” to be lumped together in the same legal category as wives, children, and slaves, and subject to the rule of their husband/father/master/employer.³⁴ Both matrilineal

Robertson and Martin A. Klein, “Women’s Importance in African Slave Systems,” in Robertson and Klein, eds., *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1983), 3–25; White, *Ar’n’t I a Woman?* 49–59, 66–67; Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, 179.

³¹ *Regina v. Arkoo and Ashon*, March 31, 1883, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/103, PRAAD. A pawn (*awowa*, “in place of,” pl. *nwowa*) was “a security given by a debtor to a creditor, to be returned” when the debt was paid off. The pawn could be a thing, a person, or a certain set of rights over a thing or person. Pawning is best seen as a deal between matrilineages, not individuals. Gareth Austin, “Human Pawning in Asante, 1800–1950: Markets and Coercion, Gender and Cocoa,” in Toyin Falola and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *Pawnship in Africa: Debt Bondage in Historical Perspective* (Boulder, Colo., 1994), 122–124. In practice, the line between pawnship and slavery was not always firm. Falola and Lovejoy, “Introduction,” *ibid.*, 4, 8–9, 13–15; Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women*, 9, 42–43; Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, 44–45; Perbi, “A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana,” 196–197. As Lovejoy and David Richardson suggest, both the distinction and its frequent breakdowns were important. Lovejoy and Richardson, “The Business of Slaving: Pawnship in Western Africa, c. 1600–1810,” *Journal of African History* 42, no. 1 (2001): 67–89.

³² Testimony of Eccoah Incromah and of Thatey in *Incromah v. Thatey*, November 17, 1877, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/102, PRAAD. Christaller offered the sample sentence “poverty causes a freeman to become a slave”; *A Grammar of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi*, 157. Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, 53; Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*, 194–195; Grier, “Pawns, Porters, and Petty Traders,” 309. Indeed, the complexity and dynamism of these categories—which also included *akyere* (people designated for sacrifices) and *domum* (war captives)—makes it difficult to delineate them clearly. Moreover, our judgments must rely largely on sweeping and often contradictory observations by Europeans in the 1800s.

³³ Actually, it was anomalous and shocking for a white American to sell his wife—but not unheard of. See Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784–1860* (New York, 1984), 237–239; Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York, 1995), 89.

³⁴ Indeed, in the 1830s to 1850s, pro-slavery ideologues (and anti-slavery Garrisonians) boldly equated the subordination of white wives with the subordination of slaves: both were “domestic dependents,” an equation echoed in a leading case on slave-owned property. McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 214–225; Waddill v. Martin, 1845 N.C. Lexis 194. On selling masters’ children, see “Interview with Harriet Casey,” in George P. Rawick, general ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* (Westport, Conn., 1972), vol. 11: *Arkansas Narratives, Part 7, and Missouri Narratives*, 74; “Mrs. Ellen

Akans and patrilineal white southerners thus manipulated kinship rules to tighten their grip on their "dependents," but found that slavery drew out the hierarchical, even proprietary, dimensions of kinship in general. The question that Michael Johnson identified for Charleston elites may have been even more troublesome in southern Gold Coast: "if slaves were family members, were family members slaves?"³⁵

In southern Gold Coast, those battles over slave assimilation helped to redefine property and kinship for Akan people generally, not just the slaves. Slaves and masters worked toward different ends: the masters, to exert control over the slaves and assimilating slaves; the slaves, to become full members of society. Both slaves and masters used shifting strategies, but they shared the language of kinship and descent. And by using the same vocabulary, they changed its meaning.

First, slaves and masters sowed seeds of competition between two general patterns of reckoning descent: matrilineality and patrilineality. In matrilineal societies such as the Akan, descent through the line of the mother determined membership in a kin group. Kinfolk, in turn, mutually owed obligations and exercised rights, including inheritance. (An Akan man, for example, belonged not to his father's kin group but rather to his mother's; his closest authoritative senior kinsman was his maternal uncle.) There are vigorous debates about the historical realities behind "African lineality" in general, and especially the interaction between slavery and matrilineality. But the key fact here is that unlike the Akan freeborn, who belonged to their mothers' kin groups, a slave child belonged completely to the lineage of his or her owner. And often that owner was a man. Thus, the people whose origins should not be revealed—the assimilating slaves—traced their kin membership through a father, albeit not a biological one. In this way, slavery in southern Gold Coast planted roots for a patrilineal system of inheritance and descent that tangled and competed with the matrilineal system. It was the mirror image of slavery in British America, where legally enforced matrilineality set slaves apart and affirmed free men's authority over both property and their white and black "dependents."³⁶ Comparing such innovations reminds us how contingent these kinship systems were, and how intertwined they were with slavery, not only in Africa but in the United States as well.

The second reason why slavery so strongly affected property and kinship had to do with the struggles of assimilating slaves and their masters over kinship mem-

Cave," *ibid.*, vol. 6: *Alabama and Indiana Narratives*, 50. On white workingmen as "domestic dependents," see Laura F. Edwards, "The Problem of Dependency: African Americans, Labor Relations, and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South," *Agricultural History* 72, no. 2 (1998): 313–330; Christopher L. Tomlins, *Law, Labor, and Ideology in the Early American Republic* (New York, 1993), 226–258.

³⁵ Michael P. Johnson, "Planters and Patriarchy: Charleston, 1800–1860," *Journal of Southern History* 46 (1980): 71. The emphasis here on precolonial matrilineal authority over women is consistent with Stefano Boni's revision of the important findings of Jean Allman and Victoria Tashjian. See Allman and Tashjian, *"I Will Not Eat Stone": A Women's History of Colonial Asante* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2000); and Boni, "Twentieth-Century Transformations in Notions of Gender, Parenthood, and Marriage in Southern Ghana: A Critique of the Hypothesis of 'Retrograde Steps' for Akan Women," *History in Africa* 28 (2001): 15–41.

³⁶ For a provocative linkage of matrilineality and slavery, see Wyatt MacGaffey, "Changing Representations in Central African History," *Journal of African History* 46, no. 2 (2005): 200. On the use of lineality to set slaves apart, see Cheryl I. Harris, "Whiteness as Property," in Kimberlé Crenshaw et al., eds., *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement* (New York, 1993), 277–279; Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery*, 31. Thanks to Mary Ryan for this insight.

bership and rights to family property. Masters wanted to have it both ways. On the one hand, masters incorporated slaves into their own lineage, dodging the claims that their wives' matrilineage normally would have over their household members. This is why free men liked to take slaves as junior wives: a slave wife was easier to control than a freeborn wife, whose family would protect her and claim her children for themselves.³⁷ But at the same time, masters wanted to keep slaves as lineage-less outsiders. Defining slaves as metaphoric "orphans" gave masters sweeping rights over everything the slaves possessed: their belongings, their muscles, and their children. Masters stood to benefit by stripping slaves of any kin ties—and of the property rights that went with kinship. In 1869, for example, one woman lamented, "After the [funeral] custom Defendant took all my brother's property, slaves and pawns . . . and when I asked him what right he had to take them away, he told me that I am a daughter of one of [his] slaves."³⁸ Indeed, kinlessness was often not so much a literal fact as a popular shorthand for someone whose lack of full personhood blocked her from *being* a sister or daughter in any socially meaningful sense. Slaves could live near their blood relatives and yet be unrecognized as kin because (to gloss U.S. Supreme Court Justice Roger B. Taney's famous dictum in kinship terms) they had no family that anyone was bound to respect.³⁹

By the same token, Akan masters and their relatives counted on their slaves to perpetuate the family. The "children of the house" were inferior, but they were fictive kin, "relative[s] by service," as one man put it, with potential claims, which only grew stronger as memories of slave origins were strategically blurred over time. Not only could slaves earn property and inherit from each other, but some bought slaves of their own, and a few became richer than their masters. "Domestics" could also, by the logic of kin incorporation, inherit the property of their master's family, or even become the head of his lineage (to keep the title from going to some distant relative).⁴⁰ Whether slave lineage heads were merely convenient placeholders and

³⁷ Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, 33, 40; Reed, "Slavery in Ashanti and Colonial South Carolina," 38; Robertson and Klein, "Women's Importance in African Slave Systems," 3–25. In its own way, pawn marriage also strengthened a husband's rights within marriage, but only slave marriage let him sidestep matrilineality's claims to his children. Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*, 146–147, 175.

³⁸ Testimony of Effuah Adooah in *Adooah v. Awooh*, July 19–23, 1869, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/91, PRAAD. And see *Mensah v. Watts*, January 25, 1877, Cape Coast Judicial Assessor's Court Record Book, SCT 5/4/19, PRAAD; *Saccoom v. Amoanee*, July 26, 1881, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/100, PRAAD.

³⁹ Taney wrote that blacks "were so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," an assertion that almost mirrors Meillassoux's definition of the slave as anti-kin. *Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393 (1856) Lexis 472. Again, official ideologies did not necessarily match reality. Indeed, many unfree people (including both pawns and slaves) actually had kin nearby and were "outsiders only to their holders' kinship groups." Kwabena Opere Akurang-Parry, "Slavery and Abolition in the Gold Coast: Colonial Modes of Emancipation and African Initiatives," *Ghana Studies* 1 (1998): 22–27.

⁴⁰ For "relative[s] by service," see testimony of Quabina Amooquando in *Abban v. Sago*, January 24, 1883, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/103, PRAAD; *Ayima v. Grunshi*, May 6, 1890, Akuse District Civil Record Book, ADM 31/4/3, PRAAD; and for an example of slippage between "brother" and "slave brother," see testimony of John Harrington Midley in *Sisarkun v. Arkwah*, August 25, 1904, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/136, PRAAD. On time and slave origins, see A. Norman Klein, "The Two Asantes: Competing Interpretations of 'Slavery' in Akan-Asante Culture and Society," in Paul E. Lovejoy, ed., *The Ideology of Slavery in Africa* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1981), 152; Akosua Perbi, "Slavery and Ghana's Pre-Colonial Social Structure," in Per Hernæs and Tore Iversen, eds., *Slavery across Time and Space: Studies in Slavery in Medieval Europe and Africa* (Trondheim, 2002), 165. For inheritance among slaves, see testimony of Quacoe Dantee in *Adooah v. Awooh*, July 19, 1869, Cape Coast High Court, SCT

whether heading a lineage set a person free were matters of dispute, especially in the years after “legal status” abolition.⁴¹ But at least one slave-turned-family head is known to have “sold off” members of the family that owned him in order to settle its debts.⁴² Thus, by the mid-1800s in Gold Coast, not all slaves equated freedom with breaking away from the people who owned them. Although the logic of matrilineal descent made it legally impossible for the children of enslaved women to be kin, in practice, masters’ blurring of that line gave slave-descended people an opening to claim kinship with a rich family and its property, because “being one of the family,” like “owning property,” depended on marking and performing those genealogies, performances that were increasingly liable to dispute as generations passed. It is not enough to say, as one influential study has argued, that slaves were “socially dead.”⁴³ Slaves established social ties all the time, including biological ties with their own masters, and so it was *through* community and kinship, not in its absence, that slaves and masters fought their battles.

No U.S. slave could ever become the head of his or her master’s family, much less sell off its members. And slaves essentially rejected the notion that they were part of a great big plantation family headed by their master.⁴⁴ Yet inside slave communities, in their relations with each other, African Americans seized on the connection between kinship and power. Much as Gold Coast slaves tried to claim property and kinship with their masters, U.S. slaves’ efforts to raise and keep property led them to create and re-create kinship with other slaves and to command precious after-hours work from their kinfolk. Property underlined questions of authority within slave families, and spurred negotiations, even conflicts, between husbands, wives, parents, in-laws, and neighbors.⁴⁵ Slaves’ claims to property made what has come to be called “the black family” ever more complex and malleable, and reinforced its connection to questions of power, ownership, and work.

5/4/91, PRAAD. On the differing property rights of “domestics” and *nnɔnkɔfo*, see Klein, “Inequality in Asante,” 232–234; Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*, 107, 119. On slaves holding land rights through their masters’ lineages, see Arhin, “The Economic and Social Significance of Rubber Production,” 52. On slave-owning slaves, see *Inyebbribee v. Animah*, May 30, 1877, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/102, PRAAD; Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, 41. On slaves richer than their masters, see Klein, “Inequality in Asante,” 253–254. On slave lineage heads, see *Abamba v. Otoo*, May 19, 1881, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/100, PRAAD; *Enkatsiah v. Saynah*, March 3, 1883, Elmina Civil Record Book, SCT 5/4/277, PRAAD.

⁴¹ “Slaves are often headmen,” explained a witness, but “[t]he fact of a slave being made a head man does not alter his status he does not becomes free.” Testimony of Quow Quotah in *Abban v. Sago*, January 24, 1883, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/103, PRAAD. Meillassoux heartily concurs; *The Anthropology of Slavery*, 123–125. Yet a slave-headman could use that position, however temporary in theory, to start carving out the respect, honor, and genealogical legitimacy that constituted “freedom,” as Quow Sippah seems to have done. *Sippah v. Mensah*, August 16, 1881, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/100, PRAAD. Thanks to David Schoenbrun for helping me think this point through.

⁴² *Ampima v. Deamua* (1844), quoted in John Mensah Sarbah, *Fanti Customary Laws* (1897; repr., London, 1968), 142–143. See also Christaller, *A Grammar of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi*, 155.

⁴³ Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*.

⁴⁴ Many U.S. slave owners were shocked in 1865 when “their” “mammies” and other black dependents walked off and left them. White, *Ar’n’t I a Woman?* 168–169.

⁴⁵ Larry E. Hudson, Jr., *To Have and to Hold: Slave Work and Family Life in Antebellum South Carolina* (Athens, Ohio, 1997), xxi. On property, authority, and conflict in slave communities, see Dylan C. Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003), 85–89, 97–108.

Slaves and slavery also complicated important ongoing transformations in Anglo-American and Akan notions of property. Consider the relationship between individual and joint claims of ownership. In the United States, of course, a slave was a piece of property, a "chattel personal," but practices common in southern business and inheritance often meant that one of those "chattels" could legally belong to several people at once, such as when slaves were hired out or mortgaged or held in trust for widows and underage heirs.⁴⁶ Such arrangements quickly spun out webs of overlapping entitlements—"life estates" and "remaindermen" in the United States, "lineage" and "self-acquired" property in Gold Coast, to name just a few. Precisely because human "chattels" were so versatile, the potential for multiple ownership claims was even higher for them than for land or livestock or other kinds of property. If the ownership of slaves was complex, the ownership of property by slaves complicated matters still further. Most Americans knew that slaves, in principle, could not own property, and yet southern newspapers, courts, and ordinary whites frequently acknowledged that in practice they often did. Even if the law usually ignored property ownership by slaves, the everyday realities of dealing with property urged whites to take account of such claims. For example, settling a deceased slave owner's estate often meant ordering his slaves to hire themselves out for the benefit of his widow, children, or creditors and letting them keep part of their earnings. Slave owners across the South allotted their slaves plots of land for gardens, to be worked after hours, or paid them for their "overwork" during the critical seasons. What masters conceded as a money-saving scheme, enslaved people turned into an informal economy that drew in white neighbors and fellow slaves: unevenly patrolled and often contested, but widespread nonetheless.⁴⁷ As the North Carolina Supreme Court pointed out in 1845, the many statutes regulating trading with slaves implicitly "recognize[d] a sort of ownership by slaves." The ownership of property by slaves opened a gap between the formal law of property (as defined by legal theorists) and the understanding that most people—even local magistrates—had about how property actually worked.⁴⁸ Gold Coast slaves' property claims were even stronger. And the tendency for Akan property to drift toward corporate ownership meant that a

⁴⁶ Adrienne D. Davis, "The Private Law of Race and Sex: An Antebellum Perspective," *Stanford Law Review* 51 (1998–1999): 231–232; George Stroud (1827), quoted in Thomas D. Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619–1860* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), 61; Thomas D. Russell, "A New Image of the Slave Auction: An Empirical Look at the Role of Law in Slave Sales and a Conceptual Reevaluation of Slave Property," *Cardozo Law Review* 18 (1996): 473–523.

⁴⁷ These schemes had little to do with sentiment; the point was to shift some of the cost of maintaining the slaves (more than a fifth of a cotton plantation's total output) onto the slaves themselves. Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *The Slaves' Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas* (Portland, Ore., 1991), 19; Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation* (1977; repr., Cambridge, 2001), 4. Because of space considerations, I am underplaying the geographic and chronological diversity of the "slaves' economy"; these are sketched in Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), 177, 184–187; and Berlin and Morgan, *The Slaves' Economy*.

⁴⁸ The quotation is from *Waddill v. Martin*, 1845 N.C. Lexis 194; see also *Rice v. Cade*, 1836 La. Lexis 198. These are the only cases I know of in which antebellum southern courts protected slaves' property, but the courts seem not to have interfered with it, either, unless the sums got too big—say, \$1,560, as in the case of an enslaved woman named Milly. See *Lea v. Brown*, 1860 N.C. Lexis 253. Some high court decisions referred to slave-owned property offhandedly. See *State v. Negro George*, 1797 Del. Lexis 70; and *Oswald v. McGehee*, 1854 Miss. Lexis 180. And for arguments about the legal status of slaves' possessions, see *McNamara v. Kerns et al.*, 1841 N.C. Lexis 53; *Graves v. Allan*, 1852 Ky. Lexis 11. According to Laura F. Edwards, who stops short of calling such claims ownership, such gaps reflected the intensely

slave held as someone's self-acquired property gained new rights (including property rights) when her master died and she became a "domestic."⁴⁹

Some evidence suggests that during the final years of slavery, many masters, eager to take advantage of booming prices for cotton (in the U.S.) and palm oil (in Gold Coast), tried to choke off slaves' customary rights, including their claims to property.⁵⁰ Yet the underlying conception remained: for most people—slave or free—what turned possessions into property was a complex interchange of display and acknowledgment, guided by people's shifting notions of what was customary in their neighborhood. Witnesses in both regions talked about asking permission to build or farm, presenting "rum" money, tearing down unauthorized walls, or seizing "canoe men"; they claimed to "know" their neighbors' animals "by sight" or to be able to pace off land boundaries from memory.⁵¹ These were the things that let owners say, "The land is known by people generally that it is mine." Indeed, one of the main reasons why slaves could be property owners was that free people's property relations, including their legal rights, were also partly grounded in "custom" and local knowledge. As one Alabama man put it, "I seen it in her possession, and her master knew it, and everyone considered it her property."⁵²

In sum, much work on the United States, Britain, and Gold Coast suggests that the notion of property as commodity was neither dominant nor inexorable; instead, it emerged haltingly before and during the period of early European settlement, and

local character of U.S. law in this period. Edwards, "The People and Their Peace: The Reconstitution of Governance in the Post-Revolutionary South" (unpublished ms. in author's possession).

⁴⁹ On slaves' rights to self-acquired property (which for male slaves, according to Rattray's 1920 informants, included rights in their wives), see Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, 38–41, and Austin's analysis of enslaved sharecropper settlements in *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*, 120–121. On the enhanced rights of "domestics," see Klein, "Inequality in Asante," 228–233, although again, scholars disagree about the role and separateness of Asante state slavery.

⁵⁰ A. Norman Klein, "Slavery and Akan Origins?" *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 4 (1994): 649 n. 11; McSheffrey, "Slavery, Indentured Servitude," 361–364; H. C. Bruce, *The New Man: Twenty-Nine Years a Slave, Twenty-Nine Years a Free Man—Recollections of H. C. Bruce* (York, Pa., 1895), 62–76; and testimony of Samuel B. Smith, Esq., November 19, 1863, 3–4, File 7, Records of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, File O-328 (1863), Entry 12, Letters Received, 1805–1889, Correspondence, 1800–1947, General Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 94, National Archives, Washington, D.C. [hereafter NARA].

⁵¹ For rum money and other practices, see testimony of Quacoe Esum in *Abakan v. Ackarsahn*, July 22, 1879, and *Ammanee v. Affaree*, July 22, 1879, both in Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/102, PRAAD. For walls and canoe men, see testimony of Quabina Awoosie in *Ahkery v. Awoosie*, September 17, 1869, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/91, PRAAD. For knowing animals "by sight," see Sub-Asst. Cmr. F. W. Liedtke to Bvt. Maj. A. M. L. Crawford, September 10, 1866, in *Dingle v. Waring*, Proceedings of Provost Court, 1867–1868, Berkeley District, Entry 1394, RG 393, Part IV, NARA. See also testimony of Caroline Hamlet and of Isaac Allen, both in *State v. Edwards*, October 17, 1877, Folder 18, Box 2, Criminal Cases, Circuit Court Papers, Warren County, Mississippi, Old Court House Museum, Vicksburg, Miss. [hereafter OCHM]; testimony of John Mingo in *Trial of Chance*, September 26, 1805, Amelia County, Condemned Slaves File, Library of Virginia [hereafter LV]. For pacing off land, see testimony of Thos. H. Massy in *Haywood v. Turner*, November 1867 (n.d.), Entry 1594, Proceedings of the Provost Court, Fayetteville, North Carolina, RG 393, Part IV, NARA.

⁵² Testimony of Quabina Awoosie in *Ahkery v. Awoosie*, September 17, 1869, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/91, PRAAD; testimony of George Richardson, quoted in Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk*, 107. "Display" and local acknowledgment mattered in areas beyond property, too. See Michael P. Johnson and James Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York, 1984), 35–43, 82–94; Ariela R. Dubler, "Wifely Behavior: A Legal History of Acting Married," *Columbia Law Review* 100 (2000): 957–1021. On local custom and knowledge as constitutive elements of U.S. law, see Edwards, *The People and Their Peace*.

had to compete with other notions of property well into the 1800s. Fierce arguments raged over rights to commons, state, and lineage property; over the legal transformation of public resources (such as grazing land and river water) into private property or from self-acquired to stool property; and over the right to pass on private wealth through inheritance.⁵³ The complexity of property in the nineteenth-century United States—where white husbands had property rights in their white wives, and where many things, especially land, slaves, and the slaves’ “petty gains and properties,” were claimed as property by more than one person—opens new possibilities for exploring what one fugitive slave called “the chattel principle” and its ramifications throughout American society.⁵⁴ And although the nineteenth century’s momentous debates over property are often associated with free people—jurists, farmers, industrialists, and urban workers—comparison reveals that there were other traditions and definitions of property roiling the debate, including people at the margins of empire and even those at the furthest margins of society: the slaves. In both regions, slaves’ claims to property stirred up—and grew out of—debates among free people, struggles between masters and slaves, and evolving relations among slaves.

IN BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND GOLD COAST, abolition intensified and reshaped already longstanding contests over what it meant to be one of the family. In Gold Coast, ex-slaves faced a world in which there was no decisive end to slavery. The British officials who passed abolition laws in Gold Coast were aghast at the upheavals they thought they had seen in the Caribbean during the 1830s and the United States during the 1860s, and, using their experience in India as a model, they took pains to avoid similar disruptions, even if it sometimes meant downplaying their own proclamation.⁵⁵ In late 1874, the colonial government stopped recognizing slavery as a

⁵³ Testimony of Yahoo Quamassi in *Wooraduah v. Occootah*, June 1, 1877, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/102, PRAAD; *Bayaidee v. Mensah*, September 8, 1877, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/102, PRAAD; Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana* (esp. on the pivotal Akan distinction between rights to produce and owning the soil); Klein, “Inequality in Asante”; Parker, *Making the Town*, 126; on Lagos, see Antony Hopkins, “Property Rights and Empire Building: Britain’s Annexation of Lagos, 1861,” *Journal of Economic History* 40 (December 1980): 787; and on the U.S., see Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds., *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985); Morton J. Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); Gregory S. Alexander, *Commodity and Propriety: Competing Visions of Property in American Legal Thought, 1776–1970* (Chicago, 1997); Tomlins, *Law, Labor, and Ideology*; Hendrik Hartog, “Pigs and Positivism,” *Wisconsin Law Review* 4 (July 1985): 899–935. Property and credit in colonial and precolonial Africa were long studied mainly through the prism of long-distance trade. For more recent perspectives, see Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*; Jane I. Guyer, ed., *Money Matters: Instability, Values and Social Payments in the Modern History of West African Communities* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995); and Sara Berry, *No Condition Is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1993).

⁵⁴ On the shifting constellation of marital rights, see Hendrik Hartog, *Man and Wife in America: A History* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000). Examples of multiply claimed property included slave-hiring (discussed above), “settlements” and other estates for wives and daughters, and trusts. Lawrence M. Friedman, *A History of American Law* (New York, 1985), 248–255; Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law*, esp. 31–62. For slaves’ “petty gains and properties,” see *Waddill v. Martin*, 1845 N.C. Lexis 194. On the chattel principle, see J. W. C. Pennington (1849), quoted in Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 19.

⁵⁵ McSheffrey, “Slavery, Indentured Servitude,” 354. For detailed analyses of European officials’ “vacillating” and often contradictory policies toward unfree labor in West Africa, see Akurang-Parry, “Slavery and Abolition in the Gold Coast,” 11–34; Martin A. Klein, *Slavery in Colonial Rule in French*

legal status and banned the importation of new slaves into the colony, but until 1908 it was still perfectly legal to hold slaves, and imports continued.⁵⁶ By contrast, African Americans' struggles over property and kinship took place in a world where slavery was definitely dead, but few agreed on what should replace it.

As many scholars have shown, the legal systems set up under colonial rule served a variety of powerful groups: ruling elites, male elders, and the colonial state itself. Those groups' jostling assumptions and interests often opened up space for ordinary people, and even slaves, to seize on legal institutions to pursue their interests. In southern Gold Coast and the U.S. South, abolition laws, along with the legal regimes that imposed them, intensified already heated intellectual debates over property and family. Many former slave owners and their descendants found themselves arguing over property with former slaves. In the United States, moreover, the unprecedented expansion of black property owners intensified struggles *among* the descendants of slaves. Although most disputes probably never reached any court, the cases that did get there offer glimpses of fierce battles over who owned what—and whom.⁵⁷

Abolition laws went hand in hand with shifts in jurisdictional boundaries. Gold Coast's 1874 Abolition Ordinance was administered, albeit haltingly and inconsistently, by a newly expanded system of district commissioners and high courts, themselves part of the just-minted "Gold Coast Colony."⁵⁸ In the United States, after the Confederacy was beaten, military courts gave way to Freedmen's Bureau offices, and eventually to "reconstructed" civil courts. The legal systems that gradually emerged in both regions complemented and interlaced with older understandings from the time before abolition. Village chiefs and heads of families continued to mediate disputes, but the presence of colonial, military, or Freedmen's Bureau courts (however fleeting) opened new possibilities for former slaves.

As Lauren Benton points out, the changes that colonialism wrought in jurisdictional boundaries were inseparable from questions of cultural identity and of property. In both Gold Coast and the United States, emancipation was a time when law

West Africa (Cambridge, 1998); Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897–1936* (New York, 1993).

⁵⁶ Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, "Rethinking the 'Slaves of Salaga': Post-Proclamation Slavery in the Gold Coast (Colonial Southern Ghana), 1874–1899," *Left History* 8, no. 1 (2002): 33–60. The 1908 law also banned pawning. For an example of how British officials carefully limited their judgments in "slave cases," see *In re Pocoo*, November 16, 1876, Cape Coast Judicial Assessor's Court Record Book, SCT 5/4/19, PRAAD.

⁵⁷ In addition to the studies cited above, my analysis draws on Laura F. Edwards, "Status without Rights: African Americans and the Tangled History of Law and Governance in the Nineteenth-Century U.S. South," *American Historical Review* 112, no. 2 (April 2007): 365–393; Richard Roberts and William Worger, "Law, Colonialism and Conflicts over Property in Sub-Saharan Africa," *African Economic History* 25 (1997): 1–7. For classic statements on the "hegemonic" function of the law, see Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 25–49; Martin Chanock, "Paradigms, Policies, and Property: A Review of the Customary Law of Land Tenure," in Kristin Mann and Richard Roberts, *Law in Colonial Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1991), 61–84. The Gold Coast cases presented here help to contextualize an older historiography that portrayed slavery in Africa as benign; those studies wrestled to make sense of slave systems that did not seem to be founded on racial ideologies, using evidence from the very years those systems were supposed to be ending. Thanks to Jonathon Glassman for this observation.

⁵⁸ A. N. Allott, "Native Tribunals in the Gold Coast, 1844–1927," *Journal of African Law* 1, no. 3 (1957): 166–169; A. N. Amisshah, "The Supreme Court, a Hundred Years Ago," in W. C. Ekow Daniels and G. R. Woodman, eds., *Essays in Ghanaian Law: Supreme Court Centenary Publication, 1876–1976* (Legon, Ghana, 1976), 1–4.

was widely seen as constitutive of political authority and cultural identity, and when many people—including former slaves—found new opportunities in “jurisdictional complexity.” “I have always found it hard to discover what is the native law upon any point whatsoever,” sighed one British judge in a family land case. His American counterpart would have agreed: sorting out the ownership of southern property was “a terrible job,” even though the South’s “native law” was clear enough.⁵⁹ How could anyone regularize and make useful sense of property in contexts where few people could show legal documents, where local customs often seemed to contradict obvious legal principles (such as when U.S. ex-slaves claimed to have owned property), and where a whole category of property had been (or was in the process of being) abolished?

One solution was to ask local experts for help to “crystallise” local custom into a foundation that courts could rely on. The “Courts should do all that is in their power to fix these will-o’-the-wisps called native customs, and transfer them to the records,” urged one British judge in Gold Coast, carefully rejecting any that did not date from “time immemorial.”⁶⁰ In the 1870s and 1880s, the American Southern Claims Commission, charged with compensating loyal southerners for property taken by the Union Army, relied heavily on witness testimony about local custom in making its judgments. So did many Freedmen’s Bureau and provost courts, while they lasted.⁶¹ But such efforts went further in Gold Coast, largely because of its evolving policy of “indirect rule.” Indirect rule tried to create a double judicial system, in which “pure native tenure” was supposedly communal, and individual ownership was an “absolutely foreign” Western concept. But “[b]y linking land ownership to community membership,” as Sara Berry points out, colonial officials “opened a Pandora’s box.” In any given case, one could ask: Which community owned the land, and who were its members?⁶² No one had a more desperate stake in such questions than those who lived on the margins of community—the slaves.

Much debate has centered on whether the abolition laws really transformed Gold Coast societies, as measured by the number of desertions, freedom petitions, or prosecutions for slave-dealing.⁶³ Many unfree people in Gold Coast and elsewhere

⁵⁹ Lauren A. Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900* (Cambridge, 2002), 10–11; Parker, *Making the Town*, 174–177; C. J. Hutchinson (1890), quoted in Sarbah, *Fanti Customary Laws*, 177; Special Agent Robert B. Avery to Commissioner Orange Ferriss, June 4, 1878, Entry 326, Letters Received from Special Agents of the Commission, 1871–1880, M87, Roll 10, Records Relating to the Southern Claims Commission, RG 56, NARA.

⁶⁰ For “crystallise,” see *Angu v. Attah*, June 23, 1916, in *Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on Appeal from the Gold Coast Colony, 1874–June 1928* (Accra, 1929). For “will-o’-the-wisps,” see *Welbeck v. Brown* (1884), quoted in Sarbah, *Fanti Customary Laws*, 187–188.

⁶¹ Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk*, 126–130, 136–140, 150–161.

⁶² Berry, *No Condition Is Permanent*, 106–107; Chief Justice Maxwell (1919) is quoted on 106.

⁶³ Such actions speak volumes about the effectiveness of colonial policies and African initiatives. But masters’ waning ability to call on the coercive powers of the state opened a range of possibilities for slaves, not just autonomy and not just through flight or freedom suits. The debate is (and was) fueled by the perception that post-abolition disruptions (or the lack thereof) indicate something about the nature of slavery in Africa—harsh or “mild”—a premise implicitly grounded on comparison with American slavery. McSheffrey, “Slavery, Indentured Servitude,” 349–368; Claire C. Robertson, “Post-Proclamation Slavery in Accra: A Female Affair?” in Robertson and Klein, *Women and Slavery in Africa*, 220–245; Dumett and Johnson, “Britain and the Suppression of Slavery”; Trevor R. Getz, *Slavery and Reform in West Africa: Toward Emancipation in Nineteenth-Century Senegal and the Gold Coast* (Athens, Ohio, 2004), 125–136; Kwabena Opare-Akurang, “The Administration of the Abolition Laws, African Responses, and Post-Proclamation Slavery in the Gold Coast, 1874–1940,” in Suzanne Miers and Martin

in West Africa did run away in the wake of abolition laws. But even in places where there were relatively few “slavery cases” and where (as some scholars argue) no mass exodus took place, ex-slaves still pursued their interests, in ways that can be compared to the situation in the United States, where slavery ended with war and exodus. Struggle and negotiation themselves represented continuity with the slavery era, even if the colonial era shrouded that nineteenth-century dynamism in the still mists of “time immemorial.”

Former slaves in both regions used law strategically. Going to court was not easy, especially for ex-slaves, who probably were reluctant to confront their former masters there. So it is likely that many disputes never made it to any court. But those that did reveal important patterns. Rather than walk directly into a chiefly or colonial court, slaves tended to provoke a crisis by deliberately doing something “wrong” outside of court, leaving ex-masters to pursue the matter in court.⁶⁴ As in the American South, slavery was so woven into the social fabric that “relations between slaveholders depended upon slaves,” and so when southern Gold Coast slaves overstepped (or neglected) their bounds, they threw into doubt not only their own rights but also the rights of a whole range of free people: creditors, heirs, settlers, even their masters. African Americans may have been more likely to challenge white landowners directly. Whites who had barely noticed disputes among blacks during slavery now confronted black women and men who refused to “hush,” or even threatened to “sling the shit out of” their boss.⁶⁵ But given the risks—a creditor’s cold shoulder, a torched cabin, or a bullet to the face—it is likely that freedpeople in the United States, like those in Gold Coast, picked their battles carefully.

Ex-slaves also took advantage of the incompleteness of formal law and the persistence of local understandings about property and kinship. British officials and Union officers alike complained that litigants took their disputes from one forum to the next, from family meetings to official courts and sometimes back again, shopping for a favorable verdict.⁶⁶ Because of Britain’s insistence on ruling through “native

Klein, eds., *Slavery and Colonial Rule in Africa* (London, 1999), 150; Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa*, 17–18, 159–215. Foreshadowing similar scholarly debates, Zanzibari nationalists in the 1950s drew a contrast between New World slavery and “a supposedly benign ‘Arab slavery.’” See Jonathon Glassman, “Slower Than a Massacre: The Multiple Sources of Racial Thought in Colonial Africa,” *American Historical Review* 109, no. 3 (June 2004): 747.

⁶⁴ Of the cases I examined from various Gold Coast colonial courts, there were thirty-eight in which one litigant or her ancestors were allegedly enslaved to the other litigant. Of these, twenty-five were brought to court by ex-masters or their descendants. An additional forty-six cases involved slaves but did not clearly indicate the litigants’ relationship to one another, involved pawnship, or otherwise did not clearly relate to slavery. Akurang-Parry notes that very few pawns brought freedom suits, even though the abolition law lumped pawnship with slavery; “‘Missy Queen in Her Palaver,’” 254.

⁶⁵ Testimony of Quassie Ackarsahn in *Abakan v. Ackarsahn*, July 22, 1879, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/102, PRAAD; *Ekrofull v. Assimah*, January 20, 1880, Elmina District Commissioner’s Court, SCT 23/4/1, PRAAD; Walter Johnson, “Inconsistency, Contradiction, and Complete Confusion: The Everyday Life of the Law of Slavery,” *Law and Social Inquiry* 22, no. 2 (1997): 422 (“relations between slaveholders”). For a Gã example, see Parker, *Making the Town*, 126–128. For “hush,” see testimony of J. B. Droughon in *State v. Armstrong*, January 14, 1870, 037.326.4, Criminal Action Papers, Edgecombe County, North Carolina, State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh [hereafter NCSA]; and cf. Robertson, “Post-Proclamation Slavery in Accra,” 237. For “sling,” see testimony of Gillem Fitzgerald (freedman) in *United States v. Fitzgerald*, September 30, 1867, Proceedings of a Military Commission at Vicksburg, Mississippi, OO2701, RG 153, NARA.

⁶⁶ Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk*, 111–130; “Gold Coast. Domestic Slavery. The Jurisdiction of the Judicial Assessor, and the Legal Character and Limitations of British Power upon the Gold Coast,

law,” Gold Coast litigants could go a step further, and argue over which body of law should apply in their case—British, Gã, Fante, Asante, “Mahammedan,” or even “Brazilian” law—arguments that reflected both the complexity of identity in this region and the courts’ eagerness to pin it down. Akans literally made history when they went to court; their testimony captured precious details about changes in a nineteenth-century African society, but also in the sense that it pulled Europeans into an ongoing debate among Africans about the past, much as Reconstruction-era officials in the United States had to grapple with local southern customs about property and social relations.⁶⁷

Despite their shortcomings in policy and implementation, “legal status” abolition and the revamping of legal institutions opened new possibilities for debating property and kinship and how they were “customarily” linked. Before 1874, Akan masters had confidently gone to British courts to claim runaway slaves as property; after 1874, as the scope and geographic reach of abolition laws haltingly widened, they were more likely to claim property *from* their former slaves, often in ways that drew upon the longstanding notion that a slave was one of the family. In court, some masters affirmed kin ties, speaking of their former slaves as their children and saying that these so-called children did not really own the property they lived on. In both regions, in family property disputes with other free people, some masters now asked their old family slaves and pawns to testify for them; it seemed natural that someone who had “nursed [and] carried” the master’s children “at [her] back” would “know more about the family affairs than anyone else.”⁶⁸ In Gold Coast, such tactics catered to the sensibilities of colonial officials, who were increasingly willing to paint “domestic slavery” as a mild institution, so different from Caribbean slavery that it scarcely deserved the name “slavery” at all.⁶⁹

March 1874,” CO 879/6, no. 47, Public Record Office, Kew, England [hereafter PRO]. For similar patterns elsewhere in Africa, see Richard Roberts, *Litigants and Households: African Disputes and Colonial Courts in the French Soudan, 1895–1912* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2005).

⁶⁷ For examples, see the various cases relating to Jemima Nassu and the Accra “Brazilian” community, including *Nassu v. Basel Mission* (1915) (“Mahammedan Law”), in *Some Judgments of Divisional and Full Courts Held in the Gold Coast Colony* (Accra, 1919); *Azuma v. Fiscian* (1953), 14 West Africa Court of Appeal [hereafter WACA] 287; and *Bassil and Acquah v. Honger* (1954), 14 WACA 569. See also Alcione M. Amos and Ebenezer Ayesu, “‘I Am Brazilian’: History of the Tabon, Afro-Brazilians in Accra, Ghana,” *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, no. 6 (2002): 35–58. “Fante” denotes a set of Akan-speaking polities that occupied this coastal region in the 1800s, but which did not necessarily share a common identity apart from their opposition to Asante, which Britain capitalized on for its own purposes. Gã did not belong to the Akan linguistic group, and Gã identity has an equally complex history.

⁶⁸ I use 1874 here as a rough marker for a shift that almost certainly took years. For examples of masters claiming runaway slaves, see *Davis v. Mensah*, October 11, 1869, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/91, PRAAD; *Arwoonie v. Arwoochie*, March 20, 1871, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/94, PRAAD; *Appeah v. Agnafforol*, August 15, 1871, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/96, PRAAD; *Cardon v. Danbogen and Appeah*, September 5, 1871, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/96, PRAAD. On claiming property from former slaves, see *Abban v. Sago*, January 24, 1883, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/103, PRAAD; *Korkor v. Plange*, n.d., Akuse District Civil Record Book, ADM 31/4/4, PRAAD; *Ashon v. Aduah*, August 17, 1908, West Africa Court of Appeal Record Book (Cape Coast), SCT 5/4/294, PRAAD. For “nursed” and “carried,” see testimony of Ambah Bessemah in *Grant, Wharton et al. v. Pieterston*, April 26, 1877, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/102, PRAAD. For “know more,” see deposition of Townley Johnson, August 30, 1867, in *Hume and Crosby v. Beale*, Case 919, Records of the United States Supreme Court for the District of Columbia, NARA [hereafter EDC]; see also *Dick v. Cobbah*, November 19, 1877, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/102, PRAAD.

⁶⁹ Gold Coast, Domestic Slavery, March 1874, CO 879/6, no. 47, PRO; Extract from Minutes of

Other ex-masters sailed right into the winds of change: they grabbed hold of potentially vulnerable pieces of property by cutting their ties with their former slaves. After 1874, and especially after 1908 (when slaveholding was finally banned in Gold Coast), some ex-masters began to argue that if abolition had ended masters' rights over their slaves, it must also have ended slaves' rights to family property.⁷⁰ Not all Gold Coast elites opposed abolition. But for many former slave owners and their descendants, "legal status" abolition was a chance to clarify (or maybe redraw) the boundaries of their families, often at the expense of old family slaves. And the colonial courts encouraged them, ruling that once slaves stopped fulfilling their traditional "services" and "responsibilities," they were breaking an "implied contract" and therefore lost "any interest" in the family property.⁷¹

For their part, some ex-slaves believed that abolition had *not* cut them off from their masters' families, and that they still had rights to family property. In Gold Coast, many ex-slaves challenged their former masters not by leaving, but by asserting their rights as family members, even if it meant affirming their slave origins. One group of slaves even claimed that only "the domestics" had the right to elect chiefs.⁷² By exercising some right that the masters did not think they possessed, slaves challenged masters to acknowledge the implications of the ideology of kin incorporation. Here, ironically, they may have had help from Gold Coast's elites: because in trying to avoid the laws against slave-trafficking, many masters now told officials that their slaves were really their wives or children; because customary courts tended to favor "claims based on family rights over those of individuals"; and because British officials (convinced that they were following "native custom") were willing to affirm slaves' "rights against [their master] and his estate."⁷³ Without really meaning to,

Evidence Taken before the Committee on West African Lands, February 7, 1913, ADM 11/1/975, PRAAD; Minute by J. E. W. Flood, January 8, 1930, CO 323/1027/7, PRO.

⁷⁰ For evicting family slaves, see *Attah v. Sam and Others*, October 27, 1881, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/100, PRAAD; and *Bimba v. Mansah* (1891), in Sarbah, *Fanti Customary Laws*, 139. J. C. de Graft Johnson, the colony's assistant secretary for native affairs, wrote an official "Memorandum on the Vestiges of Slavery in the Gold Coast" while fighting an inheritance dispute of his own. The other party was the son of his father, J. W. de Graft Johnson, and one of his family's old "domestics." Asst. Sec. for Native Affairs J. C. de Graft Johnson to Sec. for Native Affairs, July 8, 1930, ADM 11/1/975, PRAAD; *In re J. W. de Graft Johnson*, July 31, 1929, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/158, PRAAD.

⁷¹ On Akan anti-slavery, see Akurang-Parry, "'We Shall Rejoice,'" 19–42. On "services," "responsibilities," "implied contract," and "interest," see the judgment in *Abban v. Sago*, January 25, 1883, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/103, PRAAD; and *Lintott Brothers v. Solomon* (1888), in Sarbah, *Fanti Customary Laws*, 123–124. These rulings implied that slaves who did continue their services would still have such rights.

⁷² As one ex-slave said, many chose to assert their familial rights rather than "avail themselves of their freedom." Testimony of Eccuah Bimba, November 18, 1891, in *Bimba v. Mensah*, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/115, PRAAD. See also *Hutchison v. Duma et al.*, August 20, 1884, Elmina District Commissioner's Court, SCT 23/4/2, PRAAD. For affirming slave origins, see *Mansah and Others v. Dophyne*, May 11, 1883, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/103, PRAAD. On chiefly elections, see *Toku v. Ama* (1890), in John Mensah Sarbah, *Fanti Law Report of Decided Cases on Fanti Customary Laws* (London, 1904), 58–63. The court ruled against them, guided by its "native assessors," of whom at least one was himself a slave owner.

⁷³ On camouflaging slaves, see *Regina v. Cofie and Ancomah*, April 30, 1877, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/102, PRAAD; *Regina v. Ochay*, April 7, 1875, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/99[101], PRAAD; *Regina v. Tandoe*, December 2, 1876, Cape Coast Judicial Assessor's Court Record Book, SCT 5/4/19, PRAAD; Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, "'The Loads Are Heavier Than Usual': Forced Labor by Women and Children in the Central Province, Gold Coast (Colonial Ghana), ca. 1900–1940," *African Economic History* 30 (2001): 39–43; *Rex v. Iregbu* (1938), 4 WACA 32. For "claims based on family

Gold Coast elites opened a door for slaves to carry their visions of Akan slavery—and its ideology of kin incorporation—right into colonial courts.

And although their ideas of slavery were different in many respects from those of the paternalists of the American South, Akan ex-masters seem to have reacted with a similar mix of steely grasping for family property and heartfelt anger at their wayward “children.” J. D. Taylor protested that abolition gave ex-slaves nothing more than the right to “go free,”

but in this they want to take the master’s own family property which their grandmothers met in the family house along with them and change the tribal name to be their own . . . And this I object [to] entirely. They are no more slaves to me and my family and have no right to take my tribal stool and all the properties in connection.⁷⁴

U.S. masters had never allowed their slaves property “rights,” but, like Taylor, they argued that abolition had terminated whatever customary claims slaves held, just as it broke the family bond between slave and master. And many of them began trampling on ex-slaves’ customary rights to “private crops,” gardens, chickens, and the like.⁷⁵ From the slave owners’ viewpoint, slaves were part of the family only in a carefully limited sense, and only so long as they were slaves. Like their American counterparts, many Akan elites believed that abolition had caused the “docile” family servants of yesteryear to become “homeless” and “lazy,” turning them into a “criminal class . . . without tribal or family control.”⁷⁶ With land prices climbing in towns such as Cape Coast, ex-slaves and ex-masters alike found it convenient to ignore the old maxim “Obi nkyerɛ obi ase” and talk openly about where people came from. Disputes over property in the years after “legal status abolition” helped change the meaning of kinship in southern Gold Coast, because many former slaves asserted rights to property owned by their masters and based those claims on the old dictum that a slave was one of the family.

Few U.S. slaves could argue that being one of the master’s family gave them rights to his plantation property. Indeed, as Adrienne Davis points out, one purpose of

rights,” see Berry, *No Condition Is Permanent*, 117. For “rights against . . . his estate,” see E. Fairfield, “Memorandum on Gold Coast Slavery, and the Measures Recently Taken for Its Abolition,” March 14, 1876, HCA 30/1029, Royal Commission on Fugitive Slaves, PRO; Gold Coast, Domestic Slavery, March 1874, CO 879/6, no. 47, PRO.

⁷⁴ J. D. Taylor to Sec. Native Affairs, January 18, 1909, enclosed in *Taylor v. Kwansah*, Appeal from Native Tribunal of Anomabo (Case no. 29/1909), ADM 11/1/40, PRAAD. Kwansah had apparently kept up ties to a lineage outside his master’s, something that, according to the masters’ ideology (and the modern scholarly model of “social death”), was not supposed to happen. See also the testimony of Yowah Wooraduah in *Wooraduah v. Occootah*, June 1, 1877, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/102, PRAAD.

⁷⁵ Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk*, 141–154; Foner, *Nothing but Freedom*, 55–67. Sometimes they literally trampled the gardens. See *Bennett v. Poppenheim*, December 30, 1867, Proceedings of Provost Court, 1867–1868, Berkeley District, South Carolina, Entry 1394, RG 393, Part IV, NARA.

⁷⁶ For “homeless,” see James Hutton Brew (1885), quoted in Roger S. Gocking, *Facing Two Ways: Ghana’s Coastal Communities under Colonial Rule* (Lanham, Md., 1999), 62. For “lazy” and “criminal class,” see de Graft Johnson, “Memorandum on the Vestiges of Slavery in the Gold Coast.” Contemporaries’ comments about Gold Coast ex-slave criminality should be read skeptically in light of similar comments by white Americans about black Americans. Cf. Akurang-Parry, “The Loads Are Heavier than Usual,” 47 n. 29, and Dumett and Johnson, “Britain and the Suppression of Slavery,” with Frederick Cooper, *From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya, 1890–1925* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1997), 111–121; Christopher Waldrep, *Roots of Disorder: Race and Criminal Justice in the American South, 1817–80* (Urbana, Ill., 1998), 90–100.

postwar anti-“miscegenation” laws was to protect whites’ wealth from the claims that might otherwise arise after white men had sex with black women.⁷⁷ However, freed-people did connect land rights with membership in kin groups, just usually not white ones. And as they did so, they changed both land rights and kinship. The key was the slow, but significant, rise of blacks as landowners. Nearly 18,000 black southerners owned farms by 1870, and nearly 208,000 by 1910. Statistics are difficult to come by, but by the early 1900s it is likely that a substantial proportion of black-owned land and houses was classified—in the eyes of blacks, but perhaps not by law—as “heir property.” These were things that were owned corporately by a large and complicated network of kin, not by any single person; rights to the old “home place” were founded on descent from what one man called the “old Founders,” and keeping “All of the land . . . in the family” was a point of pride.⁷⁸ Likely nurtured by southern courts’ halting treatment of black estates, heir property (or “family land”) became a source of strength for blacks—enabling them to pool resources and protect themselves from outside pressures.⁷⁹ Thus, much as the proponents of “pure native tenure” in Gold Coast tied landownership to “tribal” or kin group membership, African Americans increasingly tied land rights to membership in kin groups. But since kinship had always been such an adaptable concept, this linkage opened a Pandora’s box for African Americans, too: Who belonged in the family? And what did it mean to belong?

Consider Lot Richardson, a former slave who went to a South Carolina court to claim a separate “portion of the land” that “the whole family” had been working as a single, undivided unit since their father bought it in the waning days of the Civil War. A week later, their father died—murdered by Lot, some said, through magic. On one level, these neighborhood rumors and secrets reflected the difficult process of adapting older traditions of owning movable property (rooted in the “slaves’ economy”) to establish new understandings of owning land (which slaves could not do). But “the family” not only moved to “keep Lot out of the Land,” they also started denying “that he Lot is one of the family” at all.⁸⁰ Like their Gold Coast counterparts,

⁷⁷ Davis, “The Private Law of Race and Sex,” 278. This was not necessarily an idle fear, at least not in Virginia. See *George et al. v. Pilcher et al.*, 1877 Va. Lexis 69; *Thomas’ Adm’r v. Bettie Thomas Lewis et al.*, 1892 Va. Lexis 73; *Burdine v. Burdine’s Executor*, 1900 Va. Lexis 7.

⁷⁸ For ownership statistics, see Loren Schweninger, *Black Property Owners in the South, 1790–1915* (Urbana, Ill., 1990), 174. On “heir property,” see Will of Louisa Warren, November 20, 1866, in *Polk v. Costley et al.*, Case 1911, EDC; Margaret Davis Cate and Orrin Sage Wightman, *Early Days of Coastal Georgia* (St. Simons Island, Ga., 1955), 171; Thomas W. Mitchell, “From Reconstruction to Deconstruction: Undermining Black Landownership, Political Independence, and Community through Partition Sales of Tenancies in Common,” *Northwestern University Law Review* 95 (2000–2001): 505–580; C. Scott Graber, “A Blight Hits Black Farmers,” *Civil Rights Digest* 10, no. 3 (1978): 21–22. And cf. Jean Besson, *Martha Brae’s Two Histories: European Expansion and Caribbean Culture-Building in Jamaica* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002). For “home place,” see Elizabeth Ware Pearson, *Letters from Port Royal, 1862–1868* (Boston, 1906), 234; for “old Founders,” see Samuel Boles to Bvt. Maj. Gen. Birge (1865), A-5863, Freedmen and Southern Society Project, College Park, Md.; for “All of the land,” see “Interview with James Sawyer,” Hertford County [N.C.] Documents, 131–192, Research Projects, E. Franklin Frazier Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University [hereafter Frazier Papers]; “J.B. Jeter, 58, and wife, 35,” Documents Collected in Macon County, Alabama, in June–July 1931, 131–192, Frazier Papers.

⁷⁹ On southern courts and black inheritance, see Davis, “The Private Law of Race and Sex,” 270. For a different but comparable pattern, see Parker, *Making the Town*, 126.

⁸⁰ Testimony of York Polite, Lot Richardson, Sancho Richardson, and Jerry Polite, all in *Richardson v. Richardson*, April 24, 1868, Provost Court Beaufort, South Carolina, Box 2, Provost Courts North and

freedpeople did much more than codify age-old relations of kinship and property; they actively shaped them. In their testimony, litigants tried to redefine kinship to their advantage, elaborating or specifying or sometimes obscuring their family histories and (in southern Gold Coast) reifying a set of rules that supposedly governed kinship. Yet, as Lot Richardson's experience suggests, kinship—like the supposedly inalienable, eternal family land itself—was usually provisional and contestable in practice, no matter how timeless and systematic it was made to seem in principle.⁸¹ Unlike ex-slaves in Gold Coast, African Americans rarely tried to claim kinship with the master. But in both regions, "family property" played a significant role in the lives of former slaves, making it more important than ever to define who was one of the family, and who was not.

Much of that redefinition hinged on the institution of marriage. As we have seen, elites' control over marriage and its socio-legal implications for inheritance and descent had been a keystone of the slave system in both regions. And although slavery ended more suddenly in the United States than in Gold Coast, emancipation spurred enormous changes in the institution of marriage and intense debates about its meaning. Officials in both regions marveled at the fact that "many . . . who had been married as slaves" now were going "through the ceremonies of native marriage a second time as free persons." Importantly, many of these freedom marriages in Gold Coast were between masters/husbands and their enslaved wives. By contrast, in the United States, few African Americans asked their former masters to marry them, while thousands of them went to great trouble and expense to legalize their "broomstick" marriages to other ex-slaves. Still, ex-slaves and their relatives in both regions knew that a real marriage was, as a North Carolina soldier said, "the foundation of all our rights," and that the only way to have one was to perform the rites in full.⁸²

But the redefinition of kinship went much further. Officials in both regions noticed that some ex-slave heads of families were trying "to collect within the circle of their own authority every person connected with their family by ties of blood."⁸³

South Carolina, 1866–1868, Entry 4257, RG 393, Part I, NARA. Sancho testified: "the general reput[e] among the people is that Lot is the son of Alex R. but witness does not admit that he Lot is on[e] of [them?] & the family wishes to keep Lot out of the Land. [T]he idea of the family is that Lot wants a portion of the land."

⁸¹ See *Mensah v. Watts*, January 25, 1877, Cape Coast Judicial Assessor's Court Record Book, SCT 5/4/19, PRAAD; *Adooah v. Awooh*, July 19, 1869, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/91, PRAAD; *Regina v. Arkoo and Ashon*, March 31, 1883, Cape Coast High Court, SCT 5/4/103, PRAAD; "Native Customary Law of Succession to Property Other Than Stool Property," Edwumaku Division (Case no. 22/1925), ADM 11/1/919, PRAAD.

⁸² Chief Justice David Chalmers (1878), quoted in Akurang-Parry, "Slavery and Abolition in the Gold Coast," 26; *Argaikoon v. Ammah*, Elmina District Commissioner's Court, May 14, 1880, SCT 23/4/2, PRAAD; Robertson, "Post-Proclamation Slavery in Accra," 239; Laura F. Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana, Ill., 1997), 47. "Jumping the broom" was a common way of solemnizing the union of an enslaved couple while simultaneously emphasizing that it was not a legal marriage.

⁸³ [George C.] Strahan (1875), quoted in Akurang-Parry, "'Missy Queen in Her Palaver,'" 93; and more generally, Akurang-Parry's insightful discussion of "kin-based redemption," *ibid.* (also discussed in Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*, 225). For similar remarks from U.S. government agents, see Enclosure, J. M. Gachy to Capt. E. Pickett, May 27, 1867, Entry 1057, Miscellaneous Papers, 1867–1868, Agent, Warrenton-Woodville, Georgia, Subordinate Field Offices, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, NARA; and William F. Mugleston, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction in Virginia: The Diary of Marcus Sterling Hopkins, a Union Officer," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 86, no. 1 (1978): 55.

"These freedmen," said a Bureau agent, wanted "to live in a patriarchal manner by getting as many of the children of their kinsmen around them as possible" and to be "supported by their labor."⁸⁴ These were cynical statements. Yet comparing them suggests a deeper question about ex-slaves' widely noted efforts to track down lost relatives and reunite their scattered families. In both regions, former slaves were taken back or married legitimately into their families, but on what terms? The question is not so much how fully ex-slaves became assimilated, but rather how kinship continued to function as a framework for controlling people and property. For ex-slave women, getting married may have blurred the stigma of slavery and strengthened their hand in dealing with husbands and former masters, but it did not end their exploitation by men, and it did not necessarily improve their position or that of their children.⁸⁵ Indeed, evidence from the United States suggests that the well-known withdrawal of black women from the white-owned fields was only the beginning of a complex struggle among black people, one that played out behind the curtain of marriage; and some men believed that legal marriage gave them sweeping rights over their wives and children, even to the point of considering them "property," theirs to "work" or "hire out" or set "free."⁸⁶ Instead, it brought new players (women's relatives), new stakes (voting rights for African American men, rights over children), and new options for contestation (legitimate wives could go to court, whereas "concubines" could not). Looking at Gold Coast, where husbands were often also mas-

⁸⁴ A. E. Niles to H. W. Smith (1868), quoted in Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860–1870* (Cambridge, 1996), 103.

⁸⁵ Narrative of Ann Ulrich Evans, St. Louis, Mo., in Rawick, *The American Slave*, vol. 11: *Arkansas Narratives, Part 7, and Missouri Narratives*, 113–115; affidavit of Lucy Hill in *State v. Bob Hill*, July 5, 1876, Davis Bend Magistrate's Book, OCHM; *State v. Harris* (1868), Case 9036, Records of Supreme Court, NCSA; testimony of Mamle in *Mamle v. Doku*, May 7, 1946, Civil Court Record Book, Konor's Tribunal, Acc. no. 2024/1963, PRAAD; Akurang-Parry, "Slavery and Abolition in the Gold Coast," 26–27; and on the patrilineal Gã, see Robertson, "Post-Proclamation Slavery in Accra," 239–242. A related question has to do with the "feminization" of pawning in the early 1900s, a phenomenon with no real American counterpart. An extensive literature emphasizes the historical specificity and contingency of marriage and gender relations in Africa, raising provocative questions about their links with the ending of slavery. For example, see Barbara M. Cooper, "Reflections on Slavery, Seclusion and Female Labor in the Maradi Region of Niger in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of African History* 35, no. 1 (1994): 61–78; Sandra E. Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo-Ewe* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1996); Kristin Mann, *Marrying Well: Marriage, Status and Social Change among the Educated Elite in Colonial Lagos* (Cambridge, 1985).

⁸⁶ For proprietary language regarding children and wives, see the narrative of Letha Johnson in Rawick, *The American Slave*, vol. 9: *Arkansas Narratives, Parts 3 and 4*, pt. 4, 98; testimony of James Bracey in *Bracey v. Toney*, October 10, 1867, Proceedings of Provost Court, Sumter, South Carolina, Entry 4257, Box 4, RG 393, Part I, NARA; *United States v. George Robinson*, August 10, 1867, *ibid.*; Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (New York, 1998), 47–50. For "work," "hire out," and complaints about elders who treated them as if they were slaves, see Rosengarten, *All God's Dangers*, 26, 37–38, 54–55; *Henry v. Susan Herbert*, Case 2665, EDC; "[Interview with] Frank Brown," December 9, 1929, Documents from Court of Domestic Relations, Chicago, Box 131–81, Frazier Papers. For setting a son "free," see Sherman A. James, "The Narrative of John Henry Martin," *Southern Cultures* 1, no. 1 (1993): 96. Many of these complaints were by black children about their mothers and grandmothers, suggesting that gender inequalities were cross-cut with age-based inequalities. On the withdrawal from field work, see Ransom and Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom*, 44–55. U.S. scholarship has traditionally interpreted this withdrawal as a bid for black autonomy from white control and focused on how it affected the renegotiation of work between whites and blacks and the southern economy generally. Recent work has begun to explore what it meant for relations inside black families. See Kevin McCarthy, "Ambiguous Awards: African American Child Custody and the Modernization of Status in the Late-Nineteenth-Century South" (unpublished manuscript in author's possession); Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*; Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk*.

ters, helps us see the hierarchical, proprietary dimensions within African American kinship, dimensions that emancipation laid bare, even as it smashed the hollow paternalist claims of white-black kinship.

SOUTHERN GOLD COAST WAS NOT NECESSARILY TYPICAL of Africa; nor can the U.S. South represent the Americas. But by inviting us to think of family and property as interconnected social processes, the story of slaves' efforts to claim kinship and property begins to open useful comparisons between these two regions, and beyond. The important point here is not whether African Americans' ideas of property and family came from Africa, but that there are rich opportunities in bringing African history and American history into closer conversation.⁸⁷

First, the comparison challenges us to think about the negotiated, contested character of property and kinship, whose importance reaches far beyond either region or the world of slavery. Although property is a venerable institution, it often does not fit Westerners' commonsense notion of individuals holding exclusive legal rights over a thing—not even in the West. Indeed, studies of property around the world are increasingly focused on its ambiguities, the gaps and contradictions between property rights—what the law says property is—and the everyday realities of property.⁸⁸ But by the same token, evidence suggests that possessions are valuable not only for using or selling, but also for the social relationships they embody, ready to be called into action. Hence, disputes over property were just as likely to call forth the social ties and histories that people sank into property, that created and gave meaning to property, as to elicit talk of dollars and cents. Likewise, comparison contributes to longstanding efforts to break down “the public/private armor that segregates family from market and sex from economics.”⁸⁹ For African Americans, no less than for whites or Akans, slavery and its aftermath revealed that kinship itself was a social process fraught with powerful, often proprietary, and sometimes even violent claims on people.

Second, in both southern Gold Coast and the American South, the ending of slavery brought ordinary people face to face with a strange new legal system, one that seemed ready to push aside the practices and laws they had known all their lives. It

⁸⁷ Much evidence suggests that they did, and, moreover, that the bar for proving such connections is set higher for Africa than it is for Europe. This despite at least 110 years of scholarship on diasporic links stretching as far back as “Folk-Lore and Ethnology,” *Southern Workman* 24 (September 1895): 154–155. Gomez states the problem succinctly: “The African simply cannot get his due”; *Exchanging Our Country Marks*, 248–249.

⁸⁸ In addition to the works cited above, see Robert C. Ellickson, “Of Coase and Cattle: Dispute Resolution among Neighbors in Shasta County,” *Stanford Law Review* 38 (1986): 623–687; Katherine Verdery, “Fuzzy Property: Rights, Power and Identity in Transylvania’s Decollectivization,” in Michael Burawoy and Katherine Verdery, eds., *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World* (Lanham, Md., 1999), 53–81; Carol M. Rose, *Property and Persuasion: Essays on the History, Theory, and Rhetoric of Ownership* (Boulder, Colo., 1994); Hernando de Soto, *The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World* (New York, 1989). I am indebted to David Altshuler for this phrasing.

⁸⁹ Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk*, chap. 5; Michael J. Watts, “Idioms of Land and Labor: Producing Politics and Rice in Senegambia,” in Thomas J. Bassett and Donald E. Crummey, *Land in African Agrarian Systems* (Madison, Wis., 1993), 157–193. For “public/private,” see Davis, “The Private Law of Race and Sex,” 228; Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women*, 15.

did not push them aside, however, because federal and colonial officers wanted to preserve what they assumed were traditional local institutions, such as county courts and “native custom” (even if that sometimes meant leaving slave-like practices undisturbed), because tradition was itself created and re-created during these “colonial” contexts, and because ex-slaves—along with plenty of free people—wanted the law to be another way to pursue their interests, not the only one. Such legal pluralism has been a fact of life far beyond these two post-emancipation societies.⁹⁰ As a result, although government officials badly wanted to build the modern state on the bedrock of law, in practice, legal and extralegal processes have been hopelessly, vibrantly mixed together.

In some ways, the logical comparison for the Old South would be another plantation society, perhaps Zanzibar, or the Sokoto Caliphate, which contained as many as 2 million slaves in 1900. But in other ways it is the differences that make Gold Coast a useful comparison. Family relationships between American masters and slaves existed only in whispered-about affairs or violent rapes, and in some masters’ paternalist, self-serving idea that they ruled over one big plantation family.⁹¹ Not many American slaves could seriously lay claim to their master’s inheritance, but their Gold Coast counterparts took such claims to court, and often won. From one perspective, we might say that they won because slavery in Gold Coast was built around an ideology of kinship, rather than the ideology of race that structured master-slave relations in the United States. As a result, the end of slavery seemingly had very different implications for kinship in the two regions. Kinship between American masters and slaves was unthinkable. And once blacks were legally free, whites had to go to new lengths—laws against “miscegenation,” vicious lynchings—to try to keep the possibility of kinship with blacks unthinkable.⁹² In Gold Coast, by contrast, where a slave could become one of the family, there was often no reason to deny kinship after slavery’s end. Sometimes there were good reasons to claim it.

Yet in Gold Coast, well into the 1950s, people were still arguing before the West Africa Court of Appeal about what slavery meant for people’s family status and rights to property. And although slavery is legally gone from Ghana today, and many people avoid talking about “slave origins,” they still matter there and many other places in Africa, for everything from inheritance to work to local politics and religion. Indeed, in 1995, the Supreme Court of Ghana affirmed the exclusion of a candidate for a

⁹⁰ See, for example, Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*; Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733–1816* (New York, 1999); Eliga H. Gould, “Zones of Law, Zones of Violence: The Legal Geography of the British Atlantic, circa 1772,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (2003): 471–510; Michael J. Lowy, “A Good Name Is Worth More Than Money: Strategies of Court Use in Urban Ghana,” in Laura Nader and Harry F. Todd, Jr., eds., *The Disputing Process: Law in Ten Societies* (New York, 1978), 181–208.

⁹¹ And sometimes not even then. Consider the descendants of Thomas Jefferson, many of whom seem to be waiting for eyewitness proof before they admit that their famous ancestor had sex with Sally Hemings. James Dao, “A Family Get-Together of Historic Proportions,” *New York Times*, July 14, 2003, A9; Chris Burritt, “Jefferson-Hemings Debate Becoming More Heated,” *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, April 30, 2000, A12.

⁹² The term “miscegenation” was coined during the 1864 campaign for U.S. president, a campaign widely seen as a referendum on Abraham Lincoln’s 1863 Emancipation Proclamation. Martha Hodes, “Wartime Dialogues on Illicit Sex: White Women and Black Men,” in Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, eds., *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War* (New York, 1992), 230.

royal stool on the grounds of his ancestors' "slavish origin."⁹³ The tenacity of controversy about slave origins, along with the historic Akan tendency to associate "northern" or "bought" slaves with foreign accents and facial marks and even animality, suggests that slavery was rooted in another powerful ideology, beyond notions of kinship.⁹⁴ As historians have long recognized, there was a racial component to slavery elsewhere in Africa, one that developed in part through centuries of complex interactions with Indian Ocean and Mediterranean societies, although that component is seldom associated with the kind of slavery that flourished in much of southern Gold Coast.⁹⁵ If, as some scholars argue, ex-slaves were associated with but never truly assimilated into West African societies, then comparisons with American history might alert us to the possibility that potent notions of blood, descent, cultural practice, ideas of honor, and inherited status lurked behind talk of slave origins.⁹⁶ They might let us explore whether particular racial ideologies developed in slave societies throughout Africa, not just in those regions in contact with Mediterranean

⁹³ *In re Kweku Dampney*, 1 WACA 12 (1930); *Bassil and Acquah v. Honger*, 14 WACA 569 (1954); *Duke et al. v. Henshaw*, 10 WACA 27 (1944); *Santeng v. Darkwa and Ayimadu*, 6 WACA 52 (1940); *Brobbeay and Others v. Kwaku*, 1 Ghana Law Reports [hereafter GLR] (1995–1996) 125 (quotation at 145). As appellate cases, these may be the tip of a larger iceberg, but more work is needed. Ethnographic studies suggest that "slave" and "free" descent still mattered in different parts of Africa into the 1960s and beyond, but these divisions must be linked to specific historical changes over the years since emancipation. On the "legacy of slavery" in twentieth-century Ghana, see Appeal of Yaw Appiah Danquah, Birim District, Appeals from Decisions of Native Courts, 1907–1909, ADM 11/1/1440, PRAAD; Omanhin Isaac Blay to Sec. Native Affairs, February 13, 1907, Attuaboe Native Affairs (Case no. 489/07), ADM 11/1/13, PRAAD; K. Poku, "Traditional Roles and People of Slave Origin in Modern Ashanti: A Few Impressions," *Ghana Journal of Sociology* 5, no. 1 (1969): 34–38; Klein, "Inequality in Asante," 298–299 n. 69; J. H. Nketia, *Funeral Dirges of the Akan People* (1955; repr., New York, 1969), 145; Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*, 119, 216; Akosua Perbi, "The Legacy of Indigenous Slavery in Contemporary Ghana," *FASS Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (1996): 83–92; Peter Haenger, *Slaves and Slave Holders on the Gold Coast: Toward an Understanding of Social Bondage in West Africa* (Basel, 2000), 185–190; Akurang-Parry, "Rethinking the 'Slaves of Salaga,'" 45–46; Arhin, "Rank and Class," 11–12. On struggles over unfree origins elsewhere, see Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa*, 242–251; Gregory Mann, "The *Tirailleur* Elsewhere: Military Veterans in Colonial and Post-Colonial Mali, 1918–1968" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 2000), 207, 226–277; Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery*, 66, 120–125, 318–319; Paul Riesman, *First Find Your Child a Good Mother: The Construction of Self in Two African Communities* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992).

⁹⁴ For twentieth-century examples, see *Ampom v. Aboraa* [1960], GLR 29; Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, 35 n. 2, 41; Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana*, 420.

⁹⁵ David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (New York, 1984), 32–51; Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*; Troutt-Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism*; Marte Bogen Sinderud, "Freemen, Slaves and Dependents: Problems of Social Categorisation in the Lamidate of Ngaoundere, Northern Cameroon," in Hernæs and Iversen, *Slavery across Time and Space*, 179; Philip Burnham, "Racial Classification and Ideology in the Meiganga Region: North Cameroon," in Paul Baxter and Basil Sansom, *Race and Social Difference* (Harmondsworth, 1972), 301–318; Ware, "Slavery in Islamic Africa"; Bruce S. Hall, "The Question of 'Race' in the Pre-Colonial Southern Sahara," *Journal of North African Studies* 10, no. 3–4 (2005): 339–367.

⁹⁶ The term "associated" is from Akurang-Parry, "'Missy Queen in Her Palaver,'" 366–377. Cf. Hall, "The Question of 'Race,'" 357–360. Following Jonathon Glassman, by "race" and "racial ideology" I mean "a mode of thought," one that is "in constant interplay with social structures and political processes" as it produces and reproduces "meanings concerning particular ways of categorizing humanity" "by inherited traits and characteristics"; concepts of "race" and "ethnicity" are part of the same discursive spectrum, with "race" putting more emphasis on bodily difference to indicate that "the metaphor of descent . . . is more than mere metaphor." Glassman, "Slower Than a Massacre," 723–728. Here I am suggesting that Gold Coast slavery, with its practical and ideological linkages to kinship and lineage, helped produce social meanings that might be called "racial." As a "shifting field of discourse" rather than a fixed social structure, this understanding of race allows for the kind of slippage, contestation, and socioeconomic mobility that many ex-slaves seem to have experienced in twentieth-century Ghana, and for useful comparison—not conflation—with American histories.

and Indian Ocean worlds. And they might open new ways of seeing how debates about slave origins—with their emphasis on lineage and kinship—may have helped nurture such racial ideologies, and if so, how the descendants of slaves responded. These are necessarily speculative questions. But asking them comparatively helps deepen our understanding of slavery and its legacies on both sides of the Atlantic.

It is by now axiomatic that the end of slavery in the United States touched off multi-sided struggles over the meaning of freedom, and that independence from whites was central to the ex-slaves' vision of freedom. Many scholars of slavery in Africa have argued that autonomy was only one strategy among many, and a risky one at that: rather than try to get away from their old masters' lineages, many ex-slaves elbowed their way further in. Yet neither autonomy nor assimilation adequately captures the dynamics of vulnerability, subordination, and dependency that people grappled with in either place. Combining Americanist and Africanist perspectives suggests that many of the fiercest struggles during and after slavery happened between members of the same family. It suggests that those struggles grew out of specific yet comparable historical contexts, and that they did not fade away simply because slavery was outlawed. Viewed in this way, emancipation looks less like a final break with the history of slavery than a kind of "declaration of bankruptcy," delegitimizing and reorganizing certain categories without necessarily extinguishing the kin- and community-based relationships of subordination that underlay them.⁹⁷ It is this willingness to see kinship and community as ever-changing ideologies of power that define rights to property and people that allows us to weave together the complex, contradictory threads of absorption and resistance, the better to understand the changing realities behind "kin incorporation," "the black community," and "the black family." The story of how people made their way up from slavery was more than a struggle for dignity and autonomy; it was also a struggle over belonging.

⁹⁷ Thanks to David Schoenbrun for suggesting this pungent phrase. Again, in Gold Coast, slavery was outlawed raggedly and (relative to the U.S.) slowly. See n. 6 above.

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Review Essay
Military Histories Old and New: A Reintroduction

ROBERT M. CITINO

MILITARY HISTORY TODAY IS IN THE SAME CURIOUS POSITION it has been in for decades: extremely popular with the American public at large, and relatively marginalized within professional academic circles. Its public profile continues to expand apace, and it has a particularly imposing media presence, whether it be on television in the form of the History Channel, or on the screen in a steady diet of war-themed movies such as Clint Eastwood's pair of 2006 releases, *Flags of Our Fathers* and *Letters from Iwo Jima*, or the Thermopylae epic *300*. While military history dominates the airwaves, however, its academic footprint continues to shrink, and it has largely vanished from the curriculum of many of our elite universities. It has been this way for a long time, and frankly, there seems little chance that things will change any time soon. No military historian should be pleased with the situation. At the same time, there seems little point in obsessing about it. It helps no one and does nothing to advance understanding on either side of the academic divide.

Luckily, most scholarly military historians seem to agree, and have little interest in spending a career pondering the academic equivalent of "Why do they hate us?" Instead, they do what they have always done. Whether in or out of season, military historians continue to pursue a research agenda that in its breadth and sophistication takes a back seat to no other area of historical inquiry. In recent years, moreover, this research has taken the field into areas that should have a great deal of appeal to broader segments of the profession.

The truth is that scholarly military history has developed over the past few decades into the very epitome of the big tent. At the very least, three major groupings dwell within. There are the "war and society" scholars, still often referred to as the "new military history." They seek the nexus between armies and the societies that spawn them, but are not particularly interested in warfighting as such. There are the traditional operational historians, who remain unabashed in their attempt to analyze the hows and whys of actual warfare, strategy, and battle. The best of them do so in a fashion that goes well beyond the traditional "drum and trumpet" or "good general-bad general" approach. Finally, a more recent cadre of scholars seeks to

This essay is dedicated to the men and women of the Society for Military History, whose scholarship has been a major stimulus to my own thinking, and whose unceasing dedication to their craft has produced so much excellent work. The Society's recent annual meeting in Frederick, Maryland (April 2007), offered both an abundance of intellectual riches and a warm, collegial atmosphere. It is an honor to be a member. I would also like to thank the editors of the *AHR* for inviting me to submit this article, and for working with me so closely in its editing and production.

apply the newest trends in historical inquiry—especially the history of memory and culture—to the study of military affairs in their broadest sense. As in all big tents, there is a certain amount of jostling between the occupants, and in fact getting each of them to recognize the legitimacy of the others is a full-time job.

It has been a generation now since the “new military history” rode into town, promising to save military history from itself by moving the field beyond narrow battlefield analysis in order to concentrate on the interface between war and society.¹ The social composition of armies and officer corps, civil-military relations, the impact of war on race, class, and gender (and vice versa)—these were the questions that excited this school, and still do. In fact, it often stood accused of being interested in everything about armies except the way they fought, interested in everything about war except campaigns and battles. Once controversial, and still the occasional subject of grumbling from a traditionalist old guard, the new military history is today an integral, even dominant, part of the parent field from which it emerged. It has been around so long, in fact, and has established itself so firmly, that it seems silly to keep calling it “new.”

Take, for example, *Crucible of War* (2000), Fred Anderson’s monumental account of the Seven Years’ War and its impact on the British colonies in North America. It is a military history, to be sure, and yet it is far more than a book about war and battle. It is utterly comprehensive, interweaving complex land and naval actions taking place on three widely separated continents, a close reading of the political situation in Europe and the Americas, and a meticulous re-creation of the *mentalités*, not to mention the peculiarities, of European, American, and native societies. Along the way, it offers insight not only into the French and Indian War, but also into the origins of the American Revolution (even as it promises to detach the former conflict from the latter). The immense level of detail included in its 746 pages, which might be off-putting in the hands of a lesser scholar, allows Anderson to highlight the role that misunderstanding and contingency played in all of these momentous events, from George Washington’s real bewilderment at his Indian allies’ slaughter of defenseless French prisoners at “Jumonville’s Glen” to the British government’s equal puzzlement at the fact that neither imposing the Stamp Act nor repealing it seemed to change the tense situation in the colonies. The problem was much more deeply rooted than “taxation without representation” and was virtually impervious to military force. Lexington might have featured “the shot heard ’round the world,” but Anderson describes it in different terms: “With April 19, however, began to dawn the kind of horrified realization that may come to a couple who, after years of bitter arguments and lengthening angry silences, suddenly find themselves hurling crockery at each other across a kitchen battlefield.”² Needless to say, Anderson can write, and *Crucible of War* is a rare achievement: a book that is as compelling to the elusive

¹ See the definition of the new military history given by Peter Paret in an address to the Society of Military History on March 23, 1991: “an expansion of the subject of military history from specifics of military organization and action to their widest implications, and also a broadening of the approaches to the subject, [and] of the methodological approaches.” Quoted in John Whiteclay Chambers II, “The New Military History: Myth and Reality,” *Journal of Military History* 55, no. 3 (1991): 397.

² Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years’ War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York, 2000), xxi.

“ordinary reader” as it is stimulating to the scholar. In its deft integration of war and society, it is also the new military history at its best.

Or take the historiography of the American Civil War. Once the exclusive province of battles and leaders—and indeed, of *Battles and Leaders*³—it has undergone a transformation in the past few decades. Historians of race,⁴ of gender,⁵ and of civilian life in the conquered and occupied South⁶ have moved discussion of the war well beyond the battlefield controversies that once held sway. In fact, for most present-day scholars, the Civil War has become something more than a mere military conflict. They now generally portray it as a revolution that overthrew the social order of the Old South. In this radical upheaval, groups who were previously thought to have done little more than passively endure the ordeal of war now get credit for a more active role. Southern women left their domestic sphere and often led resistance to the occupiers. Southern slaves boldly threw off the hated system that had held them in bondage and seized land from their former masters. They took their place for the first time as free and equal citizens—unfortunately, for an all too brief span.

³ Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1887–1888). Based on reminiscences from officers on both sides in the war’s major battles, it has been widely reprinted, often in facsimile form, and is still today the primary source of choice for scholars, buffs, and re-enactors alike.

⁴ See, for example, the body of literature on black soldiers in the war. Although Dudley T. Cornish’s groundbreaking *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861–1865* (New York, 1966) found few immediate successors, things began to change in the 1990s. Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York, 1990), was the first to revisit Cornish’s theme, and others joined in: Noah Andre Trudeau, *Like Men of War: Black Troops in the Civil War, 1862–1865* (Boston, 1998); Versalle F. Washington, *Eagles on Their Buttons: A Black Infantry Regiment in the Civil War* (Columbia, Mo., 1999). The trickle may be turning into a flood: Keith P. Wilson, *Campfires of Freedom: The Camp Life of Black Soldiers during the Civil War* (Kent, Ohio, 2002), an analysis of camp life as a locus for “intra-military reconstruction”; the collection of essays edited by John David Smith, *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002); and Martin W. Ofele’s cross-cultural account, *German-Speaking Officers in the U.S. Colored Troops, 1863–1867* (Gainesville, Fla., 2004).

⁵ See, for example, George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana, Ill., 1989); Elizabeth D. Leonard, *Yankee Women: Gender Battles in the Civil War* (New York, 1994); and Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996). Gilpin Faust’s work, in particular, was a challenge to accepted myths of the South at war. She identified the articulate women of the high planter class as having played a key role in the eventual Confederate surrender. They did not simply tend the hearth while the men were away; they adopted new roles, undertook new tasks, and won new autonomy. The dissonance between prewar strictures of patriarchy and wartime realities would eventually instill in them an anger against the war that had turned their lives upside down. Urging their men to stay home or desert or surrender may be seen, therefore, as a gendered act of self-assertion.

⁶ Mark Grimsley has been the key scholar here. His seminal *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy toward Southern Civilians, 1861–1865* (New York, 1995) was a challenge to the traditional narrative of Northern brutality. It traced the evolution of Northern policy as it moved from conciliation of Southern civilians to pragmatism and finally to what Grimsley calls “hard war.” Often portrayed as something new, it is in Grimsley’s formulation something very, very old, harking back at least to the *chevauchée*, or mounted raiding expedition, of the Hundred Years’ War. Not the indiscriminate plunder portrayed in film and novel, it was a tightly directed, almost surgical form of violence. The damage inflicted by Sherman’s march to the sea, Grimsley writes, “turns out to be much exaggerated” (199). For a comparative analysis that challenges Grimsley on some points, see Steven V. Ash’s *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861–1865* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995). Grimsley has also edited two volumes of essays: one with Brooks D. Simpson, *The Collapse of the Confederacy* (Lincoln, Neb., 2001), which includes Jean V. Berlin’s response to Faust’s *Mother’s of Invention*, “Did Confederate Women Lose the War? Deprivation, Destruction, and Despair on the Home Front” (168–193); and another with Clifford J. Rogers, *Civilians in the Path of War* (Lincoln, Neb., 2002), a useful volume that draws cross-cultural and cross-temporal connections between civilians caught up in conflict from ancient times to the present.

The new military history is far from a spent force, and it continues to generate works that inform and challenge. Two entries of note are Donald R. Shaffer's *After the Glory: The Struggles of Black Civil War Veterans* (2004) and Steven J. Ramold's *Slaves, Sailors, and Citizens: African Americans in the Union Navy* (2002). The two offer very different trajectories of race within the U.S. military, with the navy coming out looking quite a bit better than the army. A comparative reading of both books cannot help but suggest that the white power structure in America has been more comfortable with putting a black man on board a faraway ship than it has been with handing him a rifle.⁷

Shaffer's *After the Glory* is a sophisticated and well-researched work, grounded firmly in the pension files of two study groups: first, a random but healthy sampling of Civil War veterans—1,044 soldiers, to be precise; second, a group of another 204 veterans “who engaged in notable activities in the postwar period.” It excels not only as military and social history, but also as gender analysis. Shaffer argues that black soldiers fought for more than a vague concept of liberty. They were after something concrete: manhood. “They fought for freedom,” Shaffer argues, “and the occasion to actualize that freedom by gaining for black men the same opportunities, rights, and status enjoyed by white men.”⁸ He carefully traces this gendered struggle in six areas: life patterns (especially the position and reputation of veterans within the black community); political involvement; family and marriage (the topic of the work's most interesting chapter, analyzing the complexity of marriage patterns among the veterans, with the new system of legalized matrimony existing alongside the “old constitution,” the informal system of marriage from slave days); social welfare (a crucial area encompassing the veterans' battle with the federal government for their pensions); comradeship with other veterans, both black and white; and the realm of historical memory. The last topic is crucial. As Shaffer describes it, black soldiers not only had to fight to get into the war, they then had to fight to get into the history of the war, as late-nineteenth-century scholarship (embodied in the works of Thomas P. Kettell, John William Draper, and Theodore Ayrault Dodge) did its best to read them out of it.

One might quibble with the insistent focus on “manhood” in this book; there are numerous spots where the term “equal rights” might have served just as well. But what strikes even the non-specialist on the Civil War about Shaffer's work is the degree to which the problems persist. One of the main demands of African American veterans, for example, was the right to join the principal national veterans' organization, the Grand Army of the Republic. Even as the national GAR followed a color-blind policy, however, a majority of veterans in both North and South belonged to segregated posts, and most GAR activities took place at the local level. Laws and legal status might change, in other words, but patterns of systemic discrimination and power inequities endured.

Ramold's *Slaves, Sailors, and Citizens*, by contrast, offers a more positive example of racial integration within the military. Enlisting by the thousands, black sailors

⁷ Donald R. Shaffer, *After the Glory: The Struggles of Black Civil War Veterans* (Lawrence, Kans., 2004); Steven J. Ramold, *Slaves, Sailors, and Citizens: African Americans in the Union Navy* (DeKalb, Ill., 2002).

⁸ Shaffer, *After the Glory*, 203, 1.

played a material role in the Union Navy during the war, and Ramold's careful survey of the records shows that the process ran far more smoothly than one might expect. "While African American soldiers endured segregation and abuse from the army," he notes, "black sailors enjoyed a wide range of freedoms." These included equal pay, living accommodations, and benefits. Postwar pensions, an issue that Shaffer's book identifies as a particularly sore spot for black army veterans, were accorded to former sailors in equal measure without regard to race. Military justice, embodied in "a relatively egalitarian and humanitarian system," functioned without egregious racial discrimination, and in fact black defendants accounted for 13.5 percent of the courts-martial in the course of the war, a figure roughly commensurate with their numbers in the navy. All in all, Ramold's verdict that the Civil War navy "conducted a unique experiment in social equality" seems justified.⁹ Unfortunately, the emergence of segregation in both North and South led to a much harsher climate after 1865, and to a gradual reduction in the number of African Americans in the navy. In this sense, the analyses of Ramold and Shaffer, contrary though they may seem, end on a parallel note.

The transformation in the historiography of World War II has been just as complete. "Greatest generation" literature continues to flood the popular market, as do battle books of every size and description, but alongside them is a body of far more interesting work with an increasingly diverse choice of subject matter. Works on the issue of race within the U.S. military,¹⁰ the role of women both in battle¹¹ and at home,¹² and previously unexplored areas of civilian life in general¹³ continue to emerge. So too do works on a heretofore ignored group: prisoners of war. No less than four major works on the topic appeared in 2005, along with the first paperback edition of Chester Hearn's *Sorties into Hell*, a powerful work dealing with the truly

⁹ Ramold, *Slaves, Sailors, and Citizens*, 182, 138, 182.

¹⁰ See, for example, Alice Kaplan, *The Interpreter* (New York, 2005), and Jack Hamann, *On American Soil: Murder, the Military, and How Justice Became a Casualty of World War II* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005). Popular works on black American soldiers are flooding the market as well, for the first time opening up space within the "greatest generation" to African Americans. See, for example, Christopher Paul Moore, *Fighting for America: Black Soldiers—The Unsung Heroes of World War II* (New York, 2005), as well as two books dealing with the same unit: Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and Anthony Walton, *Brothers in Arms: The Epic Story of the 761st Tank Battalion, WWII's Forgotten Heroes* (New York, 2004), and Charles W. Sasser, *Patton's Panthers: The African-American 761st Tank Battalion in World War II* (New York, 2004).

¹¹ See, for example, Reina Pennington, *Wings, Women, and War: Soviet Airwomen in World War II Combat* (Lawrence, Kans., 2002), a book that should forever lay to rest the supposed unfitness of women for modern combat. Pennington has also edited an essential reference work, *Amazons to Fighter Pilots: A Biographical Dictionary of Military Women* (Westport, Conn., 2003).

¹² A notable recent contribution is Emily Yellin's *Our Mother's War* (New York, 2004). Yellin takes us through a number of different iterations of women's experience in World War II: wives and mothers waiting anxiously at home; entertainers both obscure (Denver disc jockey Jean Ruth) and famous (Carol Lombard); WAVEs and WACVs, SPARs and WASPs. Of particular note are the chapters on African American women ("Jane Crow") and right-wing and antisemitic women's groups such as "We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America."

¹³ For a challenge to propagandistic notions of internal solidarity during the war, see Donald Thomas, *The Enemy Within: Hucksters, Racketeers, Deserters and Civilians during the Second World War* (New York, 2003), dealing with Britain. Stephen G. Fritz, *Endkampf: Soldiers, Civilians, and the Death of the Third Reich* (Lexington, Ky., 2004), analyzes the period after the war but before the full restoration of "peace." Specifically, it narrates the American drive into Franconia, the collapse of Nazi society that it precipitated, the huge number of wandering "displaced persons" on the roads, and the change in U.S. attitude as American officials moved from encouraging anti-German acts of violence by former concentration camp inmates to insisting on the maintenance of law and order.

unspeakable fate that befell American prisoners held on the Japanese island-prison of Chichi Jima. If social history really aims to tell the tales of those who have been silent, then these books are the real thing: a true military history of the powerless.¹⁴

Another scholarly revision in our view of World War II is the increasing tendency to remove the Holocaust from the margins and place it in a position of centrality within the European conflict. In fact, historians working on Nazi racial policy have more or less erased the distinction between the military conflict and the Holocaust. One result is that they have shattered beyond repair the once-clean image of the German Wehrmacht, which supposedly stood in stark contrast to the atrocity-prone SS and death camp personnel. German historians such as Manfred Messerschmidt have been hacking away at this notion of the army's clean hands for years now.¹⁵ In 1995, the issue boiled over into a very public controversy within Germany as a result of the "Crimes of the Wehrmacht" (*Verbrechen der Wehrmacht*) traveling exhibit—the German equivalent of the *Enola Gay* controversy in the United States. In this country, the work of Omer Bartov has had the same effect, with its twin themes of the "barbarization" and "demodernization" of warfare, a transformation attendant upon the Nazi struggle for *Lebensraum* and racial cleansing in the East. Bartov showed us a Wehrmacht that was far more ideologically committed, far more deeply imbued with Nazi racial ideology, than had previously been thought, and this was as true of the ordinary *Landser* in the field as it was of the high command.¹⁶

One recent indictment is Alexander B. Rossino, *Hitler Strikes Poland: Blitzkrieg, Ideology, and Atrocity* (2003). While it is common to argue that the Holocaust proper began after the start of Operation Barbarossa in 1941, Rossino focuses on the "ideological dimensions" of the Polish campaign of 1939. It was "Operation Tannenberg," the murder campaign against the Polish intelligentsia, clergy, nobility, and officer corps, he argues, that established the horrible norms both for the German war of annihilation in the Soviet Union and for the racial war against the Jews. The Polish campaign, therefore, was a "transitional conflict" between the limited violence against civilians of World War I and "the unlimited, almost nihilistic violence of the Wehrmacht" in World War II. "The invasion of Poland," he concludes, "thus occupies a crucial place in the history of Nazi Germany's descent into mass murder and genocide."¹⁷

Edward B. Westermann, in *Hitler's Police Battalions: Enforcing Racial War in the*

¹⁴ Flint Whitlock, *Given Up for Dead: American GI's in the Nazi Concentration Camp at Berga* (New York, 2005); John A. Glusman, *Conduct under Fire: Four American Doctors and Their Fight for Life as Prisoners of the Japanese, 1941–1945* (New York, 2005); Brian MacArthur, *Surviving the Sword: Prisoners of the Japanese in the Far East, 1942–45* (New York, 2005); Roger Cohen, *Soldiers and Slaves: American POWs Trapped by the Nazis' Final Gamble* (New York, 2005); and Chester Hearn, *Sorties into Hell: The Hidden War on Chichi Jima* (Guilford, Conn., 2005).

¹⁵ Messerschmidt's original blast against the Wehrmacht leadership was *Die Wehrmacht im NS-Staat: Zeit der Indoktrination* (Hamburg, 1969). For an up-to-date report on the state of the question, see Wolfram Wette, *The Wehrmacht: History, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), a translation of the original German work, *Die Wehrmacht: Feindbilder, Vernichtungskrieg, Legenden* (Frankfurt, 2002).

¹⁶ Omer Bartov, *The Eastern Front, 1941–45: German Troops and the Barbarisation of Warfare* (New York, 1986); Bartov, *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York, 1991). See also the magisterial one-volume history of World War II by Gerhard L. Weinberg, who accuses the Wehrmacht of "willing, even enthusiastic, participation" in the horrors being perpetrated in the East: *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*, new ed. (Cambridge, 2005), 300.

¹⁷ Alexander B. Rossino, *Hitler Strikes Poland: Blitzkrieg, Ideology, and Atrocity* (Lawrence, Kans., 2003), xiv, xv.

East (2005), expands upon the research of Christopher Browning and Daniel Jonah Goldhagen.¹⁸ Their well-known—and diametrically opposed—works concentrated on the wartime activity of a single German police battalion in occupied Poland. Westermann's is the first study of the entire phenomenon of German police units, formations that murdered their way across Eastern Europe, killing a hundred here, five hundred there, in a strategy of "cumulative annihilation." He argues that the training of these units had to instill a dual identity. First, the men had to acquire the "soldierly virtues": physical fitness, discipline, obedience to the chain of command. Beyond that, however, came a process of "instilling the SS ethic": the identification of one's honor depended on loyalty to the regime, a grounding in National Socialist ideology, and a belief in the simultaneous struggle against the Jews and against Bolshevism. In the course of "suppressing a hostile population," they had to be ready for a multitude of unpleasant tasks. They had to be prepared "to carry out executions, to transport people away, to take away howling and crying women," in Heinrich Himmler's own words. As Westermann shows, the "men in the green uniform" doggedly did their "duty," and more.¹⁹

A third book to till similar conceptual ground is Geoffrey P. Megargee's *War of Annihilation: Combat and Genocide on the Eastern Front, 1941* (2005).²⁰ It offers the most explicit connections yet between German military operations in the field and Nazi racial policy. Megargee's award-winning *Inside Hitler's High Command* (2000) was a warts-and-all view of Germany's vaunted General Staff that showed it to be politically naïve, self-serving and careerist, and very often simply inept.²¹ *War of Annihilation* moves beyond that earlier work into an analysis of the morality, the ethics, and, ultimately, the criminality of the German military effort in the East. The "military campaign and the policies of exploitation and murder" went hand in hand, Megargee argues.²² The same political leadership conceived both campaigns, the same staff officers provided the operational planning, and the same soldiers did the actual murderous deeds. The atrocities did not evolve over time or arise in response to frustration as victory eluded the Germans (two explanations often put forth in previous literature). The Germans entered the Soviet Union murdering civilians, and they kept on murdering them. It was as true of the high-water mark of the campaign in August 1941, when Wehrmacht formations were sweeping all before them, as it was of the eventual repulse in front of Moscow in December. Megargee is especially hard on U.S. military planners of the Cold War era who felt that they had something important to learn from the Germans, some secret about how to "fight the Russians." It was an era, after all, in which every memoir penned by a German general automatically became a bestseller, and something resembling holy writ to NATO officers. As *War of Annihilation* demonstrates on every page, no one should ever want to learn what the Wehrmacht had to teach.

¹⁸ Edward B. Westermann, *Hitler's Police Battalions: Enforcing Racial War in the East* (Lawrence, Kans., 2005); Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992); Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1996).

¹⁹ Westermann, *Hitler's Police Battalions*, 238–239, 77, 103.

²⁰ Geoffrey P. Megargee, *War of Annihilation: Combat and Genocide on the Eastern Front, 1941* (Lanham, Md., 2005).

²¹ Geoffrey P. Megargee, *Inside Hitler's High Command* (Lawrence, Kans., 2000), xiv.

²² Megargee, *War of Annihilation*, xiv.

Our survey has thus far tended to focus on developments in the modern period, and for a simple reason: modern historians were relative latecomers to the new military history. Until fairly recently, historians of the medieval and early modern periods were much more in touch with the symbiosis between war and society. Medieval historians, for example, have been arguing for more than a century about the precise relationship between military developments—the rise of cavalry, especially—and the origins of feudalism. The nineteenth-century German historian Heinrich Brunner was the first to ground feudalism in the changeover from infantry to cavalry, as majordomo Charles Martel organized a horse army in reaction to the Muslim invasions of the Frankish kingdom. In 1962, Lynn White, Jr., published *Medieval Technology and Social Change*, challenging Brunner's thesis. It was not the need to meet the mounted Muslim invaders on an equal footing, White argued, but the introduction of the stirrup from Asia into the Frankish kingdom that led to the switch from foot to mounted soldiery, and thus gave birth to the feudal age.²³ White's thesis became a new orthodoxy, enshrined in generations of Western civilization textbooks, and still makes an appearance from time to time. It also gave rise to numerous challengers and debunkers, with Bernard S. Bachrach taking pride of place. In a long series of publications, Bachrach not only attacked White on the details, but cast doubt on the very notion of a new dominance of cavalry in the era.²⁴

Although both the Brunner and White theses may be seen today as discredited metanarratives, refuting them forced medievalists to move beyond battle descriptions into a much more complex discussion of the interrelationship between war, politics, and society. The distinguished publication lists of John France, the leading expert on the military history of the Crusades, and Kelly DeVries, a prolific historian of late medieval warfare and technology, display remarkable similarities in bringing the broadest possible view to bear on their subjects. Both take a great deal of care to investigate questions of why wars were fought, why they ended, and what the participants expected to achieve by them. At the same time, neither shrinks from a great deal of close analysis of operations and battle, weapons and tactics. DeVries, especially, never fails to cast a skeptical eye on over-reaching claims for rapid and revolutionary technological change; his absolute rejection of any form of technological determinism is perhaps his scholarly signature.²⁵

We might accord the same sort of praise to historians of the early modern period, who for decades have been churning out some of the most vibrant military history of all. At issue here has been the "military revolution," a term that first appeared in a lecture by Michael Roberts, published in 1956 as *The Military Revolution, 1560–1660*. Roberts posited a dramatic discontinuity in the history of warfare in that period, as the old reliance on feudal levies and cavalry gave way to professionally trained, uniformed infantry forces equipped with gunpowder weapons. Geoffrey

²³ Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (New York, 1962).

²⁴ See, for example, Bernard S. Bachrach, *Merovingian Military Organization, 481–751* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1972); and Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare: Prelude to Empire* (Philadelphia, 2001).

²⁵ See for example, John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994); France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades, 1000–1300* (London, 1999); and France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714* (London, 2005). For Kelly DeVries, see *Medieval Military Technology* (Peterborough, Ont., 1992) and *Guns and Men in Medieval Europe, 1200–1500: Studies in Military History and Technology* (Aldershot, 2002).

Parker's article "The Military Revolution, 1550–1660: A Myth?" (1976) was both a critique of Roberts and a broadening of the argument away from Sweden (Roberts's main interest) toward a Europe-wide interpretation.²⁶ In particular, Parker saw the rise of a new type of fortress, the so-called *trace italienne*, its expense, and the huge number of soldiers required to man it as being crucial to explaining why armies grew so rapidly in the period. The military revolution thus became a crucial ingredient in European state formation, the expansion of royal power, and the creation of absolute monarchy. It also set the stage for the European conquest of the globe, a development whose consequences still endure. Later, John A. Lynn would further sharpen the debate by using the French army as a rigorous test case for both Roberts's and Parker's arguments.²⁷

The concept of the military revolution continues to evolve, as scholars push the envelope of periodization and geography. Where Roberts located the military revolution in the Thirty Years' War and Parker pushed it back into the late sixteenth century, Jeremy Black located the key developments in the period from 1680 to 1720, with the adoption of the socket bayonet and the introduction of the flintlock musket. What is at stake here is more fundamental than a technical argument over weaponry. If the military revolution happened this late, then it was triggered by absolute monarchy, and not the other way around. Black locates it so late, in fact, that a recent scholar has seen him as the spearhead of a "military evolution" school. In contrast to Black, there are those who argue for a much earlier start, with both Clifford Rogers and Andrew Ayton placing the date as early as the Hundred Years' War.²⁸

There have been similar arguments over whether to limit the concept to Europe. Weston F. Cook, Jr., has reminded us that the West had a monopoly on neither the technology of firearms nor the will to use them. Kaushik Roy rejects the concept of "revolution" in favor of "military synthesis" for developments in India. A 1999 study by Rhoads Murphey analyzes military change and continuity in the Ottoman world, while a recent collection of essays edited by Black offers a comparative perspective on developments in sixteenth-century Japan (from the Onin War to Sekigahara), China under the early Qing Dynasty, the kingdoms of West Africa, and the native societies of North America.²⁹

²⁶ Michael Roberts, *The Military Revolution, 1560–1660: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered before the Queen's University of Belfast* (Belfast, 1956); Geoffrey Parker, "The Military Revolution, 1550–1660: A Myth?" *Journal of Modern History* 48, no. 2 (1976): 195–214, as well as his later book *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1988).

²⁷ See John A. Lynn, "The *trace italienne* and the Growth of Armies: The French Case," *Journal of Military History* 55, no. 3 (1991): 297–330, as well as "Recalculating French Army Growth during the Grand Siècle, 1610–1715," *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 4 (1994): 881–906. One cannot find a better guide to the debate than Clifford J. Rogers, ed., *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe* (Boulder, Colo., 1995), which contains reprints of the seminal articles by Roberts, Parker, and Lynn, and much more.

²⁸ See Jeremy Black, *A Military Revolution? Military Change and European Society, 1550–1800* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1991), as well as Black, *European Warfare, 1660–1815* (New Haven, Conn., 1994); Kaushik Roy, "Military Synthesis in South Asia: Armies, Warfare, and Indian Society, c. 1740–1849," *Journal of Military History* 69, no. 3 (2005): 654; Clifford J. Rogers, "The Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years' War," *Journal of Military History* 57, no. 2 (1993): 241–278; and Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (New York, 1994).

²⁹ Weston F. Cook, Jr., *The Hundred Years' War for Morocco: Gunpowder and the Military Revolution in the Early Modern Muslim World* (Boulder, Colo., 1994); Roy, "Military Synthesis in South Asia";

THE DEBATE OVER THE MILITARY REVOLUTION, containing as it does elements of social and political history, the history of technology, and a detailed rendering of war and battle, can serve as a transition to our second historiographical school. Alongside the new military history, there exists a far older, yet still vital tradition of operational military history. This is the province of war, of campaign, and of battle. Once the almost exclusive preserve of “drums and trumpets,” packed with stirring tales of glory and shame, bravery and cowardice, it benefits today from a much more sophisticated conceptual framework that includes questions of culture (both military and civic), sociology, and group psychology. Once dominated by personalist modes of analysis that consisted almost exclusively of blaming General X for zigging when he should have zagged, or turning left when he should have turned right, it is now much more likely to emphasize systemic factors: the uncertainty of the battlefield (often metaphorized, per Carl Maria von Clausewitz, as the “fog of war”), the ever-present problems of information-gathering and -sharing, and the inherently asymmetric nature of war. As historians in all fields seem increasingly willing to recognize the role of contingency, chance, and even “chaos” in historical development, operational military historians find themselves in the unusual position of being well ahead of the scholarly curve: they have been talking about all of these things for years.

The exemplar for this tradition is Dennis E. Showalter. For decades, he has been writing operational histories that combine the broadest possible scholarly perspective with enough military detail to satisfy even the purist. His 1976 book *Railroads and Rifles: Soldiers, Technology, and the Unification of Germany* appeared at a high point of the disparagement of battle history, and it reminded us of the importance of studying the “primary function” of armies, which was, after all, to fight.³⁰ It made a powerful argument that hardware, doctrine, and military planning were not simply issues for the buff, but had played a key role in German unification. These were the same themes that he had already explored in his 1975 article “A Modest Plea for Drums and Trumpets.” Prussian victories in the wars with Austria and France were not the inevitable result of differing sociopolitical structures. Deficiencies in the French army, for example, “could have been alleviated without making drastic changes in governments, societies, or, indeed, the armies themselves.”³¹ Both of Showalter’s early works inspired many younger scholars to see operational history as a going concern rather than as a museum piece, encouragement that they were not often getting in their graduate programs.

He has not let up since. *Tannenberg: Clash of Empires* first appeared in 1991, and has since been reprinted, and both *The Wars of Frederick the Great* (1996) and *The Wars of German Unification* (2004) are indispensable. As Showalter proves again and again in these works, no other author is so adept at contextualizing war and battle, and no one takes so much care to give the matrix equal time with the event. He is a particularly sophisticated military sociologist, with a fine eye for the relationship

Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare, 1500–1700* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1999); Jeremy Black, *War in the Early Modern World, 1450–1815* (Boulder, Colo., 1999).

³⁰ Dennis E. Showalter, *Railroads and Rifles: Soldiers, Technology, and the Unification of Germany* (Hamden, Conn., 1976).

³¹ Dennis E. Showalter, “A Modest Plea for Drums and Trumpets,” *Military Affairs* 39, no. 2 (1975): 72.

of armies to the societies that spawn them, and the complicated mix of factors that turns some forces into sharks and others into their bait.³²

His treatment of the signal Prussian triumph at Rossbach (*The Wars of Frederick the Great*) can be seen as typical. Here the king faced a coalition force bearing the impossibly tangled designation “Combined Imperial Reichs-Execution and French Army.” It was an adversary that for 250 years has been mocked by historians as a polyglot rabble barely worthy of notice, and in fact they did not notice it: they were too busy obsessing on Frederick’s “genius” or the military virtues of the army he commanded. Showalter, by contrast, spends a great deal of scholarly energy in *The Wars of Frederick the Great* teasing out the strands of Allied motivation—or lack of it—at Rossbach. French officers saw themselves, rightly or wrongly, as caught in an uncomfortable vise: under siege by the increasingly anti-militarist tone of their own society’s *bien-pensant* intellectuals and by the growing inability or unwillingness of the central government to pay its bills. French manpower had *élan*, to be sure, but also included many who felt that their lives had been changed for the worse “by the single misfortune of drawing a ‘mauvais numéro’” in the selection process, and who were too poor to buy a substitute. The Imperial Army, for its part, represented small-state Germany—lands without military traditions, places that good soldierly material tended to abandon at first opportunity in favor of serving in the French (or Prussian) service. It had no organized recruiting system, no real staff, poor supply and administrative services, and little money for an organized logistics net. It lacked a nervous system, in other words, and it had to stay on the move or risk disintegrating altogether, one of the reasons for its erratic performance in the pre-battle contest of maneuver so typical of the eighteenth century. Showalter’s point is not to exonerate the commanders. Rather, it is to remember that they do not command on a parade ground or in a vacuum. Their choices are always limited, and the fact that the individuals involved may be only partly conscious of those limits complicates matters further.³³

In *The Wars of German Unification*, Showalter likewise looks at the nineteenth-century background in a way that previous historians of these conflicts did not. The context is almost entirely free of personalism, with little on Bismarck’s or Moltke’s “cunning” or Napoleon III’s “bungling”; nor does it spend a great deal of time discussing long-term economic developments such as the Zollverein, whose influence has been much exaggerated by previous scholarship. Instead, Showalter delves into something more fundamental: the issue of military reform in the states of the German Confederation. A key moment, he argues, was the post-1848 revision of the Bund’s military constitution, which required the larger states to accept officers and officer candidates from their smaller neighbors into their military academies:

More and more of the small states of Thuringia and north Germany took advantage of this opportunity to expose at least some of their best and brightest to a Prussian system of officer development, which was held in much higher regard than its Austrian or Bavarian counter-

³² Dennis E. Showalter, *Tannenberg: Clash of Empires* (Washington, D.C., 2004); Showalter, *The Wars of Frederick the Great* (London, 1996); Showalter, *The Wars of German Unification* (London, 2004).

³³ Showalter, *The Wars of Frederick the Great*, 177–192.

parts. States like Braunschweig, Oldenburg and the Mecklenburg duchies adopted Prussian organizations and Prussian manuals for their regiment- and battalion-sized contingents.³⁴

Indeed, military integration of North Germany preceded Prussia's successful wars, playing the kind of role that historians have usually assigned to the Zollverein. In short, Showalter portrays the small and middle states as fundamental to the process of national unification. This is true not only in the expected political sense, but in a military one as well. The participation of these armies on the side of Berlin—the North German states in 1866 and Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden in 1870—may well have provided a margin of safety, if not of victory, in these so-called “Prussian” wars.

Another scholar in Showalter's league is Reed Browning, a historian of eighteenth-century warfare. His *The War of the Austrian Succession* (1993) is the essential English-language work on this crucial conflict, which featured two failed attempts by Austrian empress Maria Theresa to re-conquer the lost province of Silesia from the Prussians, set the stage for the “diplomatic revolution” of the 1750s, and laid the groundwork for the Seven Years' War to follow.³⁵ Browning is an expert on the political and diplomatic background of the conflict, to be sure, and he writes thoughtfully on the linkages between politics, society, and war. He also departs sufficiently from the template of the new military history to stress the importance of strategic, operational, and even tactical detail. Indeed, Browning has recently noted that “some historians of the era of the Silesian Wars are conflating the new and the old military history into what we might style a complete-picture military history.” It is, he adds, a “useful merging of perspectives,” one that is interested both in sociological questions (for example, the relationship between armies and modernization, the effect of soldiering on the family) and in more traditional battlefield-oriented questions, such as why it was Prussia, and not much larger and wealthier Austria, that won these wars. For Browning, Frederick the Great's status as *roi-connétable*—both absolute monarch and field commander—was a key advantage, one “that allowed Frederick to contrive the victories at Hohenfriedberg, Rossbach, and Leuthen, and to recover from the disappointment at Zorndorf and the disaster at Kunersdorf.”³⁶

Operational history remains a vital part not only of military history, but of history at large. It would be strange indeed if a scholarly field with such broad interests did not make room for analysis of war and battle—surely not the least significant of human undertakings. Moreover, the sustained popularity of military literature places a certain demand on the entire historical profession. Millions of people continue to read these books, and someone is going to be writing them. The profession needs to ask itself, wouldn't it be preferable if that “someone” were a scholar of Showalter's or Browning's stature, or one of the dozens of other fine operational scholars currently active, such as Megargee, Geoffrey Wawro, Adrian R. Lewis, or Michael V. Leggiere, rather than your friendly neighborhood re-enactor or war buff?³⁷

³⁴ Showalter, *The Wars of German Unification*, 49.

³⁵ Reed Browning, *The War of the Austrian Succession* (New York, 1993).

³⁶ Reed Browning, “New Views on the Silesian Wars,” *Journal of Military History* 69, no. 2 (2005): 522, 523, 533.

³⁷ Next to Showalter, no one currently writes better operational history than Geoffrey Wawro. His works on the wars of German unification—*The Austro-Prussian War: Austria's War with Prussia and Italy in 1866* (Cambridge, 1996) and *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Conquest of France in 1870–1871*

THUS FAR, THE DISCUSSION HAS BEEN of “new” and “old” military history. Of late, however, a new, third school has broken the duopoly. Perhaps the most important development in historical research over the past decade is the new emphasis on culture, especially the history of memory. Here, too, military history has not been unaffected. It would be an exaggeration to say that most military historians are conversant with the theoretical works of Maurice Halbwachs or Pierre Nora. The notion that historical “truth” is a matter of shifting sands, however, that it is often refracted by present-day concerns, and that it can be mobilized by powerful political and social elites has become part of the military historical landscape. So too is the notion that the manner in which we choose to memorialize certain historical events—and to “forget” others—is a highly significant indicator of contemporary values.

While this is not a completely new development in military history (Paul Fussell, for example, published *The Great War and Modern Memory* in 1975), it was not until the 1900s that we might say a school developed.³⁸ Two notable contributions are Carol Reardon’s *Pickett’s Charge in History and Memory* (1997) and Jill Lepore’s *The Name of War: King Philip’s War and the Origins of American Identity* (1998).³⁹ The latter resurrects an all but forgotten conflict, in the sense not of an operational narrative (indeed, “battles” were pretty thin on the ground in this war, and operations are almost absent from the book), but rather of its role in constructing an American identity among the white colonists, one that was distinct from their European roots. Today, wars are largely memorialized visually: in photographs, film, and video footage. In a time and place in which even woodcuts were rare, it was the written word that had to suffice, and Lepore’s book thus concentrates on the literature generated by the war. It is at once “a study of war, and of how people write about it,” and an analysis of the relationship between “wounds and words.” The words, in the end, mattered a great deal more than the brief war that generated them. Parsed by the

(Cambridge, 2003)—as well as his survey *Warfare and Society in Europe, 1792–1914* (London, 2000) all exhibit the same qualities: exhaustive research in multiple languages and multinational archives, a cynical eye toward received versions of the event, and some of the best writing in the profession. He is also adept at incorporating modern trends in military scholarship, especially the post-Vietnam “Clausewitz revival” that took place in U.S. military circles. Elements such as fog, friction, and the tension between personal behavior and systemic constraints all figure prominently here, as does the role of contingency. Adrian R. Lewis, *Omaha Beach: A Flawed Victory* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001), is the best single volume written on this campaign. It is exhaustively researched and highly critical of the flawed U.S. planning process that resulted in a near-catastrophe for the troops on the beach. More recently, Lewis has taken up larger, more systemic questions with *The American Culture of War: The History of U.S. Military Force from World War II to Operation Iraqi Freedom* (New York, 2006), a work that traces the painful transformation of a military culture that was built originally on the concept of equality of sacrifice, but that now tries to fight wars that are as divorced from the day-to-day lives of Americans as possible. Another worthy operational historian is Michael V. Leggiere. His *Napoleon and Berlin: The Franco-Prussian War in North Germany* (Norman, Okla., 2002) is a brilliant work by a scholar who is as well versed in the general political and social historiography of his field as he is within his military specialty. See also Krisztián Ungváry, *The Siege of Budapest: 100 Days in World War II* (New Haven, Conn., 2005), for an operational history that places campaign and battle squarely within their political and social matrix. Carol Reardon’s most recent work, *Launch the Intruders: A Naval Attack Squadron in the Vietnam War, 1972* (Lawrence, Kans., 2005), is a complex combination of new and traditional forms of military history: part battle narrative; part social history of a single naval air squadron in the latter years of the Vietnam War, when a fully coalesced antiwar movement had finally begun to have an impact on the mentalities of soldiers abroad; and part history of memory.

³⁸ Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York, 1975).

³⁹ Carol Reardon, *Pickett’s Charge in History and Memory* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997); Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip’s War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York, 1998).

colonists as a conflict between “civilization” and Indian “savagery,” but one that saw them carry out more than their fair share of the latter, King Philip’s War continues, even today, to inform the way Americans view the world.

Reardon’s book takes as its backdrop perhaps the most famous battlefield in all of American history: Gettysburg, on that crucial third day. At issue here is the question of how the nation constructed a memory of that day, and how that memory was transformed over time. What might well have been described as a heroic defensive stand by troops of the Union Army’s II Corps morphed over time—a very short time, actually—into something different: a grand but doomed charge by the division of General George Pickett, a *geste* that eventually became an exemplar of Southern heroism. This Southern reading of the event soon came to be accepted by former foes from the North. Calling the final encounter at Gettysburg “Pickett’s Charge” not only removed the Union Army from the scene, it also erased thousands of Confederate soldiers, turning an assault by a major portion of Lee’s army, including an entire division of North Carolinians under General James Pettigrew, into an all-Virginia affair.

In the course of her historical survey, Reardon guides the reader through Gettysburg narratives by sources as diverse as Douglas Southall Freeman, Pickett’s wife Sallie, and the increasingly distorted presentation in generations of U.S. history textbooks. She also parses fictional accounts from William Faulkner’s *Intruder in the Dust* to Michael Shaara’s still very popular *Killer Angels*, the account that is perhaps most influential with present-day Americans and that was the principal source for the film *Gettysburg*. The closing of the book—the reunion of Gettysburg veterans on the battle site in 1913, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle—is a tour de force, replete with historical ironies galore and moments when the reader can only react with a shake of the head. Exhibit A: Veterans from Pickett’s division attended the reunion wearing silk “badges” of identification. Emblazoned on them was the seal of Virginia with the state motto, “Sic semper tyrannis,” words forever linked with another bloody moment in American history.

Emily S. Rosenberg’s *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory* (2003) offers a similar analysis of this seminal “day of infamy.”⁴⁰ Rosenberg refuses to privilege scholarly over popular accounts. Like Halbwachs, she sees the former as producing “history,” while the latter generate “memory,” and the two interact rather than oppose. Her book is rife with insight not only into matters as diverse as the controversy over the role of Admiral Husband Kimmel and General Walter Short—the military men on the scene who bore the brunt of the public’s outrage and saw their careers ruined—but also into the ways in which the administration of George W. Bush used Pearl Harbor as a metaphor for 9/11 and for the war on terror itself. They are all here, however: serious academic historians standing cheek to jowl with films such as *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (1970) and the wretched *Pearl Harbor* (2002), along with those irreconcilables on the political right who still insist that President Franklin Roosevelt knew about the whole thing in advance—one of the most durable conspiracy theories in U.S. historical memory. Her discussion of the tripartite matrix that nourishes historical memory (familiarity, the promoting role of “memory ac-

⁴⁰ Emily S. Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory* (Durham, N.C., 2003).

tivists,” and the importance of intertextual repetition and circulation among print, film, and commemorative sources) is sophisticated and nuanced, and her claim for the inseparability of American memory and mass media is indisputable.

Perhaps most interesting to a military historian is her explanation for why “back-door” conspiracy theories keep coming back, despite the army of respectable historians who feel they have demolished them. “In America,” she writes, “conspiracy theories supporting a distrust of the central government have been popular at least as far back as the revolutionary movement’s campaign against King George III.”⁴¹ Seeing Pearl Harbor as a conspiracy is a means of expressing distrust with Washington. It fans flames on the right (and with some on the extreme left, as well), and it in turn burns brightest when the central government is viewed with the most cynicism. It is no surprise that the ambiguous reading of FDR’s role in *Tora! Tora! Tora!* was a hit with Vietnam-era audiences, who by then were well used to a certain level of duplicity on the part of the government.

Standing alongside these histories of memory, and intertwined with them, has been a growing recognition of the determining role of culture in military affairs. Once again, it is not a completely new phenomenon. John Keegan’s *The Face of Battle* (1976) and *Six Armies in Normandy* (1982) might be seen as its progenitors; Omer Bartov’s work on the German army in World War II and John Dower’s analysis of the U.S. war with Japan as its first flowering; and John Shy’s 1993 article “The Cultural Approach to the History of War” as its official recognition within the field.⁴² As we have seen with the emphasis on memory, however, what was once the work of a few leading lights has now become much more widespread. In 2001, for example, noted classicist Victor Davis Hanson published *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power*.⁴³ Hanson here attempts a bold intellectual stroke, seeking a monocausal explanation for Western dominance of the globe. In one sense, his book appears to be the oldest page in the military history playbook: the list of great battles. In reality, however, it is something new. Hanson is not interested in the tactical or operational details of this or that battle. Instead, he is seeking to locate all of them—from Xenophon and the 10,000 blasting their way out of Persia in 401 B.C.E. to the U.S. Marines blasting their way into Hue in 1968—within a specific cultural tradition. To Hanson, it is a unique kind of “civic militarism,” a pattern emerging out of democracy and free market capitalism, that has rendered the West unbeatable in its conflicts with the rest of the world. He argues, moreover, that it has usually been manifested in a preference for close-order infantry shock combat that is simply absent from other cultures. “The peculiar way Greeks killed,” he argues, “grew out of consensual government, equality among the middling classes, civilian audit of military affairs, and politics apart from religion, freedom and in-

⁴¹ Ibid., 50.

⁴² John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (New York, 1976); Keegan, *Six Armies in Normandy* (New York, 1982); Bartov, *The Eastern Front, 1941–45*; John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York, 1986); John Shy, “The Cultural Approach to the History of War,” *Journal of Military History* 57, no. 5 (1993): 13–26.

⁴³ For the research that made Hanson a respected scholar of classical warfare, see *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), as well as his most recent work, *A War Like No Other: How the Athenians and Spartans Fought the Peloponnesian War* (New York, 2005). The book discussed here is *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power* (New York, 2001).

dividualism, and rationalism.”⁴⁴ These traditions endured during the Roman Republic and Empire, survived the fall of Rome, and live on in the Western world today. The rise of the West over the centuries, therefore, was not the product of luck, or of technology, or of command genius. It was instead the result of a process of cultural predetermination.

There is nothing easier than picking apart the details of a broad synthetic argument, and Hanson’s book seems destined to generate a cottage industry all its own. There certainly is a great deal to question here. In what ways was Alexander’s triumph at Gaugamela a victory for a democratic polity? Alexander was a monarch, and a brutal one at that. If democracy really lies at the root of military success, shouldn’t the Greek city-states have won at Chaeronea (338 B.C.E.)? Why should we regard Rome as more “Western” than Carthage? Whose “capitalist” or mercantile tradition—something that Hanson identifies as crucial to military success—was really more vigorous?

Some of the book’s problems are more foundational, however—especially the political ax-grinding taking place just beneath the surface.⁴⁵ Hanson seems worried not about the West so much as about America, about a general public “mostly unaware of their culture’s own singular and continuous lethality in arms,” about a land that has perhaps gone soft, “an America of suburban, video-playing Nicoles, Ashleys and Jasons.”⁴⁶ He is also most at home in the classical period, and as the centuries and eventually millennia march by in this book, the arguments become more and more *einseitig*, the conclusions more and more far-fetched. The chapter on Vietnam is perhaps the weakest in the book. Here Hanson sings a by now very tired song of blame. He blames the media—with journalists Peter Arnett and David Halberstam taking the heaviest fire—for misreporting what they saw and sympathizing with the enemy. He blames the academy for transforming antiwar protest into “a multimillion-dollar industry” of grants, sabbaticals, and fellowships. He blames civilians who visited North Vietnam during the war. He blames the civilian government for rules of engagement that hampered the men in the field at every turn. He also blames the military—not so much for losing a guerrilla war, but for fighting one in the first place. Discussing the U.S. command’s obsession with the body count, he complains that

American generals never fully grasped, or never successfully transmitted to the political leadership in Washington, that simple lesson: that the number of enemy killed meant little in and of itself if the land of South Vietnam was not secured and held and the antagonist North Vietnam not invaded, humiliated, or rendered impotent . . . It was as if thousands of graduates from America’s top military academies had not a clue about their own lethal heritage of the Western way of war.⁴⁷

Indeed: to invade North Vietnam, or “humiliate” it, or render it impotent. So simple! Who knew?

⁴⁴ Hanson, *Carnage and Culture*, 4.

⁴⁵ One recent reviewer has gone so far as to say that there are “two Victor Hansons, both prolific.” One is a “distinguished classicist and military historian”; the other is “the hard-right political pundit widely known in print and internet publications.” James P. Holoka, review of Hanson’s *A War Like No Other*, *Michigan War Studies Review*, May 1, 2006, <http://www.michiganwarstudiesreview.com/2006/20060501.asp> (accessed April 30, 2007).

⁴⁶ Hanson, *Carnage and Culture*, 5, 351.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 407.

One can go on and on in this vein, but in fact Hanson's work deserves a more systematic critique. Or should we say "deserved"? John A. Lynn's *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture* (2003) is a direct and explicit retort to Hanson. Lynn spends little time picking on the sort of details enumerated above, concentrating rather on the fundamentals of the argument. To Lynn, Hanson's work is faulty in its very essence, since it presupposes the existence of a "universal soldier" (and indeed, Lynn's preface begins with a lyrical selection from Buffy Sainte-Marie's 1963 song of the same name), a warrior who is unchanging from age to age and from place to place, who fights for the same reasons and who views himself in the same way, an "eternal, faceless killer." Lynn questions the existence of this construct in order to adopt a "cultural approach to the study of war and combat." In so doing, he argues, "we better appreciate the variety and change that have typified military institutions, thought, and practice over the ages."⁴⁸

For the most part, he succeeds. *Battle* consists of eight stand-alone chapters, each of which relates the warfare of a particular era to its own unique cultural discourse (defined as "the complex of assumptions, perceptions, expectations, and values" that the particular society holds about war and warriors). The discourse does not remain the same over time. In fact, that is the whole point of the book, and for Hanson to argue for a consistent "Western way of war" over three thousand years, to claim that what motivated an Athenian hoplite is essentially the same as what motivated a U.S. airman in the Battle of Midway, is simplistic and misguided. For some periods, Lynn argues, the discourse called for a bold clash of sword and pike; for others—the early modern period, for example (where he is most at home as a scholar)—it called for a "culture of forbearance," of maintaining order and discipline while absorbing the enemy's best shot or volley. There is no one-size-fits-all solution to the problem of battle.⁴⁹

Lynn's relationship to the "new cultural history" is ambiguous. He has long been in the forefront of those who argue that military history must open itself to new and fresh approaches sweeping the broader profession. His very use of the term "discourse" is a sign of that, and not a few military historians have found it unsettling. Yet he also keeps a certain distance: "This book attempts to apply the basic concerns of the new cultural history without being guilty of its excesses," he writes. These include "elaborate theories borrowed from anthropology, and literary studies . . . , specialized vocabulary, and references" that "tend to make such histories inaccessible to all but the cognoscenti." In addition, he rejects any approaches grounded in overwrought or opaque theory, such as those that discount the possibility of historical "truth": "[E]xtreme proponents of cultural history might dispute the very existence of reality, since all is perception to them. In the realm of military history, such airy discussions tend to become foolish. Thousands of dead and wounded as a result of battle is the kind of hard fact that defies intellectual games."⁵⁰ Indeed, it would be hard to tour the battlefields of Gettysburg or the Somme or the Bulge—all sites of fierce fighting, horrendous bloodletting, and the mangled remains of human bodies—and come away with a sense that one had just visited a "construct."

⁴⁸ John A. Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture* (Boulder, Colo., 2003), xiv.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, xx–xxi, 128–129.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, xx.

This is entirely in keeping with Lynn's views as he has expressed them since his 1997 article "The Embattled Future of Academic Military History."⁵¹ He argued then that military history was in crisis within the academy, that trends in historical scholarship (interest in race, class, gender, and the new cultural history) were moving away from research into war, and that "the flow of historical fashion is very much against us and promises to remain so for the foreseeable future." His solution was for military historians to embrace elements of both gender studies (particularly "comparative masculinities") and the new cultural history. He was not really a convert or a true believer, however. He gave his advice in a spirit of *Realpolitik*: young scholars in military history who were adept in these fields, or who could point to a dissertation that had embraced them in some way, would be better placed to compete on the contemporary job market.

Battle, therefore, plays a dual role. It offers a promising new cultural approach to the study of war, but it also demonstrates the limits to which most military historians feel they can go without breaking faith with their subject. The truth is, as deeply as they probe the culture of war, they will still want to ground themselves in the event itself, as opposed to its later interpretation, its memory, or its instrumentalization. It is highly unlikely, therefore, that they will ever be completely comfortable with Nora's redefinition of history as being "less interested in events themselves than in the construction of events over time," or with focusing exclusively on the constructed cultural icon.⁵²

Other works show a similar interest in cultural approaches, within the same sort of limits as Lynn's. Both Kenneth Chase's *Firearms: A Global History to 1700* (2003) and Kenneth M. Pollack's *Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness, 1948–1991* (2002), for example, are meticulously researched scholarly inquiries into questions that have defied easy answers. Both authors ground their answers in discussions of culture, broadly conceived. Neither, however, indulges in the complex theoretical language typical of the new cultural history.⁵³

Chase, for example, asks why, of all the world's cultural groupings, it was the Europeans who perfected firearms. His answer is a complex one, based on inter-related questions of technology and geography. The inhabited quarter of the globe in 1700 (the "Oikumene") consisted essentially of four regions: Europe, the Middle East, India, and East Asia. Virtually all of the world's firearms were produced there. In the last three regions, however, the principal military problem over the ages was defense against mounted nomads, and infantry armed with early firearms were useless for that purpose. Muskets also generated logistical demands that made campaigning in the dry steppe or desert nearly impossible. Thus, for China or India to have undertaken the sort of long-term development of fire weapons attempted in Europe would have been senseless. It might have been useful a century or two in the future, but the Mongols were a problem that had to be dealt with in the now. Chase's analysis invites response and challenge—that is the nature of any broad synthesis.

⁵¹ John A. Lynn, "The Embattled Future of Academic Military History," *Journal of Military History* 61, no. 4 (1997): 777–789.

⁵² Quoted in Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live*, 189.

⁵³ Kenneth Chase, *Firearms: A Global History to 1700* (Cambridge, 2003); Kenneth M. Pollack, *Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness, 1948–1991* (Lincoln, Neb., 2002).

The research base here is a particularly strong one, however; Chase has consulted sources in Chinese, Japanese, and Persian, as well as the various European tongues.

Pollack's task is to find the roots of the poor battlefield performance of virtually every Arab army since 1948. His is a timely book that has already garnered a great deal of attention from policymakers and scholars alike, and in fact his analysis of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War forms the heart of Lynn's chapter on the Egyptian army's crossing of the Suez Canal. In subjecting the battlefield failures of the armies of Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Syria to a detailed analysis, Pollack discounts certain explanations almost immediately. "Cowardice," for example. Say what you will about those Syrian tank divisions lumbering toward the Israeli positions on Golan in 1973: Clumsy, inflexible, and over-reliant on unsuitable Soviet doctrine they may have been. Cowards they certainly were not. They came on gamely, and ultimately went down in a hail of Israeli tank fire. It was the kind of action, in other words, that "cowards" would have avoided altogether.

Ultimately, Pollack settles on four areas: tactical leadership, information management, maintenance, and weapons handling. These were the "consistent and crippling problems."⁵⁴ It is a depressing story in many ways, dealing as it does with repeated defeat. The subtext of Pollack's analysis, however, is that areas of present-day deficiency may easily become areas of strength in the future, especially in this era of restless change in the military art. In fact, the very next year after *Arabs at War* appeared, U.S. forces invaded Iraq. While they made short shrift of the regular Iraqi army, they soon found themselves facing a widespread insurgency that enjoyed a great deal of success. The aftermath of Operation Iraqi Freedom should stand as a cautionary tale about making too many assumptions based on historical patterns. One never knows when a culture may find its military métier—another example of the law of unintended consequences.

If both Lynn and Pollack tend to keep cultural theory and its "specialized vocabulary" at arm's length, Isabel V. Hull's *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* embraces them wholly. Hers is a complex work that offers a comprehensive theory of modern German military culture, one that emerged out of the "double militarism" of German politics and society, found early expression in colonial wars (especially the genocidal suppression of the Herero people in southwest Africa), and culminated in the terrible, nearly limitless blood-letting of World War I. Hull is especially hard on what she calls the "hegemony of the operative" within the German military, by which the General Staff tended to boil all the political, diplomatic, and logistical complexities of modern war down to a single, highly destructive battle. It viewed fighting the Herero, for example, as essentially the same as fighting the French army, and its solution was identical: concentric operations leading to a battle of encirclement (*Kesselschlacht*). In adopting this view, she argues, it trained itself to ignore material realities—matters such as the balance of forces, the importance of changing technology, and logistical difficulties—and to substitute instead specious notions of "will, extreme daring (*Kühnheit*), optimistic recklessness, and one-sided actionism." As a result, no other military organization in the world was more likely to go to extremes, to take senseless

⁵⁴ Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 374.

risks, and to eschew a negotiated peace. Nor was there any other army that treated enemy civilians so harshly as a matter of deliberate policy, a tendency that would come to its awful fruition in the next war. The most useful feature of Hull's book is that it will stimulate comparative research. Surely the German army of the imperial period was not, and is not, the only military establishment in danger of being blinded by its own cultural assumptions.⁵⁵

The cultural history of war, then, is here to stay. A good sign of its increasing importance is the 2005 book by Fred Anderson, whose *Crucible of War* opened this essay. Written with Andrew Cayton, *The Dominion of War: Empire and Liberty in North America, 1500–2000* goes beyond the analysis of individual battles or wars, in order to narrate a “wintry tale”: the degree to which warfare has stood at the heart of five centuries of American history. War has not merely punctuated or interrupted the republican experience, the authors argue, it has defined it. It is a sprawling tale, stretching from the Beaver Wars to Operation Iraqi Freedom, a tale of imperial ambition and empire-building cloaked in the rhetoric of liberty, democracy, and civilization—big themes, in other words—and Anderson and Cayton wisely ground their narrative in the lives of a few prominent individuals, from Samuel Champlain to Colin Powell. At issue here are not individual battles or campaigns, but wars, the often surprising outcomes that accompany even the most “successful” ones, and the way we choose to remember and memorialize them. By the end of the book, the “grand narrative” of American history—the tale of a peaceful people, slow to anger and eager to return to the plow, populating a virgin land without Napoleons or “jack-booted legions”—is as dead as two skilled scholars and writers can make it. That, of course, is not the same thing as saying that it is dead with the American people at large or with their governments present and future.⁵⁶

A book such as *The Dominion of War* indicates that the line of demarcation between “new” and “old” military histories is becoming increasingly indistinct, even antiquated. Perhaps it is time to drop the distinctions altogether, and to describe military history today as a discipline with a strong interest in social and cultural analysis, but with an equally immovable commitment to its battlefield and campaign traditions. This is not a simple-minded irenicism, or an attempt to blur real differences in emphases and approaches. Nor is it meant as a gloss. Military history certainly has its share of pressing agenda items. There is still a regrettable tendency within the subfield—and this is especially pronounced within much operational and battle history—toward conservative methodologies. There are still too many works that indulge in personalist “great man” approaches, praising this individual, criticizing that one, and ignoring broader systemic factors.

Likewise, the estrangement of military history from the main lines of the disci-

⁵⁵ Isabel V. Hull, *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2005), 105–107, 168, 170. The term “double militarism” was coined by German military historian Stig Förster. For another view of German military culture that corroborates Hull in many ways, but that focuses much more tightly on actual military operations, see Robert M. Citino, *The German Way of War: From the Thirty Years’ War to the Third Reich* (Lawrence, Kans., 2005).

⁵⁶ Fred Anderson and Andrew Cayton, *The Dominion of War: Empire and Liberty in North America, 1500–2000* (New York, 2005), ix, xi. For another contemporary scholarly argument on the imperial nature of the American republic, see the two controversial works by Andrew J. Bacevich: *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002) and *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War* (Oxford, 2005).

pline is not merely the fault of the discipline; it has been a two-way street. Insofar as there is a prejudice against military history among many historians, it ought to stop; prejudging anything is never a good idea. But military historians need to become less resistant to contemporary trends in research—from social history to post-modernism to the new cultural history. Historians of World War II, for example, need to admit that Alice Kaplan's *The Interpreter*, an intriguing and complex account of military justice in the U.S. Army, is just as much a "military history" as the most recent book on the Battle of Normandy, or that Emily Rosenberg's work on the icon of Pearl Harbor is as important as the latest book on the Japanese attack itself. Indeed, military history that does not take into account all three schools (society, culture, and the distinct imperatives of the battlefield) is by definition incomplete. The debate over the "military revolution" might well serve as a model here. It has engaged a wide range of methodologies and schools; it involves political and social historians, historians of technology, as well as those who emphasize the primacy of operational history; and it goes well beyond parochial boundaries to touch upon fundamental issues of state formation, absolute monarchy in early modern Europe, and the subsequent Western domination of the globe.

Despite these problems, which no doubt promise to be contentious, military historians today are doing enough good work, based on exciting and innovative approaches, to re-engage the attention of historians in any number of areas. My final advice to my professional colleagues and friends in the broader discipline? Try something genuinely daring, even countercultural, in terms of today's academy. Read some military history.

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Review Essay

Back to the League of Nations

SUSAN PEDERSEN

FOR THE TWO DECADES OF ITS EFFECTIVE EXISTENCE, the League of Nations was a favored subject of academic research. International lawyers, historians, and political scientists across the globe scrutinized and debated every aspect of its working; leading American scholars of the period—among them James Shotwell, Quincy Wright, and Raymond Leslie Buell—devoted much of their lives to investigating (and often to supporting) its ideals.¹ The League's demise slowed that scholarly flow to a trickle.² Although a number of its former officials wrote temperate assessments of its activities in preparation for the transition to the United Nations,³ most postwar accounts of the League were "decline and fall" narratives or analytical postmortems intended to reinforce "realist" analyses of international relations.⁴ Early studies of the League had been based largely on the institution's printed records; those chastened later accounts, by contrast, were written from diplomatic records and out of national archives. For thirty years, the archives of the League's own Geneva Secretariat were very little disturbed.

That neglect began to lift in the late 1980s, and for obvious reasons. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the bipolar security system, interwar debates over how to reconcile stability with new claims to sovereignty began to sound familiar. The breakup of Yugoslavia also unleashed a wave of ethnic conflict and

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¹ The bibliography of works on the League of Nations maintained by the League of Nations Archives and Indiana University's Center for the Study of Global Change lists more than three thousand works, a majority of which were published before 1950. See <http://www.indiana.edu/~league/bibliography.php>.

² Note, however, the useful studies written by James C. Barros: *The Aland Islands Question: Its Settlement by the League of Nations* (New Haven, Conn., 1968); *The Corfu Incident of 1921: Mussolini and the League of Nations* (Princeton, N.J., 1965); *The League of Nations and the Great Powers: The Greek-Bulgaria Incident, 1925* (Oxford, 1970); *Office without Power: Secretary-General Sir Eric Drummond, 1919–1933* (Oxford, 1979); *Betrayal from Within: Joseph Avenol, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, 1933–1940* (New Haven, Conn., 1969).

³ Significant writings by ex-League officials are cited below; the comprehensive account is Francis P. Walters, *A History of the League of Nations* (1952; repr., London, 1960).

⁴ Two readable "decline and fall" accounts are Elmer Bendiner, *A Time for Angels: The Tragicomic History of the League of Nations* (New York, 1975), and George Scott, *The Rise and Fall of the League of Nations* (1973; U.S. ed., New York, 1974). Perhaps the best scholarly survey, one written from a "realist" perspective, is F. S. Northedge, *The League of Nations: Its Life and Times, 1920–1946* (Leicester, 1986). John Mearsheimer has often reiterated that realist view; see, for example, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994/1995): 5–49.

claims-making reminiscent of the Habsburg Empire's collapse, prompting scholars to ask whether the "minorities protection system" established under the League had managed to reconcile ideals of self-determination and human rights any more successfully.⁵ The League's administration of Danzig and the Saar, as well as the mandates system founded to oversee the administration of ex-German and Ottoman areas, likewise came back into focus, as the United Nations faced the problem of "failed states" in a world now constructed around the presumption that almost all territorial units would be "statelike" in form.⁶ By the mid-1990s, new historical research was under way or in print on all these aspects of the League, and graduate students tilling the new field of "transnational history" discovered its footprints as well. International systems for combating or managing epidemic disease, drug trafficking, sex trafficking, refugees, and a host of other problems were found to have originated in or been furthered by conventions hammered out under the auspices of the League of Nations.

The works resulting from this research have enabled us to come to a better understanding of this much-misunderstood international organization. In contrast to a postwar historiography inclined to view the League from the standpoint of 1933 or 1939, the relevant question now is not "why the League failed" but rather the more properly historical question of what it did and meant over its twenty-five-year existence. We are now able to sketch out three different but not mutually exclusive narratives of the League, one still focused largely (if less pessimistically) on its contribution to peacekeeping, but the other two concerned more with its work delimiting, and to a degree managing, the shifting boundaries between state power and international authority in this period. If one considers its work in stabilizing new states and running the minorities protection and mandates systems, the League appears as a key agent in the transition from a world of formal empires to a world of formally sovereign states. By contrast, if one notes its efforts to regulate cross-border traffics or problems of all kinds, it emerges rather as a harbinger of global governance.

Archival research has deepened our understanding of the League's activities in each of these three areas. By examining that scholarship together, however, and especially by paying as much attention to the less-studied areas of state-building and international cooperation as to the more conventional subject of security, it is possible to show how profoundly some innovative institutional characteristics of the League, most notably its reliance on international officials and its symbiotic relationship with interest groups and publicity, marked every aspect of its work. Yet—and this is the crucial point—those characteristics affected different policy arenas very differently. Put simply, while extensive consultation and wide publicity may have helped the League to hammer out agreements on controlling epidemics, those same

⁵ Perhaps unsurprisingly, it was a historian of Greece and the Balkans, Mark Mazower, who was particularly insistent about the need to pay attention to the minorities system of the League. See Mazower, "Minorities and the League of Nations in Interwar Europe," *Daedalus* 126 (1997): 47–61, and *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (London, 1998), chap. 2.

⁶ For such present-minded recovery of League precedents, see, e.g., Gerald B. Helman, "Saving Failed States," *Foreign Policy* 89 (Winter 1992–1993): 3–20; Ralph Wilde, "From Danzig to East Timor and Beyond: The Role of International Territorial Administration," *American Journal of International Law* 95, no. 3 (2001): 583–606.

factors could seriously hamper disarmament negotiations. Structure and process mattered, a finding that suggests the need for more attention to the League's internal arrangements and its complex relationship with various "mobilized publics." Happily, this topic is also now attracting scholarly interest.

SECURITY IS THE AREA IN WHICH a revisionist argument about the League seems hardest to sustain. The League was, after all, established to maintain world peace, and spectacularly failed to do so. Although the League Council mediated some minor territorial disputes in the early 1920s and succeeded in bringing Germany into the organization in 1926, when it was confronted with great-power expansionism in Manchuria and Ethiopia, its time-consuming and wordy deliberations drove the aggressor states out of the League, but not out of the invaded territory. True, in retrospect and at the time, some commentators attributed that outcome less to the limitations of "collective security" than to the reluctance of the great powers to give it their full support, but when Frank Walters advanced such an argument in his landmark *History of the League of Nations*, Gerhart Niemeyer rebuked him. Great powers, like other states, understandably pursue their own interests; if they found that they could not do so through the mechanisms offered by the League, those mechanisms—and not the great powers—were at fault.⁷ International relations is the art of making great-power interests and global stability coincide: if the League made that coincidence more difficult, it deserved the opprobrium heaped upon it.

And yet, for a time, great-power interests and League processes did appear to coincide—or at least some astute politicians of the 1920s tried hard to make them do so. Aristide Briand, Gustav Stresemann, and Austen Chamberlain may not have pored over the Covenant, and Chamberlain, at least, regarded the effort to come up with ever more binding collective language as contrary to Britain's interests and a waste of time, but all three nevertheless found the League "a much more useful body" than they had anticipated, and made it central to their efforts at rapprochement.⁸ The agreements and the euphoric "spirit of Locarno" that resulted did not last, and in retrospect have been dismissed as having been an "illusion" all along,⁹ but recent studies of all three main players, a new account of diplomatic and economic stabilization efforts in the 1920s, and Zara Steiner's magisterial international history *The Lights That Failed* temper that judgment. The statesmen of the 1920s are undergoing rehabilitation, in the process modestly lifting the reputation of the League as well.

Famous in their own time but eclipsed by the cataclysms that followed, Briand and Stresemann merit the attention they are now receiving. The story of how these two men moved away from their earlier intransigent nationalism toward conciliation and even a measure of fellow feeling is a gripping one, and in *Aristide Briand* and *Gustav Stresemann*, Gérard Unger and Jonathan Wright do their respective subjects

⁷ Gerhart Niemeyer, "The Balance Sheet of the League Experiment," *International Organization* 6, no. 4 (1952): 537–558.

⁸ Austen Chamberlain to F. S. Oliver, January 17, 1927, in Charles Petrie, *The Life and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain*, 2 vols. (London, 1940), 2:312.

⁹ For which see Sally Marks, *The Illusion of Peace: International Relations in Europe, 1918–1933* (1976; 2nd ed., Basingstoke, 2003).

justice.¹⁰ These are, appropriately, full lives, treating prewar activities and the intricacies of party politics, but the steps toward rapprochement—Stresemann's ending German resistance to the Ruhr occupation, the moves that led to Locarno, the famous tête-à-tête at Thoiry, and Briand's premature but prescient advocacy of European federation—are well told. They can be complemented, moreover, by *Austen Chamberlain and the Commitment to Europe*, Richard Grayson's meticulous study of Chamberlain's critical role as British foreign secretary between 1924 and 1929; and *The Unfinished Peace after World War I*, Patrick Cohrs's comprehensive account of diplomatic negotiations and agreements over reparations and security in the 1920s.¹¹ These studies vary in scope and emphasis (Cohrs's and Wright's are the most historiographically aware and the most consciously revisionist), but all treat the "Locarno spirit" not as a chimera, but as the crux of a pragmatic and evolving settlement.

In doing so, moreover, they provide some grounds for a reassessment of the League even in the realm of security. To a degree at the time, and even more in retrospect, "Locarno" was seen as weakening the security system of the League. It was, after all, a "great power" and not a "collective" agreement; moreover, because it covered only Germany's western borders, it raised awkward questions about the status of a League Covenant that presumably already guaranteed not only those borders but the Polish and Czech frontiers as well. Lord Robert Cecil certainly thought the Locarno agreements a poor substitute for his own proposals aimed at strengthening the Covenant, and in his autobiography was markedly grudging about Chamberlain's achievement.¹² Yet Cecil, as Peter Yearwood notes, was an ambitious politician with a strong proprietary interest in the League and what proved to be an overly optimistic view of member states' commitment to the Covenant;¹³ by contrast, Chamberlain, while considering the kind of guarantee offered by the Covenant to be "so wide and general that it carries no conviction whatever" unless supplemented by more pragmatic regional pacts, nevertheless found the League to be an invaluable staging ground for the face-to-face contact between foreign ministers on neutral territory that a policy of reconciliation required.¹⁴ And Locarno, Cohrs insists, was only one part of a British-led and American-supported effort to moderate Franco-German antagonism and craft a stable framework for European peace and recovery after the Ruhr crisis of 1923 (the other being the American-led renegotiations over reparations that culminated in the London Agreements of 1924). If Locarno exposed the limits of the Covenant, then, it did not necessarily undermine the League, which began to look in this period less like an embryonic "Parliament of Man" and more

¹⁰ Gérard Unger, *Aristide Briand: Le ferme conciliateur* (Paris, 2005); Jonathan Wright, *Gustav Stresemann: Weimar's Greatest Statesman* (Oxford, 2002).

¹¹ Richard S. Grayson, *Austen Chamberlain and the Commitment to Europe: British Foreign Policy, 1924–29* (London, 1997); Patrick O. Cohrs, *The Unfinished Peace after World War I: America, Britain and the Stabilisation of Europe, 1919–1932* (Cambridge, 2006).

¹² Viscount Cecil [Lord Robert Cecil], *A Great Experiment* (London, 1941), 166–169.

¹³ Peter J. Yearwood, "'Consistently with Honour': Great Britain, the League of Nations, and the Corfu Crisis of 1923," *Journal of Contemporary History* 21 (1986): 562.

¹⁴ Austen Chamberlain to Sir Eyre Crowe, February 16, 1925, in Petrie, *Life and Letters*, 2:259; and for Chamberlain's determination to marginalize Cecil and deal with foreign policy himself, see Grayson, *Austen Chamberlain*, 24–26.



FIGURE 1: Meeting on Franco-German understanding, 1928. Facing the camera: Chamberlain, Stresemann, Briand (in profile). Photo by Erich Salomon. Reproduced by permission of bpk / Berlinische Galerie.

like a modified Concert of Europe—the form Chamberlain was convinced it had to take (and that Cohrs shows it for a time did take) to do any useful work.¹⁵

This is a view with which Steiner agrees. Her massive international history of Europe between 1918 and 1933 offers no support to those—Woodrow Wilson, Cecil, the massed ranks of the League of Nations Union—who saw the League as a decisive break with the discredited great-power politics of the prewar period. The “Geneva system,” she points out, “was not a substitute for great-power politics . . . but rather an adjunct to it. It was only a mechanism for conducting multinational diplomacy whose success or failure depended on the willingness of the states, and particularly the most powerful states, to use it.”¹⁶ Yet it is a sign of the League’s reach and significance in these years, as well as of the growing scholarly interest in its work, that almost every chapter in this very long book gives it some mention. Its handling of international disputes ranging from the Åland Islands to Manchuria, its work stabilizing the Austrian and Hungarian economies, and its efforts to establish rudimentary mechanisms to deal with problems of minority protection and refugees, all receive judicious attention. And from this a more favorable assessment emerges.

¹⁵ Grayson, *Austen Chamberlain*, chap. 4; Cohrs, *The Unfinished Peace*, 351.

¹⁶ Zara Steiner, *The Lights That Failed: European International History, 1919–1933* (Oxford, 2005), 299.

Steiner does not overlook the numerous disadvantages hampering the League—among them the formal (if not always actual) absence of the United States, a lack of coercive powers, and a link to a treaty reviled by the defeated states—but she does not agree that it was impotent from the start. Its procedures for dealing with disputes proved flexible enough to resolve problems without arousing resentment; Germany's willingness to join in 1925 was predicated on the assumption that doing so would enhance its status and interests.¹⁷ In this decade, “more doors were opened than shut”—and by shifting away from Wilsonian ideals toward a pragmatic “Concert” system, Geneva helped keep them open.¹⁸

The relative rehabilitation of the politics of the 1920s that we find in all five of these books has obvious implications for our understanding of the 1930s as well. Responsibility for the catastrophes of the 1930s, Steiner forthrightly concludes, cannot be laid at the feet of the 1919 settlement or the Locarno system, but rests rather on a conjuncture of factors—the death or sidelining of key figures, the Manchurian crisis, and above all the world economic collapse—which together undermined the possibility of finding international solutions to common problems and strengthened the appeal of nationalism. Unger largely agrees, absolving Briand of responsibility for worsening continental relations.¹⁹ Yet there are also hints in these books, especially in Cohrs's account and Wright's study of Stresemann, that the heightened popular valence given foreign policy by the League system, not to mention the expectations and euphoria brought on by Locarno, could compromise the very stabilization it was intended to promote. This is an intriguing idea, one not analytically worked through in any of these books, but well worth exploring.

The League, as we know, fed off and promoted popular mobilization. Wilson and Cecil considered public opinion the ultimate safeguard of collective security, and when we think of the clamor for peace in 1917 and 1918, their view is understandable. Anglo-American supporters massed in popular associations agreed, and the League's practices—indeed, its very structure—reflected their assumptions. The Publicity Section was its largest section, and provided copies of the Covenant, accounts of League activities, and minutes of many of its sessions to the public at minimal cost. Such efforts were supplemented by the assiduous work of a sizable Geneva press corps that included correspondents from many of the major European papers. Unsurprisingly, then, many politicians treated League events as a chance to play the international statesman before a domestic audience. Briand's reputation, in particular, came to rest on rousing speeches made at the League assembly.

As Cohrs, Wright, and Unger all show, however, the mobilization of public opinion brought dangers as well. Wilson, Cecil, and the peacemakers assumed that public opinion would be pacific and hence pro-League, but a strong current of French opinion always held that peace would be best secured by constraining and not rehabilitating Germany, and especially in the wake of the Ruhr occupation and subsequent

¹⁷ Ibid., 359, 420–422.

¹⁸ Ibid., 630. Cohrs, writing out of diplomatic records in national archives, claims that British statesmen and American bankers played the major part in responding to the crisis in Franco-German relations and constructing new mechanisms and agreements. This is no doubt correct, but by overlooking League archives, Cohrs has missed the quiet but important role played by the League's officials (and especially by Drummond) in conciliating Germany and preparing for this shift.

¹⁹ Unger, *Aristide Briand*, 606.

inflation, the German mood was hardly conciliatory either. American bankers, Cohrs points out, found Stresemann, Hans Luther, and Edouard Herriot pragmatic in private (indeed, American willingness to aid in financial reconstruction was predicated on that discovery) but worryingly prone to voicing official distrust and revanchism in public.²⁰ When Locarno failed to produce the results that those mobilized publics felt they had been promised, suspicion and hostility quickly resurfaced. By 1931, when Briand ran for president of the republic on a pro-League platform, he faced placards denouncing him as the “German” candidate.²¹ Stresemann was dead by then, of course, but his room for maneuver had always been even narrower, and in justifying his policies to his right wing, he had tended to hold out the hope that they would make possible the revision of eastern borders. As Wright notes in a careful conclusion, Stresemann’s sincere belief that renewed great-power status could be based only on internal democracy and international reconciliation meant that he was willing to postpone those revisionist goals “to an increasingly remote future,” but many of his compatriots shared his goals but not his moderation. By courting popular support in this way, Stresemann stoked resentments that he could not control. While he lived, Stresemann was a bulwark against Hitler, but after he died, Hitler was his beneficiary.²²

A first problem raised by the League’s umbilical tie to public opinion was that such opinion could prove to be neither pacific nor particularly easily appeased. A second problem, however, was that statesmen might react to mobilized public opinion by altering not what they *did* but simply what they *said*. European security continued to depend, in the end, on the great powers—but when forced to conduct their business in public, those powers could send representatives to Geneva to profess their loyalty to collective security while calculating their interests much more narrowly at home. No British government had much faith in sanctions, the mechanism presumed to be an effective deterrent to breaches of the Covenant, Steiner remarks, but given public sentiment, no one quite said so.²³ That gulf between public speech and private calculation was just what Stresemann, Briand, and Chamberlain had held their “Locarno tea parties” to bridge, but after their passing, it widened dangerously. It is surely owing to this perverse effect of public opinion that, as Carolyn Kitching shows in *Britain and the Geneva Disarmament Conference*, British statesmen at the intensely publicized 1932 World Disarmament Conference sought less to come to an agreement than to *give the appearance* of trying to come to an agreement, in hopes of thereby avoiding blame for the conference’s failure.²⁴ The League’s response to the Abyssinia crisis brought out that gulf between public rhetoric and the careful calculation of national interest even more starkly.

If these new accounts show that statesmen were able to use the League to ease tensions and win time in the 1920s, no such case appears possible for the 1930s. Indeed, the League’s porous, publicity-conscious character and consensual, dilatory processes may have played a role in that deterioration. Diplomacy requires reliable interlocutors who can speak for their states; it requires secrecy; and it requires the

²⁰ Cohrs, *The Unfinished Peace*, 239.

²¹ Unger, *Aristide Briand*, 582.

²² Wright, *Gustav Stresemann*, 338–347, 359–364, 508–509, 521–523.

²³ Steiner, *The Lights That Failed*, 358.

²⁴ Carolyn J. Kitching, *Britain and the Geneva Disarmament Conference* (Basingstoke, 2003), esp. 106.

LE TESTAMENT de GENÈVE

Selon DERSO ET KELEN

Édité par LE RIRE



FIGURE 2: Alois Derso and Emery Kelen's cartoon of the League as the Garden of Eden, with world statesmen as the different animals. From *Le Testament de Genève* (Geneva, 1931). Reproduced by permission of Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

ability to make credible threats. The Covenant's security arrangements met none of those criteria. For a time, personal diplomacy by key foreign ministers was able to compensate for those deficiencies, allowing "collective security" to function—usefully—mostly as a legitimizing rhetoric for a fragile but functional "great power" concert system. That drift toward *realpolitik* was much resented by the small states, however, which understandably feared that their fates would be decided by others, and which successfully forced expansion of the Council. They were rewarded by full participation in a system that had become not only impotent but also, by its propensity to generate wordy promises not backed by binding agreements, a force for destabilization.

A FIRST TASK LAID UPON THE LEAGUE was to keep the peace; a second, however, was to reconcile the ideal of a world to be composed of formally equal sovereign states, all operating according to agreed administrative and ethical norms, with the reality of member states of very different types and possessed of vastly unequal geopolitical reach and power. Wilson's promise of self-determination had proved to be a genie let out of a bottle: to his dismay, not just Poles and Serbs, but equally Koreans languishing under Japanese rule, Egyptians under the British, and Armenians under the Turks thought these stirring words applied to them.²⁵ Which of these claims were met could be a close-run thing: the Baltic states, for example, made it, but Armenia—given the Turkish revolution and the United States' abstention—in the end did not; nor—given French and British imperial interests—were the disputed pledges of Arab independence honored.²⁶ Sometimes, too, the peacemakers found sovereignty hard to assign, and entrusted the League with direct administration of a few disputed areas (the Saar, Danzig) and with running some special halfway houses—a minorities protection system applied to a swath of new or redrawn East European states and a mandates system set up to oversee former Ottoman and German colonial territories—established to attenuate the independence or limit the subjection of some states close to one or the other side of the line. From the outset, then, and throughout its twenty-five-year history, the League found itself in the business of adjudicating, managing, and delimiting relations of sovereignty. This is a second "narrative" of the League, and a second area of fruitful research.

Some of that research concerns how the League handled the tricky dual task of protecting the populations and legitimating the borders of the states created or re-created in 1919. Those borders reflected some mix of strategic calculation, ethnic considerations, and victors' bounties, but no demarcation line could have unscrambled the ethnic mix of Eastern Europe. Some 25 million minorities lived in the new states; only about two-thirds of the population of reconstituted Poland were Poles.

²⁵ Erez Manela's *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anti-colonial Nationalism* (Oxford, 2007) appeared too late for inclusion in this review, but for two early installments, see Manela, "The Wilsonian Moment and the Rise of Anticolonial Nationalism: The Case of Egypt," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 12, no. 4 (December 2001): 99–122, and "Imagining Woodrow Wilson in Asia: Dreams of East-West Harmony and the Revolt against Empire in 1919," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (December 2006): 1327–1351.

²⁶ Margaret MacMillan's recent *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (New York, 2001) provides a good account of the reasoning behind the territorial decisions.

Intensive lobbying (especially by Jewish organizations) and some concern for the fates of those minorities and those borders alike thus drove the peacemakers to impose special treaties guaranteeing some linguistic, educational, and religious autonomy to particular minority groups. Responsibility for monitoring compliance was left to the Council; in practice, however, and as Christoph Gütermann's landmark 1979 study *Das Minderheitenschutzverfahren des Völkerbundes* showed, it was the Secretariat's Minorities Section that, under the forceful leadership of the Norwegian Erik Colban, hammered out a system of supervision.²⁷ Minorities covered by the treaties were allowed to petition the Council about violations, but such petitions were treated as informational and not juridical documents, were judged "receivable" only under quite restrictive conditions,²⁸ and were handled confidentially by Council "committees-of-three" and by the Minorities Section, which was usually left to resolve the matter through direct discussion with the state (but not usually the minorities) concerned.

Minorities and their defenders (notably Germany) routinely protested that the system was too secretive and biased toward the "minority states." Yet, while some minor reforms were introduced in 1929, sensitivity toward Polish opinion within the Council meant that appeals for stronger juridical rights and stricter enforcement went unanswered.²⁹ In 1934, following the Nazi seizure of power, Poland unilaterally repudiated its minorities treaty; petitions from other groups and areas started drying up as well. Although a few specialist studies published during World War II contested that view, by the late 1930s the system was widely seen to have failed, and it was not revived after 1945.³⁰ Henceforth, it was assumed, protection of individual human rights would make minority rights irrelevant.³¹

The Balkan crises of the 1990s showed how wrong that assumption was, driving researchers to take another look at the interwar minorities protection regime that was the "human rights" regime's rejected progenitor. All three of the important studies reviewed here concede that that minorities regime was indeed biased and secretive; where they disagree is on whether that bias and secrecy was a sign of the system's bankruptcy or—as Colban and his successor Pablo de Azcárate insisted in accounts written during the 1940s—the condition of its (albeit limited) effectiveness.³² Carole Fink's prize-winning study *Defending the Rights of Others* is probably

²⁷ Christoph Gütermann, *Das Minderheitenschutzverfahren des Völkerbundes* (Berlin, 1979).

²⁸ Conditions included that the petition could not call the territorial settlement itself into question, be anonymous, or be expressed in "violent language." For the latter, see Jane Cowan's excellent article "Who's Afraid of Violent Language? Honour, Sovereignty and Claims-Making in the League of Nations," *Anthropological Theory* 33, no. 3 (2003): 271–291.

²⁹ Germany's involvement in League minority policies is the single best-researched aspect of the system. See Carole Fink, "Defender of Minorities: Germany in the League of Nations, 1926–1933," *Central European History* 5 (1972): 330–357; Christoph M. Kimmich, *Germany and the League of Nations* (Chicago, 1976), chap. 7; Bastian Schot, *Nation oder Staat? Deutschland und der Minderheitenschutz* (Marburg, 1988).

³⁰ Jacob Robinson, Oscar Karbach, Max M. Laserson, Nehemiah Robinson, and Marc Vichniak, *Were the Minorities Treaties a Failure?* (New York, 1943); Oscar Janowsky, *Nationalities and National Minorities* (New York, 1945).

³¹ For that genealogy, see Mark Mazower, "The Strange Triumph of Human Rights, 1933–1950," *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 2 (2004): 379–389.

³² Erik Colban, "The Minorities Problem," *The Norseman* 2 (September–October 1944): 314; Pablo de Azcárate, *League of Nations and National Minorities: An Experiment* (Washington, D.C., 1945), 112–121.

the most damning. Fink, who has published important work on Stresemann's minority policies in the 1970s,³³ here treats the entire history of international minority protection regimes in Eastern Europe from the Congress of Berlin to 1938, while paying particular attention to Jewish efforts to shape, and to the consequences of Jewish populations for, those systems.³⁴ The League system forms only one part of that story, and Fink largely confirms interwar criticisms of its inadequacy. "Bound by the principle of state sovereignty," she writes, League officials "not only guarded the minority states' interests and dismissed all but the most politically explosive complaints; they also blocked outside improvement proposals, shrouded their work in secrecy, and excluded petitioners from every stage in the investigations."³⁵ That mode of operation hardly served minorities well, and it left Jews—a diasporic population without an ethnically defined "kin state" to exert pressure—particularly at risk. British, French, and American Jewish organizations, and especially Lucien Wolf of the Jewish Board of Deputies, did petition on behalf of (for example) refugee Galician Jews denied citizenship by Austria, or Hungarian Jews subject to *numerus clausus* laws limiting their access to university, but according to Fink, the League usually either accepted the excuses or the purely cosmetic "reforms" of the minority state or found technical grounds to decline to proceed altogether.

Were Jews a special case, or did the system fail minorities in general? In *A Lesson Forgotten*, his study of the German minority in Poland, Christian Raitz von Frentz also comes to a pessimistic conclusion. Some 950 petitions from all minorities were submitted to the League between 1921 and 1939, of which 550 were judged "receivable"; of these, fully 112 were sent by members of this German minority between March 1922 and September 1930 alone.³⁶ Intractable political conflicts underlay these statistics: the fact that some Poles remained willing in the 1920s to vote for German parties or send their children to German schools deepened the Polish state's commitment to a policy of "de-Germanization," and Germany's decision to champion minorities after its entry into the League, for its part, probably did more to stoke revisionist opinion in Germany than to improve the lot of ethnic Germans in Poland. Yet, while Raitz von Frentz shows that Colban and his team took the minority complaints seriously and dealt with them skillfully, he also insists that some aspects of the general League system (if not the bilateral Upper Silesian system also worked out by Colban) worsened the problem. When it came to petitions about eviction, for example, the time required for the League process enabled Poland to "create irreversible economic and demographic facts" (new Polish owners, German settlers back in Germany), leaving some monetary compensation—but not restitution of land—the only realistic solution. If Raitz von Frentz confirms Fink's view of the system's weakness, though, he disagrees that secrecy was one cause of that ineffectiveness.³⁷ To the contrary, he concludes, the system was not secretive enough, with the decision in 1929 to *retain* a general Council role in minority protections

³³ See n. 29 above.

³⁴ Carole Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938* (Cambridge, 2004).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 282.

³⁶ Christian Raitz von Frentz, *A Lesson Forgotten: Minority Protection under the League of Nations—The Case of the German Minority in Poland, 1920–1934* (New York, 1999), 100, 112, 130.

³⁷ Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others*, 316.

(rather than to use the committee system to bar border or kin states from the process entirely) creating irresistible pressures toward politicization. Such procedures made the temptation for German leaders to exploit the minority issue for domestic propagandist purposes almost irresistible.³⁸

How could two scholars paint such a similar portrait of the system's limitations but account for them so differently? Martin Scheuermann's impressive *Minderheitenschutz contra Konfliktverhütung?* helps to answer this question. Scheuermann worked his way through *all* petitions handled by the system from its establishment to its review in June 1929, and he provides not only a comprehensive register of the 149 judged admissible and the 306 judged inadmissible, short biographies of the section members, and a chart of the petition process, but also an invaluable country-by-country analysis of the system's operation. Scheuermann sustains Gütermann and Raitz von Frentz's high opinion of the section's officials, showing how seriously they treated petitions even from minorities—such as the Ukrainians in Poland—without powerful Council defenders. Yet Scheuermann also confirms (as Colban and Azcárate later claimed in self-justification)³⁹ that the preeminent goals were political and not humanitarian, with the task of defending the 1919 settlement and the prestige of the League often taking precedence over meaningful relief for petitioners. Just keeping Lithuania in the system, given that small state's anger over the League's inability to force the Poles to withdraw from Vilna, became a major goal; thus, "the system threatened to become an end in itself, with argument more about procedures than substantive issues."⁴⁰ Poland's sensitivities led the section to concentrate on damage limitation rather than the letter of the law; likewise, although both Yugoslavia and Greece denied the existence of a "Macedonian" identity and forcefully repressed it, a concern to protect the fragile peace in this region meant that the League somehow found most petitions involving Macedonia "not receivable." League officials also accepted the land reforms that dispossessed Germans in Poland and Estonia and Russians in Lithuania as genuine social measures and pragmatically restricted themselves to trying to secure some compensation for those expropriated.⁴¹

And yet, for all that, Scheuermann's portrait of the system is more positive than that of Fink or Raitz von Frentz—although admittedly this may be because he is judging it by the realistic standard of what was possible given the great powers' reluctance to get closely involved rather than by the ideal standards set out in the treaties. Colban, in particular, is shown to have had a canny sense of how to play a very weak hand, and Scheuermann agrees with Raitz von Frentz (and disagrees with Fink) on how important it was to restrict (and hence to be able to threaten) public exposure if he was to play it to best advantage.⁴² If there were plenty of barely tolerable compromises, then, Colban and his colleagues did prevent smoldering ethnic

³⁸ Raitz von Frentz, *A Lesson Forgotten*, 238–240.

³⁹ Colban, "The Minorities Problem," 311; Azcárate, *League of Nations*, 14–16.

⁴⁰ "Das System drohte zum Selbstzweck zu werden, gestritten wurde weit mehr um Formalia als um Sachfragen." Martin Scheuermann, *Minderheitenschutz contra Konfliktverhütung? Die Minderheitenpolitik des Völkerbundes in den zwanziger Jahren* (Marburg, 2000), 87.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 68–69, 147–148, 285–286, 341–342.

⁴² Raitz von Frentz, *A Lesson Forgotten*, 10, 109, 112. Only Yugoslavia and Turkey treated the threat of public exposure with indifference. Scheuermann, *Minderheitenschutz contra Konfliktverhütung?*, 261, 369.

conflicts from escalating into war and tempered a process of ethnic consolidation to which all of these states were committed. In Greece, for example, League pressure prevented the expulsion of some of the Albanian population, while in Romania the combination of Colban's personal diplomacy, threats to bring cases to the Council or the Permanent Court, and fear of the hostility of its Hungarian and Bulgarian neighbors halted (if it did not reverse) a wave of expropriations.⁴³ Scheuermann also examines Jewish petitions and comes to a more positive assessment of the effectiveness of Wolf's interventions and of Colban's willingness to act than we find in Fink.⁴⁴ This may not be an impressive record of minority protection, but given that League officials armed with nothing but persuasive powers were involving themselves in the internal affairs of highly sensitive and nationalist states, the surprising thing is that they accomplished anything at all.

The minorities treaties were applied to fragile and often new states that were nevertheless recognized as sovereign; the mandates system, by contrast, was applied to territories conquered by strong states with preexisting and often extensive colonial empires. Set up to reconcile Wilson's determination to avoid an annexationist peace and his allies' equally powerful desire to hang on to those captured Ottoman or German possessions, the mandates system granted administrative control but not formal sovereignty to those victors, on the understanding that (as article 22 of the Covenant put it) "the well-being and development of [those territories'] peoples form a sacred trust of civilization." Mandatory powers were required to report annually on their fulfillment of that charge, and a "Permanent Mandates Commission" was set up in Geneva to examine those reports and to alert the Council to any problems.⁴⁵ Welcomed at its inception as a decisive break with the self-interested imperialism of the pre-1914 period, the mandates system proved to have little discernible effect on the timetable to self-rule, and once the last mandates fell under the supervision of the successor United Nations Trusteeship Council and then moved to independence, the system faded from view. What, then, was its significance?

In *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*, Antony Anghie approaches that question by situating the system within a genealogy of the role played by international law in managing relations between the Third World and the

⁴³ Scheuermann, *Minderheitenschutz contra Konfliktverhütung?*, 254–256, 341.

⁴⁴ See especially Scheuermann's discussion of the petitions concerning Hungary's *numerus clausus* law, *ibid.*, 213–220. It is not possible to reconcile Fink's account of a Secretariat unresponsive to Wolf's pleas and willing to accept Hungary's lies and evasions with Scheuermann's account of Colban's pressing for a more forceful response, although surely part of the explanation is that Fink's account of this episode is based largely on the archives of the Joint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and Scheuermann's exclusively on the archives of the League, suggesting the limitations of both of those sources. Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others*, 291–292; Scheuermann, *Minderheitenschutz contra Konfliktverhütung?*, 215.

⁴⁵ The mandated territories were divided into three groups, ostensibly on the basis of their "level of civilization" and hence capacity for self-government. The Ottoman Middle East became "A" mandates, with Palestine (including Transjordan) and Iraq granted to Britain, and Syria and Lebanon to France. Most of German Africa became "B" mandates, with both Togo and Cameroon partitioned between Britain and France, Rwanda and Burundi handed over to Belgium, and Tanganyika given to the British, to be administered with regard to articulated international humanitarian norms. More remote German areas were granted with few stipulations to Japan and Britain's dominions as "C" mandates: these were South West Africa, awarded to South Africa; German New Guinea, awarded to Australia; Western Samoa, turned over to New Zealand; Germany's Pacific islands north of the Equator, entrusted to Japan; and the phosphate-rich island of Nauru, handed over to the British Empire but administered by Australia.

West over four centuries.⁴⁶ International law's core concept of sovereignty, Anghie argues, was always deployed to serve Western interests, and he traces how loyalty to particular European ideals ("Christianity," "civilization," "economic development," "good governance," "a renunciation of terrorism") was at different times made the condition for its exercise. The mandates system interests Anghie because it was, in his view, a crucial stage in this process, being both the moment at which and the mechanism through which direct imperial control of Third World areas gave way to control exercised by international organizations and the World Bank. The institutions of global governance that now limit the sovereignty of Third World states "derive in fundamental ways from the Mandate System," Anghie writes.

It is in the Mandate System that a centralised authority is established for the task of collecting massive amounts of information from the peripheries, analysing and processing this information by a universal discipline such as economics, and constructing an ostensible universal science, a science by which all societies may be assessed and advised on how to achieve the goal of economic development. Indeed, it is arguable that this "science" could not have come into being without a central institution such as the Mandate System.⁴⁷

Now, there is certainly something in this. In publicizing and scrutinizing the administrative practices of mandatory powers, the mandates system played a part in shaping and then "internationalizing" norms about governance in dependent territories. Yet Anghie's account is deeply frustrating, for his strong claims are based very largely on outdated interwar literature and the proclamations of the Mandates Commission itself and have not been tested against the archives of the mandatory powers, the League's archives in Geneva, or even a reasonable slice of the extensive historiography on the governance of particular mandates.⁴⁸ From Anghie's account, one would imagine that the Mandates Commission was a kind of World Bank in embryo, infiltrating agents and funds throughout the Third World and establishing conditions for independence across the globe. It was not. The commission was composed of nine (later ten) "experts," most of whom were ex-colonial governors, and few of whom sought to exercise an independent role. When they did, they found it hard going: as Ania Peter has shown in *William E. Rappard und der Völkerbund*, League Secretary-General Sir Eric Drummond sabotaged early efforts to expand the commission's functions, after which, as Michael Callahan's *Mandates and Empire* shows, the League Council and the mandatory powers colluded to limit its remit further.⁴⁹ (Anghie does not cite either of these authors.) Even had the commission

⁴⁶ Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge, 2004).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁴⁸ Anghie relies heavily on Quincy Wright's landmark study, which, however impressive, was based only on published records and appeared in 1930. He has not consulted either the League archives or the key government records exploited by Michael D. Callahan, and his repeated condemnation of First World inattention to Third World cultures and histories is particularly irritating in light of his own failure to pay even the most rudimentary attention to those histories. It is impossible to survey the range of excellent historical work on the mandates here, but for a summary of some of it, see Susan Pedersen, "The Meaning of the Mandates System: An Argument," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 32, no. 4 (2006): 560–582.

⁴⁹ Ania Peter, *William E. Rappard und der Völkerbund* (Bern, 1973), esp. 84–121; a brief English-language summary of Peter's book appears as "William E. Rappard and the League of Nations," in *The League of Nations in Retrospect: Proceedings of the Symposium* (Berlin, 1983), 221–241; Michael D. Callahan, *Mandates and Empire: The League of Nations and Africa, 1914–1931* (Brighton, 1993), 123–129.

wished to enforce a new system of colonial control (as opposed to promulgating new ideals of administration), it had no agents with which to carry out such deployment, commissioners being barred from conducting fact-finding missions in the mandates, or indeed even from visiting them except in a private capacity. True, the commission could request information from a mandatory power and subject its representative to a yearly interview, but whether these modest powers constituted new and sweeping “technologies” of rule is at best debatable. Anghie has, importantly, grasped the way the mandates system helped define a “damaged” form of sovereignty for the poorer nations of the world, but to understand how those concepts affected administrative practice (and they did in fact do so), one must look beyond the system’s own self-justifying rhetoric to negotiations and struggles over governance that took place within the imperial capitals and the mandatory territories alike.

Callahan gives us part of this more complete story. His *Mandates and Empire* (1993) was a study of French and British policy regarding African mandates until 1931; in *A Sacred Trust* (2004), he brings that story forward to 1946.⁵⁰ Callahan has delved into the publications of the Permanent Mandates Commission, but he has a political historian’s healthy skepticism of official documents and has tracked policymaking through confidential Colonial Office and Foreign Office records, providing us with the best account we are likely to get of the French and British “official mind” about mandates. That “mind,” he shows, was pragmatic and instrumental, with calculations of national interest paramount. The need to manage or placate Germany figured largely in British mandatory policy, for example, with Britain agreeing to bring a German member onto the Commission in 1927 and even periodically contemplating trying to find (as the left-leaning League supporter Philip Noel-Baker suggested in 1931) “two pieces of Africa which could be handed over simultaneously under mandate to Germany and Italy respectively.”⁵¹ Yet Callahan insists that such strategic calculation was never the whole story, and that Britain and France responded to League oversight by developing policies in their mandated territories that were “more restrained and more internationally-oriented than those in the rest of their empires in tropical Africa.”⁵²

Callahan marshals evidence to corroborate this point. Sensitivity to international opinion led France to exempt its mandates from military recruiting, strengthened Britain’s desire to resist white settler pressures to amalgamate Tanganyika and Kenya, and drove both states to keep forced labor requirements below those in the colonies. Yet it is worth noting that this more paternalistic record tended both to legitimize (and not shorten) British and French rule and to undermine Africa’s few independent black states. Some humanitarians and liberals thus responded to revelations of forced labor in Liberia by calling for a United States mandate over that country (a painful paradox better explored by Ibrahim Sundiata than by Callahan);⁵³ others hoped to avert the Italo-Abyssinian war by granting Italy a mandate over parts

⁵⁰ Michael D. Callahan, *A Sacred Trust: The League of Nations and Africa, 1929–1946* (Brighton, 2004).

⁵¹ Minute by Noel-Baker, February 10, 1931, quoted in *ibid.*, 57. Noel-Baker hoped to use such a “colonial deal” to ease disarmament negotiations.

⁵² Callahan, *A Sacred Trust*, 3.

⁵³ Ibrahim Sundiata, *Brothers and Strangers: Black Zion, Black Slavery, 1914–1940* (Durham, N.C., 2003).

of Ethiopia. The fact that politicians could imagine using mandates so very instrumentally (Neville Chamberlain's "colonial offer" to Hitler being another extreme example)⁵⁴ suggests that, for all his very useful work, Callahan may not have weighed the balance between paternalism and geopolitical calculation quite accurately. That paternalistic record would, moreover, look less strong had Callahan considered Belgian rule in Rwanda and Burundi and South African administration of South West Africa (as he should have done in two books subtitled *The League of Nations and Africa*). The instrumentalization of ethnic division in the former case and the wholesale land seizures, labor controls, and physical repression of the latter were hardly reconcilable with the ideals of the "sacred trust," but the Mandates Commission could not deflect either administration from its chosen course. The verdict that "mandates meant . . . a greater emphasis on the interests of Africans" is hard to square with that record.⁵⁵

Those difficulties of generalization worsen, moreover, when we consider the Middle East cases discussed in Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett's invaluable edited collection *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives*.⁵⁶ The essays therein are varied, dealing with subjects ranging from administrative practices, to economic projects, to the uses made of ethnography and medicine, to the course of national and ethnic movements; taken together, however, they underscore the hazards of generalizing about the mandates system even in a single region, and the folly of doing so on the basis of the publications of the Permanent Mandates Commission alone. Certainly, several of the archivally based essays confirm just how strategically the great powers acted: as Gerard Khoury points out, Robert de Caix could scarcely have been clearer about France's reasons to oppose the creation of a unified Arab state when he wrote on April 11, 1920, that "the peace of the world would be on the whole better secured if there were a certain number of small states in the Middle East, whose inter-relation could be controlled here by France and there by Britain, who would be administered with the greatest internal autonomy, and who would not have the aggressive tendencies of large, unified national states."⁵⁷ As Pierre-Jean Luizard shows, Britain was equally strategic, moving swiftly to repress Kurdish independence movements and construct a unified Iraqi state out of three Ottoman provinces.⁵⁸ Yet calculation did not always point in the same direction: thus, as Sluglett shows, while the French remained ideologically committed to Syria despite massive local opposition and negligible economic gains, the British pragmatically nurtured a class of Iraqi clients able to safeguard British interests under conditions

⁵⁴ Callahan, *A Sacred Trust*, 134–149, faults Chamberlain's naïveté about the character of the German regime, but otherwise sees his "colonial offer" as driven both by European concerns and (less plausibly) by a genuine desire to "further internationalize and reform European imperialism"; 147.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁶ Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett, *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives/ Les mandats français et anglais dans une perspective comparative* (Leiden, 2004).

⁵⁷ "La paix du monde serait en somme mieux assurée s'il y avait en Orient un certain nombre de petits États dont les relations seraient contrôlées ici par la France et là par l'Angleterre, qui s'administreraient avec le maximum d'autonomie intérieure, et qui n'auraient pas les tendances agressives des grands États nationaux unitaires." Gerard D. Khoury, "Robert de Caix et Louis Massignon: Deux visions de la politique française au Levant en 1920," in Méouchy and Sluglett, *The British and French Mandates*, 169.

⁵⁸ Pierre-Jean Luizard, "Le mandat britannique en Irak: Une rencontre entre plusieurs projets politiques," *ibid.*, 361–384.

of nominal independence.⁵⁹ Nor was one nation's policy necessarily uniform across mandates, for Britain put through a far-sighted land reform in Transjordan while essentially "refeudalizing" Iraq.⁶⁰ The mandates system, *pace* Anghie and Callahan, had no consistent impact on either governance or economic policy.

But does this mean that the system was unimportant, or could we perhaps be asking the wrong question? Anghie and Callahan strain too hard to detect uniform impact when what locally grounded studies show is that the system affected different mandatory powers, and different mandates, differently. Too little effort has been made—except in Sluglett's essay—to explain that variation. Such an explanation is possible, but it must take into account not only local factors and the interests of mandatory powers, but equally how the discursive (and not coercive) practices of mandatory oversight shaped interests and actions alike. There are revealing glimpses in these books of local inhabitants using the petition process to garner international support, and of opinion-sensitive governments forestalling criticism by adjusting course. But no comprehensive account of that process of local claims-making and political learning, and of the variable metropolitan response, has yet been written.

Taken together, these studies of the minorities and mandates systems bring out the paradoxical and seemingly conflicting nature of the League's responsibilities in the realm of state-building and sovereignty. On the one hand, the League was to promote emerging norms related to trusteeship and human rights; on the other hand, it was to do so without undermining the principle of state sovereignty. Colban's quiet personal diplomacy and the Mandates Commission's more distant but public scrutiny sought to reconcile those two goals—and, as we have seen, sometimes managed to do so. When that happened, however, it was because minority states or mandatory powers concluded that their national interests or international reputations would be enhanced by their (sometimes purely verbal or formal) compliance; when they concluded otherwise, they suffered few consequences, because sanctions for violations of the mandate or even for outright repudiation of the minorities treaties were (as Poland discovered in 1934) virtually nonexistent. Yet, if these League systems could not coerce states or override sovereignty, they did contribute powerfully to the articulation and diffusion of international norms, some of which proved lasting. If the principle of designating protected groups by ethnicity did not survive the demise of the minorities system, the delegitimation of forcible conquest as a foundation for sovereignty on which the mandates system was—however reluctantly—based is now broadly accepted.⁶¹ And where norms and national interests were easily reconciled, the achievements of the League would be more substantial.

⁵⁹ Peter Sluglett, "Les mandats/The Mandates: Some Reflections on the Nature of the British Presence in Iraq (1914–1932) and the French Presence in Syria (1918–1946)," *ibid.*, 99–127; Toby Dodge, "International Obligation, Domestic Pressure and Colonial Nationalism: The Birth of the Iraqi State under the Mandate System," *ibid.*, 142–164.

⁶⁰ Michael R. Fischbach, "The British Land Program, State-Societal Cooperation, and Popular Imagination in Transjordan," *ibid.*, 477–495; Luizard, "Le mandat britannique," *ibid.*, 383.

⁶¹ Despite the mandatory powers' clear wish to avoid the question, the League Council felt forced in 1929 to state clearly, in answer to South African attempts to assert sovereignty in South West Africa, that the mandatory power was "not sovereign" in the mandated territory—a judgment that (together with its rulings in the Manchurian and Abyssinian cases) helped to delegitimize conquest as a foundation for sovereignty. For this, see Susan Pedersen, "Settler Colonialism at the Bar of the League of Nations," in Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, eds., *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 121.

IN ADDITION TO PEACEKEEPING AND MANAGING RELATIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY, the League had a third task: fostering international cooperation to address transnational problems or traffics that had been the subject of humanitarian concern and rudimentary intergovernmental collaboration before the war. The League's founders expected this to be a minor adjunct to its work, but serious postwar humanitarian crises and the continued absence of the United States combined to alter that balance. Overstretched voluntary organizations and beset newly established states could not cope alone with the waves of refugees, epidemics, and economic crises sweeping their lands; the great powers, unwilling to commit themselves too deeply, gladly dropped some of these issues at the League's door. Secretary-General Drummond watched this expanding involvement with anxiety. Only two or three of the Covenant's twenty-plus articles dealt with humanitarian and technical activities, the tidy-minded Drummond protested to a meeting of his directors in May 1921.⁶² But Jean Monnet, the architect of European union, who (it is often forgotten) spent the early 1920s in Geneva as Drummond's deputy, disagreed, and the ambitious and clever young men (and one woman) appointed to head up the various League technical bodies were not inclined to sit on the sidelines either. Albert Thomas was already building up his empire at the International Labor Organization; the Dutch jurist Joost Van Hamel was working out the contours of the Permanent Court of International Justice; and Robert Haas, Arthur Salter, Rachel Crowdy, and Ludwik Rajchman were busy assembling the communications, economic, social, and health organizations of the League. Some of these institutional entrepreneurs proved to be more talented than others, and some of their creations faltered amid the heightened political conflict and economic nationalism of the 1930s, but on the whole, criticisms of the League's security capacities lent its specialized organs added prestige. By the late 1930s, more than 50 percent of the League's budget went to this misnamed "technical" work, with plans afoot to relocate those functions within an autonomous body incorporating member states and nonmembers alike. The war put an end to those plans, but the institutions themselves survived, metamorphosing into United Nations bodies after 1945.

The history of this third "League of Nations" is not well known. Officials wrote accounts of particular organizations at the behest of the Carnegie Endowment in the 1940s,⁶³ but with the exception of the articles of Martin Dubin and the symposium on the League held in Geneva in 1980, no synthetic study has been written.⁶⁴ A new generation of international historians, sometimes influenced by "liberal institutionalist" international relations theory (which itself has a direct genealogical link to the League),⁶⁵ has, however, begun publishing well-researched reassessments of various

⁶² League of Nations Archives [Microfilm Collection], Directors' Meeting minutes, 31/10/15, May 18, 1921.

⁶³ This series included Azcárate, *League of Nations and National Minorities*; Bertil A. Renborg (former chief of section in the League's Drug Control Service), *International Drug Control* (Washington, D.C., 1947); Martin Hill (member of section of the Economic Section of the League), *The Economic and Financial Organization of the League of Nations* (Washington, D.C., 1946); and several other works.

⁶⁴ Martin David Dubin, "Transgovernmental Processes in the League of Nations," *International Organization* 37, no. 3 (1983): 469–493; Dubin, "Toward the Bruce Report: The Economic and Social Programs of the League of Nations in the Avenol Era," in *The League of Nations in Retrospect*, 42–72, and other essays in that volume.

⁶⁵ The crucial figure here is David Mitrany, whose involvement with the British League of Nations

branches of this work. Claudena Skran's *Refugees in Inter-War Europe* is a particularly fine example of this genre,⁶⁶ and the League's Health Organization received similarly thoughtful treatment in Paul Weindling's edited collection *International Health Organizations and Movements, 1918–1939*.⁶⁷ Patricia Clavin and Jens-Wilhelm Wessels have traced the development and functioning of the League's Economic and Financial Organization in "Transnationalism and the League of Nations,"⁶⁸ complementing Anthony M. Endres and Grant A. Fleming's study of the intellectual significance of the work done there.⁶⁹ William B. McAllister's *Drug Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century* provides a thorough narrative of the development of the League's conventions and organizations regulating the traffic in drugs,⁷⁰ and while the Social Section's efforts to combat sexual trafficking and promote child welfare have received less attention, Carol Miller's article in Weindling's collection and Barbara Metzger's 2001 Cambridge dissertation and 2007 essay are important beginnings.⁷¹ In 1999, the League's Paris-based bodies set up to foster intellectual cooperation finally found their historian,⁷² but a comparable study of its Rome-based Cinematography Institute remains to be written. The work of the Communications and Transit Organization likewise awaits investigation.

These new studies establish the importance of those "technical" sections. The effort at intellectual cooperation, which engaged Henri Bergson, Albert Einstein, and Marie Curie, among others, was more symbolically significant than effective, but the Economic and Financial Organization, which had a staff of sixty by 1931, built up a solid record of achievement. Its heroic early days, when Salter, Monnet, and their allies hammered out the Austrian and Hungarian recovery plans, could not last; but the section produced pioneering statistical series and analyses, and facilitated much collective research and discussion (if not action) about later economic crises

Union and work for the Carnegie Endowment was the basis for his "functionalist" argument that international stability would be better enhanced through intergovernmental cooperation on specific technical or policy matters than it would be through "collective security"—an argument that, if recast in terms of the liberal institutionalism of Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, would not be light-years from that put forward by Anne-Marie Slaughter. See Mitrany, *A Working Peace System: An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization* (London, 1943); Slaughter, *A New World Order* (Princeton, N.J., 2004). Martin Dubin draws attention to the genealogy of liberal institutionalist theory in "Transgovernmental Processes," 469, 492–493.

⁶⁶ Claudena M. Skran, *Refugees in Inter-War Europe: The Emergence of a Regime* (Oxford, 1995).

⁶⁷ Paul Weindling, ed., *International Health Organizations and Movements, 1918–1939* (Cambridge, 1995).

⁶⁸ Patricia Clavin and Jens-Wilhelm Wessels, "Transnationalism and the League of Nations: Understanding the Work of Its Economic and Financial Organization," *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (2005): 465–492.

⁶⁹ Anthony M. Endres and Grant A. Fleming, *International Organizations and the Analysis of Economic Policy, 1919–1950* (Cambridge, 2002).

⁷⁰ William B. McAllister, *Drug Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century: An International History* (London, 2000).

⁷¹ Carol Miller, "The Social Section and Advisory Committee on Social Questions of the League of Nations," in Weindling, *International Health Organizations and Movements*, 154–176; Barbara Metzger, "The League of Nations and Human Rights: From Practice to Theory" (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 2001); Metzger, "Towards an International Human Rights Regime during the Inter-War Years: The League of Nations' Combat of Traffic in Women and Children," in Kevin Grant, Philippa Levine, and Frank Trentmann, eds., *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire and Transnationalism, c. 1880–1950* (Basingstoke, 2007), 54–79.

⁷² Jean-Jacques Renoliet, *L'UNESCO oubliée: La Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle (1919–1946)* (Paris, 1999).

and trade questions. League bodies dealing with transnational traffics—opium, refugees, prostitutes—also proved surprisingly effective. All made serious efforts to gather data on their subject, establishing the right of the League to interrogate governments and carry out on-site visits; all (conflicts between regulationist and liberal states on questions of prostitution, and between producer, consumer, and manufacturer states on the drug question notwithstanding) managed to hammer out basic agreements; all attempted to monitor compliance with those conventions; and in the cases of opium trafficking and refugees, League bodies operated the mechanisms of control as well. Before 1914, refugees had no distinctive status or agreed rights; by 1939, however, the League and other actors had developed a set of standards, rules, and practices (including the landmark “Nansen passport”) that, Skran contends, provided “legal protection and durable solutions for more than one million refugees.”⁷³

We need to ask, however, whether the whole was more than the sum of the parts: given their specialized mandates, did these bodies set in motion a different dynamic of international cooperation? Comparison suggests that they were indeed distinctive in three ways. First, the League’s technical areas proved to be more expansive, and more genuinely global, than its security or state-building operations. The United States cooperated with the work of the Health, Opium, and Social sections; Germany and even the Soviet Union worked with the Health Organization long before they joined the League; Japan continued to work with most technical bodies after its withdrawal. That wider participation was not always easy to manage: especially in the early days, as McAllister shows, crusading Americans eager to crack down on the supply of drugs were as likely to wreck agreements as to foster them.⁷⁴ Yet it is surely significant that while the security arrangements deterred some states from joining the League and drove other states out of it, the technical organizations brought nonmembers in and mitigated the organization’s transparent Eurocentrism. Not that the League’s officials were cultural relativists *avant la lettre*: to the contrary, the health officials were strong proponents of a Western biomedical/public health episteme. They were, however, determined to spread the benefits of Western knowledge across the globe, and through a series of pragmatic but far-sighted innovations—including the establishment of an epidemiological station in Singapore, the provision of technical assistance to China, and training for medical staff—they did much to expand the reach and reputation of the League.⁷⁵

The specialized bodies reconciled state interests and the demands of mobilized publics more successfully than the security bodies as well, often by incorporating experts and activists directly into their work. States still asserted their interests and had plenty of opportunities to exercise what Skran terms “veto power,”⁷⁶ but a desire to share burdens and avoid public criticism predisposed states and League officials

⁷³ Skran, *Refugees in Inter-War Europe*, 292.

⁷⁴ See especially McAllister’s account of the counterproductive effect of U.S. Representative Stephen Porter’s intransigent stance at the 1923 Opium Advisory Committee meetings and the 1924 Geneva opium conferences; *Drug Diplomacy*, 50–78.

⁷⁵ Dubin, “The League of Nations Health Organization,” in Weindling, *International Health Organizations and Movements*, 56–80; Lenore Manderson, “Wireless Wars in the Eastern Arena: Epidemiological Surveillance, Disease Prevention and the Work of the Eastern Bureau of the League of Nations Health Organization, 1925–1942,” *ibid.*, 109–133; Paul Weindling, “Social Medicine at the League of Nations Health Organization and the International Labour Office Compared,” *ibid.*, 134–153.

⁷⁶ Skran, *Refugees in Inter-War Europe*, 279–281.

alike to seek to involve (and sometimes thus to neutralize) experts, campaigners, and even critics. Voluntary organizations with strong records of practical work or strong claims to expertise (the ancestors of today's NGOs) thus had easy access to key League officials and sometimes statutory representation on League bodies; League officials, in turn, used their ties to wealthy private philanthropies to compensate for member states' parsimony. Both of the League's very substantial investigations into the traffic in women and children were funded by the American Bureau of Social Hygiene, for example, while the Rockefeller Foundation underwrote many of the Health Organization's programs for fifteen years.⁷⁷ Finally, where goodwill was present but state interests were not closely involved, a single crusading individual or organization could have a decisive impact. The role played by the founder of the Save the Children Fund, Eglantyne Jebb, in drafting and securing League backing for the 1924 Geneva Declaration on the Rights of the Child is perhaps the most striking example of such humanitarian entrepreneurialism, but British anti-slavery activists were also able to exploit personal contacts in Geneva and the sensibilities of the Assembly to promote more stringent definitions of and prohibitions against slavery.⁷⁸

Yet this degree of outside initiative was not the rule; on most issues—and this is the third point—officials played the key roles. Sometimes they were kept on a tight leash: as Andrew Webster points out, the League officials, small-country statesmen and experts who kept disarmament negotiations alive across the entire period, found their work undone and their opinions trumped by “the imperatives of national interest . . . time and again.”⁷⁹ By contrast, Skran insists, Fridtjof Nansen and the Secretariat exercised considerable initiative on refugee matters,⁸⁰ and the tight-knit group of economists under Arthur Salter also charted an ambitious course shielded by a rhetoric of impartial expertise.⁸¹ Rachel Crowdy, the sole woman appointed to head a section, not coincidentally had a much tougher time: her willingness to bring in voluntary organizations was a strategically sensible reaction to a lack of institutional support and chronic under-funding, but it branded her as an “enthusiast” and probably shortened her career. By contrast, while Ludwik Rajchman's ambitions for the Health Organization made some politicians and his own secretaries-general uncomfortable, his high reputation among experts and his ability to secure independent funds helped him survive politically motivated attacks (Rajchman was left-leaning and Jewish) until 1939.

The League's specialized agencies proved, then, to be more expansive, flexible,

⁷⁷ On the ABSH funding, see Metzger, “The League of Nations and Human Rights,” 94, 124; on the Rockefeller funding, see Dubin, “The League of Nations Health Organization,” 72–73, and Weindling, “Social Medicine,” 137.

⁷⁸ On Jebb, see Metzger, “The League of Nations and Human Rights,” 165–176; on anti-slavery, see Kevin Grant, *A Civilised Savagery: Britain and the New Slavery in Africa, 1884–1926* (London, 2005), 159–166, and Susan Pedersen, “The Maternalist Moment in British Colonial Policy: The Controversy over ‘Child Slavery’ in Hong Kong, 1917–1941,” *Past & Present*, no. 171 (May 2001): 171–202.

⁷⁹ Andrew Webster, “The Transnational Dream: Politicians, Diplomats and Soldiers in the League of Nations' Pursuit of International Disarmament, 1920–1938,” *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (2005): 493–518, 517. Note, however, David R. Stone's claim that when their own rights to purchase arms were involved, the small states proved as unwilling to see limits placed on their freedoms as were the great powers. See Stone, “Imperialism and Sovereignty: The League of Nations' Drive to Control the Global Arms Trade,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, no. 2 (2000): 213–230.

⁸⁰ Skran, *Refugees in Inter-War Europe*, 279, 286, 287.

⁸¹ This point is stressed by Clavin and Wessels, “Transnationalism and the League of Nations,” 480–481.

creative, and successful than its security or state-building arrangements; they were also more lasting. Although Drummond's mediocre successor, Joseph Avenol, dismissed much of the League's staff shortly before his own forced resignation in 1940, some of the technical organizations were given refuge abroad, and even where the war disrupted League activity (as with its trafficking, health, and refugee work), the United Nations quickly rebuilt on League foundations. The World Health Organization succeeded the League Health Organization; UNESCO took over from the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation; the Trusteeship Council inherited the responsibilities of the Mandates Commission; the 1949 United Nations Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons codified language drafted before the war; even the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child cited the 1924 Geneva Declaration as its precedent.⁸² Likewise, while the United Nations' refugee regime was from its origins much more comprehensive and ambitious than the League's, UNHCR's basic structure and practices—its insistence on political neutrality, the concentration of authority in "a man and a staff"—still bear Nansen's imprint.⁸³ Many of the agreements and institutions that today regulate movements of peoples, services, and goods around the globe took shape in Geneva between the wars.

WHICH BRINGS US, OF COURSE, TO THE POINT MADE AT THE OUTSET, about the need to examine more intensively the personnel, mechanisms, and culture of that Geneva-centered world. Other cities between the wars were much more polyglot and cosmopolitan: it was in Geneva, however, that internationalism was enacted, institutionalized, and performed. That internationalism had its holy text (the Covenant); it had its high priests and prophets (especially Nansen and Briand); it had its benefactors and fellow travelers; in the caricaturist Emery Kelen and the photographer Erich Salomon, it found its most brilliant chroniclers.⁸⁴ There was an annual pilgrimage each September, when a polyglot collection of national delegates, claimants, lobbyists, and journalists descended on this once-placid bourgeois town. But for all its religious overtones, interwar internationalism depended more on structure than on faith: a genuinely transnational officialdom, and not visionaries or even statesmen, was its beating heart. Secretariat members briefed the politicians, organized the meetings, wrote the press releases, and, meeting on the golf links or in the bars, kept open that "back channel" of confidential information on which all complex networks rely. The Secretariat had its spies and time-servers, of course, but for the most part Drummond chose well: national politicians fulminating against its bias or expense usually ended up impressed by its efficiency and impartiality. Officials led statesmen to recognize common interests and forge agreements; against the odds,

⁸² For those conventions, see Metzger, "The League of Nations and Human Rights," 163, 176.

⁸³ Skran, *Refugees in Inter-War Europe*, 296.

⁸⁴ Emery Kelen's *Peace in Their Time: Men Who Led Us In and Out of War, 1914–1945* (New York, 1963) contains many Derso/Kelen cartoons, and remains one of the best portraits of that Genevan world. Originals of many of the cartoons, including those reproduced in this issue, are in the Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library; I am grateful to the Princeton University Library for permission to use these images. For an excellent recent compilation of Salomon's work, including many of the Geneva photographs, see Janos Frecot, ed., *Erich Salomon 'Mit Frack und Linse durch Politik und Gesellschaft': Photographien, 1928–1938* (Munich, 2004).

they fought to sustain that particular blend of pragmatism and hope that became known as the “spirit of Geneva.”

We still know too little about how those relationships worked. Much of the historiography of the League has been written from the standpoint of national interests and out of national archives;⁸⁵ we have been slow to reverse the optic. Studies have been written (including those mentioned here) on several League sections, and biographies exist of the three secretaries-general and a few other League officials (although unfortunately not of Colban or Crowdy),⁸⁶ but the only full account of the Secretariat is more than sixty years old, and many of the matters discussed there—the degree of section autonomy, the touchy question of the national distribution of positions, the endemic problems of infiltration, leaks, and “spying”—have never been followed up.⁸⁷ Likewise, while some work has been done on the rise of nongovernmental organizations and of lobbying efforts in Geneva,⁸⁸ such ephemeral but significant associations as the Congress of European Minorities or the Brussels-based International Federation of League of Nations Societies await investigation. And the great dramatic moments in the Assembly or the Council—Italian journalists shouting down Haile Selassie, Stefan Lux killing himself to protest Nazi treatment of Jews—have been lost to view.

Here, as well, however, there are encouraging signs. Two recent studies—one of a rank-and-file member of the Secretariat, the other of Geneva’s French contingent—bring that internationalist world to life. In 1928, an idealistic young Canadian woman working for the Student Christian Movement talked her way into a job with the League’s Information Section. Mary McGeachy’s colorful life inspired Frank Moorhouse’s vivid historical novel *Grand Days* (surely the only work of fiction to

⁸⁵ Useful nation-centered studies include Kimmich, *Germany and the League of Nations*; Richard Veatch, *Canada and the League of Nations* (Toronto, 1975); S. Shepard Jones, *The Scandinavian States and the League of Nations* (1939; repr., New York, 1969); Michael Kennedy, *Ireland and the League of Nations* (Dublin, 1996); Sara Pienaar, *South Africa and International Relations between the Two World Wars: The League of Nations Dimension* (Johannesburg, 1987); and Warren F. Kuehl and Lynne K. Dunn, *Keeping the Covenant: American Internationalists and the League of Nations, 1920–1939* (Kent, Ohio, 1997).

⁸⁶ Biographies of Drummond and Avenol are cited in n. 2 above. For Sean Lester, see Douglas Gageby, *The Last Secretary General: Sean Lester and the League of Nations* (Dublin, 1999). Conflicting accounts of Monnet’s years at the League (both based on Monnet’s own writings) are found in Eric Roussel, *Jean Monnet* (Paris, 1996), and Jean Monnet, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1976). For Rappard, see Peter, William E. Rappard, and Victor Monnier, *William E. Rappard: Défenseur des libertés, serviteur de son pays et de la communauté internationale* (Geneva, 1995); and for Rajchman, see Marta Aleksandra Balinska, *Une vie pour l’humanitaire: Ludwik Rajchman, 1881–1965* (Paris, 1995), rev. English ed., *For the Good of Humanity: Ludwik Rajchman, Medical Statesman* (Budapest, 1998). Particularly useful memoirs are Salvador de Madariaga, *Morning without Noon* (Hampshire, 1973), and Arthur Salter, *Personality in Politics: Studies of Contemporary Statesmen* (London, 1947).

⁸⁷ Egon F. Ranshofen-Wertheimer, *The International Secretariat: A Great Experiment in International Administration* (Washington, D.C., 1945). With the opening of the Secretariat’s personnel files a few years ago, a comprehensive new study is possible.

⁸⁸ For the rise of NGOs, see, e.g., Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, Md., 1997), and Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); and for international women’s organizations, see Carol Miller, “Lobbying the League: Women’s International Organizations and the League of Nations” (D.Phil., Oxford, 1992), and Miller, “Geneva—the Key to Equality: Inter-war Feminists and the League of Nations,” *Women’s History Review* 3, no. 2 (1994): 219–245.



PAULUCCI
BONNET

ALBERT THOMAS
BONNET

SIR ERIC DRUMMOND
SUGIMURA
COMERT

DUFOUR-PERONCE
AVENOL

Le Secrétariat de la Société des Nations traverse la Mer Rouge à pieds secs.

FIGURE 3: Alois Derso and Emery Kelen's cartoon of the League Secretariat holding back the waters of the crises of the early 1930s. Albert Thomas and Eric Drummond are in the center. From *Le Testament de Genève* (Geneva, 1931). Reproduced by permission of Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

explain the League's filing system!);⁸⁹ now Mary Kinnear has given McGeachy a biography of her own.⁹⁰ Like most of the Secretariat's considerable numbers of women, McGeachy held a junior position and—to her frustration—was never promoted to the coveted rank of “member of section.”⁹¹ She was given significant responsibility, however, acting as liaison with the international women's organizations, representing the League and the ILO at conferences, and giving public lectures and briefing politicians during several extended Canadian tours. When the Secretariat fell apart, McGeachy went on to the wartime Ministry of Economic Warfare in London and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and in later life worked with the International Council of Women.

Through McGeachy's life, we see how individuals both made and were remade by internationalism—but could that internationalism temper national feeling in turn? *Les Français au service de la Société des Nations*, Christine Manigand's 2003 study of those French politicians and officials active in Geneva, addresses this question.⁹² In the early 1920s, most French politicians viewed Wilsonian ideals with skepticism: to their mind, the League was there to uphold French security and enforce the stringent restraints placed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. In a crucial work, *La Société des Nations et les intérêts de la France (1920–1924)*, Marie-Renée Mouton showed how hard the Quai d'Orsay worked to promote this vision⁹³—so hard, indeed, that by the mid-1920s, the British would no longer go along. Yet, as Manigand (working, like Mouton, largely from Quai d'Orsay archives) shows, such setbacks did not lead to French disengagement; instead, as ties in Geneva became ever more multifarious and weblike, they came to have a force of their own. Geneva's French contingent was, as she shows, itself a kind of network within a network, incorporating not only the French members of the Secretariat and the ILO, and the politicians seconded to France's mission to the League or serving as Assembly delegates, but also a rich collection of journalists, intellectuals, and wealthy political hostesses. Working in Geneva did not make these men and women less protective of French interests, but it did change how they defined them—and it was this change, in turn, that underwrote the rapprochement of the mid-1920s. Manigand does not systematically analyze that process of reorientation, but by following her as she moves among the League's French officials and well-wishers, we begin to see how—if only sometimes, and then only for a while—it became possible.

THE BOOKS AND ESSAYS REVIEWED HERE have not rehabilitated the League across the board. They have, however, provided a more complex and variegated portrait of its operation. The League was an association of sovereign states that many of its sup-

⁸⁹ Frank Moorhouse, *Grand Days* (Sydney, 1993); see also his sequel *Dark Palace* (Milsons Point, New South Wales, 2000), and Albert Cohen's novel set at the League in the 1930s, *Belle du Seigneur* (Paris, 1986).

⁹⁰ Mary Kinnear, *Woman of the World: Mary McGeachy and International Cooperation* (Toronto, 2004).

⁹¹ The interesting and complex question of the employment of women in the Secretariat is discussed by Miller, “Lobbying the League” and “Geneva—the Key to Equality,” but deserves a full study now that the personnel files have been opened.

⁹² Christine Manigand, *Les Français au service de la Société des Nations* (Bern, 2003).

⁹³ Marie-Renée Mouton, *La Société des Nations et les intérêts de la France (1920–1924)* (Bern, 1995).

porters hoped would evolve into something much greater—a genuine association of peoples, an embryonic world government. Those hopes were always utopian, for the League was founded upon and remained devoted to the principle of state sovereignty; indeed, insofar as these ideals led politicians to play to the stands or alienated the great powers, they may have been counterproductive. Competing national interests were not easy to reconcile, and as we have seen, on some matters—security, minority rights—the glare of publicity and pressure from mobilized publics probably narrowed the scope for pragmatic agreement.

Yet for all that, the League mattered. In some areas—epidemic management, drug control, refugees—it midwifed regimes that exist to this day, and in other areas it articulated norms that, very partially observed at the time, have gained in authority. If that is the case, however, it is due in large part to the innovative structure and processes of the institution itself. Continuities of policy exist, but the continuities of petitioning and oversight, the incorporation of expert and humanitarian opinion and publicity, are still more marked. Only by examining these processes and structures, tracing their capillaries through the Secretariat's halls and into voluntary organizations and national bureaucracies alike, do we come to appreciate just how profoundly and lastingly they have shaped our still-state-structured, but also increasingly globalized, world.

The discredited League held its final assembly in 1946 and formally ceased to exist one year later. Its three secretaries-general, sharing its stigma, played no further role in international life.⁹⁴ But if we shine our spotlight just one tier down, picking out some of the Secretariat members mentioned here, we find Monnet and Salter coordinating Allied shipping during World War II (as they had in World War I); Salter, Rajchman, and McGeachy all at the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration by 1944; Rajchman busy founding UNICEF at the war's end; and those “minorities” experts Colban and Azcárate heading off on United Nations missions to Kashmir and Palestine soon thereafter. Many other members of the Secretariat's diminished staff also made their way into the offices of the United Nations.

The League was the training ground for these men and women—the place where they learned skills, built alliances, and began to craft that fragile network of norms and agreements by which our world is regulated, if not quite governed. Pragmatic by nature, they shifted organizations with little fanfare, shaking off the discredited League name but taking its practices with them. But they left one treasure behind. In Geneva, still underused, sits the archive of the world's first sustained and consequential experiment in internationalism. The works discussed here have sent a few plumb lines into its depths, but enough remains to be done to keep an army of graduate students and scholars busy for a long time. We have much to learn by going back to the League of Nations.

⁹⁴ Drummond (later Lord Perth) played a modest role as a Liberal Party elder statesman in the British House of Lords, but Joseph Avenol passed an embittered retirement trying to rescue his tarnished reputation while Lester contentedly returned to trout fishing and obscurity in Ireland.

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Featured Reviews

DOROTHY KO. *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 332. \$29.95.

"The 'three-inch golden lotus' is a historical testament to the bodily and psychological damage that women suffered in feudal society. The sad songs of small feet would never be sung again; so much pain and tears are etched on the wooden lasts." During a ceremony in November 1999 when the last factory producing shoes for bound feet donated its eight pairs of wooden lasts to the Heilongjiang Museum of Ethnography, the curator who uttered these words echoed sentiments that occupy a prominent place in standard narratives of China's early twentieth-century history: the bound foot was the physical and symbolic expression of women's oppression by feudal patriarchy, and its eradication signified women's liberation from their victimized and maimed status. The tiny lasts, as a reporter remarked, "stand as a testament to the progress of Chinese women from being oppressed to being given a new life." Opening her discussion about footbinding as the "embodied experience" of women over more than 900 years, Dorothy Ko argues that this "degrading" view of woman subjugated by male authority and dependent on male creativity for her own liberation has obscured attention to footbinding as a cultural and physical convention of women's daily lives. Footbinding was a painful experience for its female subjects, but simply to denounce it as the manifestation of male privilege or perverted sexual desires prevents any possible understanding of its prolonged and established place in women's experiences, expectations, and subjectivities. It prevents a view of footbinding as productive of social and cultural meanings and possibilities, for both women and men, and imprisons past practices within the often ideologically driven interests of the present. Indeed, so prevalent has been its condemnation that footbinding has been an *uncontroversial* issue in the history of modern China; instead, writings about footbinding have constructed a history of *anti-footbinding*.

Ko's book, as the subtitle suggest, is a revisionist history of an unwritten story that explicitly seeks to disrupt received truths. It is a very Chinese story. In a wide range of popular and academic media, Chinese as well

as English, the footbound woman appears almost stereotypically as a unique marker of the gendered inequities of China's cultural tradition; she appears as an orientalist reminder of the moral and political superiority of the early Western inspired reformist projects of modernity. Yet Ko's relentless questioning of her history intersects with other stories as well, not those that explore commonalities of experience across time and place, or those that seek to right the wrongs of orientalist versions of the "other," but certainly those that seek to uncover the diverse practices and subjectivities of figures long excluded from the received wisdom of the present. Between her daring, her erudition, her imagination, and her endless probing of texts and material, Ko has produced a powerful and lucid analysis in which footbinding emerges as the locus of diverse meanings: of the nationalist shame of republican reformers and their imaginings of a modern future; the nostalgic yearnings of the male urban elite, dispossessed by the abolition of the imperial civil service exams; the inscription of regional landscapes with exotic fantasies; the social and spatial spread of fashion and material culture. Through all these figure the temporal, spatial, and psychological investments of the women subjected by the practice: the mothers who bound their infant daughters' feet, the abandoned wife who soaked her "porcelain-like" tiny feet in cold water hoping to make them grow to satisfy the modern aspirations of her husband, the yearnings for prosperity in the futile attempts of the bandit of the wild northwest to seduce a southern scholar, the older women obliged to suffer the public ignominy and pain of having to unbind their feet. Drawing on a wide range of sources from connoisseurs' writings to women's poetry, material artifacts and photographic evidence, Ko approaches her project through a moving prism of desires and fantasies, shared bonds and aspirations that configured female as well as male subjectivities. There was not one footbinding, she argues, but many, motivated by changing economic, social and cultural forces expressed in different local styles and rituals.

Ko structures her account through a compelling narrative strategy. She starts with the history of footbinding as we know it, through the prohibition edicts and anti-footbinding campaigns of the decades of its demise, moving back to trace its trajectory as a customary and valorised practice in earlier times. The point of no return was marked by the invention of the term “natural feet” (*tianzu*), first publicly used by the English missionary Reverend John MacGowan in 1875 at a meeting that led to the formation of the Heavenly Foot Society. Hailed by missionary, unofficial, and government campaigns, the “natural” denoted a modern sensibility seeking liberation from traditional Chinese culture; the natural feet of the liberated female were a metaphor for the modern future of a revitalized nation, premised on a rejection of the past. However, the end of footbinding was not an event marking a clean break with the past, but a complicated process of “ontological ambiguity.” Did footbinding come to an end when young girls no longer had their feet bound, or when older women let their feet out of their bindings? The progressive zeal of the anti-footbinding reformer could also become the older woman’s humiliation. From those motivated by a national concern for women’s livelihood and independence to others, like the late Qing political reformer Liang Qichao (1873–1929) who saw “those with round heads but pointy feet” as parasites on others’ productive labor, the “victim” was indistinguishable from the causes of national humiliation. Though the *fangzu* (foot liberation) campaigns of the 1920s and the Republican period were the first organized reform efforts to introduce an “enlightenment episteme” to rural areas, they were implemented through aggressive inspection campaigns that deployed a misogynist strategy of visual exposure and humiliation. Women were put on display as the size of their feet were inspected and measured. Local women were consigned to the inspection teams, finding themselves caught between the demands of state and the resistance of older women. In defiance of a state foot inspector, one woman handed him a fried pastry twist, promising “to let her feet out of their bindings if he could undo the frying and untwist the pastry into a piece of pliable dough.”

Ironically, the passionate connoisseur of footbinding could represent an “alternative to this history and its implied masculine subject.” A newspaper columnist writing in the pornographic magazine *Picking Radishes* (1934–1941), Lao Xuan, for example, wrote that “To promote footbinding now is cruel, lewd, and contrary to humanitarian concerns. But to prohibit it is authoritarian, oppressive and ignorant of human feelings.” But if the lotus-foot lover identified himself as women’s friend and supporter, his claims to be able speak for the foot-bound woman were empty. The connoisseur’s obsession was with a practice the public naming and shaming of which had already determined its fate as an historical anachronism. The fragile nostalgia of the connoisseur’s writings was a sad reminder of the impossibility of retrieving the male-centered privileges of former times.

In contrast to its visual and textual presence in the

anti-footbinding movement, the past of the bound foot is a story of concealment, in which indirect descriptions and metaphors conveyed hidden meanings and erotic delights, inciting imaginations in the same way that embroidered leggings and shoes incited desires for the hidden foot. Before the nineteenth century, “the subject of footbinding was taboo in such official genres as public history, local gazetteers, and didactic texts.” Indications of its developments therefore emerge in other, informal, and often pornographic writings and notes, in philological investigations of classical texts, travelogues, poems, and vernacular plays and stories. The erotic and even obscene connotations of female feet and footwear prevented direct descriptions from entering respectable discourse. Many of the earliest references center on a search for its origins. A short notation by the Song scholar Zhang Bangji (fl. twelfth century), “in all likelihood living in an age of footbinding’s initial spread,” is the earliest extant written reference to footbinding, in which he asserted that the practice was a recent one since it was not mentioned in texts of earlier times. Looking for descriptions of the arched shape and tiny size of the bound foot, Zhang inferred that its two main distinguishing features had already emerged by the second half of the twelfth century. A century later, another scholar and opponent of the practice, Che Ruoshui, referred to the myth of Consort Yang (717–756), the famous *femme fatale* blamed for the downfall of the Tang emperor Xuanzong (712–756), and subsequently attributed with beginning the practice, but argued that the lack of textual citations about her feet made the myth unreliable. Sifting through the evidence, Ko argues that “there is no smoking gun,” and that the tenth century is, on the basis of available evidence, the closest we can get to its origins. The point, however, is that the narrative search for origins established the meanings of the bound foot. The contested definitions of the bound foot that circulated among Song, Yuan, and Ming scholars testified not only to the elusiveness of its origins; in forming the “origin discourse,” they simultaneously established the parameters of what footbinding was.

In contrast with the sober tones of these scholars, other “less academically inclined male writers” of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were more explicit about the erotic allure of the bound foot. Stories about Datong courtesans revealed the pleasures of the narrator-traveler in—literally—sizing up women’s feet in a place popularly known for its beauties and its foot contests. The “maverick writer” and foot connoisseur Li Yu (1610–1680), was unabashed in describing the erotic delights of “testing” a woman’s feet by observing the agility of her motion and the sway of her body. Wang Jingqi (1672–1726), middle-aged scholar turned adventurer, scripted assorted jottings about his sensual encounters with prostitutes and women bandits in the wild landscapes of the northwest. At the end of one such story about his dalliance with three “rouge bandits” in Red Rock Village, he wrote a remorseful afterword, as was the convention of pornographic novels, admonishing himself for giving in to his lust.

All these texts shed important light on the changing practices of footbinding between its emergence as an elite practice and its spread across social classes during the Qing dynasty. However, these writings construct a history that is largely shaped by male concerns and desires. Were it not, Ko argues, for this “textual evidence of male emotions and desires, there would have been no women with bound feet.” Ko acknowledges the difficulty of gaining access to the female subject of bound feet. A few female testimonies present pain as an alternative to the voice of male privilege, yet mediated by male reporting, these testimonies cannot convey an “authentic” female voice.

Without adequate written descriptions of women’s subjective identification in the practice, Ko turns to the material artifacts of the practice: the shoes, and bindings, the lasts and sleeping slippers, and the oils and medicaments applied to soften the feet—the objects that occupied women’s time and attention in the domestic spaces of their lives. It is here, moreover, following on from her earlier slim volume, *Every Step a Lotus: Shoes for Bound Feet* (2001), that Ko’s erudition makes a significant contribution to the history of fashion. She puts together detailed evidence from the remains of excavated tombs, museum collections, and photographs to trace the shifting tastes in shape and form, color and texture of the apparel of the bound foot through the centuries of its spread. Fabric textures and colors, embroidery designs, length of socks, and bindings came and went. Narrow feet were sometimes favored over small feet; styles varied from the narrow elongated shape with toes bent down, resembling the kayak, to the canoe-like shape with a high stem, suggesting that feet were turned upwards. By the seventeenth century, the high-heeled shoe was the new fashion for the elite women of prosperous Suzhou. As the custom spread in Ming and Qing society, footwear made its way into the cultural constitution of social difference through the everyday preoccupations and “lagged emulation” of countless women across social boundaries.

Regional rivalries also made their way into footbinding fashions. The northwest rose to cultural prominence as the “mecca of footbinding” once its aura began to dim in the coastal cities of the south. Datong boasted its own shoes with curves, materials, and motifs that were more risqué than other regional styles. Southerners, proud of the “bamboo shoot” shape they favored, derided the bulging “keeled-over feet” of northerners. Shanxi women reportedly dismissed the bow-shaped foot of the south as “goosehead bumps.”

Ko has written the history of a practice embedded in the conventional experiences of women over some 900 years, during which the cultural and social stakes associated with small feet grew to such a level that not binding was unimaginable. No self-respecting Han woman who had the economic means would jeopardize her chances in marriage for want of a few bindings. Ko neither condemns nor applauds the practice. Through all this, however, hovers the questions that some of the anti-footbinding activists sought to address: the status of footbinding not as a source of empowerment, agency, and pleasure but of pain, disease, physical constraint, and subjugation to male authority. Pain, Ko acknowledges, prevalently characterized the experience of countless numbers of women. But where do pain and anguish fit in to an earlier narrative of women’s agency and empowerment? In hindsight, the “most significant achievement of the anti-footbinding movement lies in the new visual and textual knowledge about feet that it created and circulated.” Yet this tells us little about how ordinary women contributed to the disappearance of the custom. Away from the zealous activities of the Christian warlord and republican male reformers, where did ordinary women’s experiences figure in contributing to its almost universal condemnation by intellectuals in the 1930s? As Ko acknowledges, without more sources that evidence women’s alternative subjectivities in this fascinating yet troubling story, the “history of footbinding does not add up.”

Whether it ever will add up is unknowable, but Ko’s tour de force will remain the definitive work on footbinding for some time to come. Beyond its substantial contribution to the history of a specific practice, and to the history of fashion, it also is evidence of a rich historiographical imagination. As Ko demonstrates through the thick descriptions of her materials, asking questions about what appears to be an uncontested topic can radically redefine the contours of history. Alongside her former publications, and the work of other revisionist historians and anthropologists of women’s lives—among them Margery Wolf, Gail Hershatter, Francesca Bray, and Charlotte Furth—this book also demonstrates how an imaginative reframing of established narratives reveals the practices and subjectivities of those all too often hidden from the archive.

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MARTIN MALIA. *History’s Locomotives: Revolutions and the Making of the Modern World*. Edited and foreword by TERENCE EMMONS. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 360. \$30.00.

In this complex and visionary work, Martin Malia places the Russian Revolution in the succession of world revolutions. On the way to his destination, he interweaves

five lines of argument, all of them controversial: about the nature of revolution in general, about European revolutions, about European history, about compara-

tive history, and about Russia in world-historical perspective. Terence Emmons, editor of the posthumous volume, tells us that Malia had already stated the main themes of his argument in a paper presented to the American Historical Association in 1975. But it took another quarter century—and the Soviet Union's collapse—for him to decide that the era and the interlocked sequence of great revolutions began with the Hussites in 1415 and ended not with the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 but with Joseph Stalin's camouflaged refutation and abandonment of Marxism during the 1930s. For a sixth line of argument eventually emerges to complicate the others. Most strenuously of all, Malia insists that Marxism fails doubly as a historical analysis and as a guide to creating a viable society, yet from 1848 onward provided a political myth of enormous persuasiveness and momentous, destructive consequence. With so much going on at once, this book resembles a mountain-climbing train that is constantly doubling back on itself.

The book as a whole moves through five main sections, broadly chronological rather than in accordance with the six arguments: an introduction setting the problem and sketching its European context; a first chronological chunk on inspired great revolutions from the Hussites to the sixteenth-century Dutch revolt; the classic Atlantic revolutions of England, America, and France; the arc from nineteenth-century non-great revolutions through the development of Marxism to the Russian Revolution broadly defined; and, finally, conclusions, substantial appendixes, and inconveniently located endnotes. In a book like this, after all, an informed reader repeatedly wants to look up where Malia is getting his evidence and with whom he is disagreeing. We would therefore read much more effectively with notes on the page. Since I often questioned particular details (for example Malia's downplaying the peasants' and bourgeois' crucial places in the French Revolution), I found myself burrowing in the back to see what substantiation he was offering for his descriptions.

Rather than dwelling on the accuracy of Malia's multiple historical narratives, however, let me concentrate on the six organizing arguments. Every one of them deserves attention. Every one raises serious doubts. On the nature of revolution in general, Malia complements numerous short sermons in the historical text with two appendixes, one on the historiography of great revolutions seen as a set, another on what he calls the high social science "staseology" of revolutions. As we might expect, staseologists such as Barrington Moore, Jr., and Moore's student Theda Skocpol come off less well than the historians.

Malia refuses to state a formal definition of revolution, preferring to develop his exposition historically. Nevertheless, he eventually commits himself to a distinctive conception of great revolutions. In Malia's view, for which Alexis de Tocqueville becomes a major inspiration, a great revolution involves alignment of most segments of a large state's population against the existing regime, radicalization of the opposition, vio-

lent overthrow of the previous rulers, substitution of new governing institutions for the old, and consolidation of new power within modified versions of those institutions. Not only Tocqueville but the French Revolution of 1789 inspires the book's organizing model.

Adoption of this model allows Malia a huge evasion: a denial that great revolutions—thus defined—have ever occurred outside of Europe. China's millennia of overturned old regimes do not count because "they in no way resemble the paradigmatic European scenario of 1789–1799" (p. 300). India and Japan exit in the same direction. Such recent staples of social science comparison as twentieth-century Mexican, Chinese, and Iranian revolutions similarly vanish from the main argument (although not entirely from the text) through definitional fiat.

That wave of the wand brings Malia onto his main stage: great European revolutions. For all its obvious attractions, the Tocquevillian organizing model actually introduces confusion into that aspect of the book. Malia is pursuing three contradictory goals. First, he is trying to show that the Hussites, the Protestant Reformation, the French Wars of Religion, the Dutch revolt, and radical religious phases of the English Revolution (defined as extending from 1640 to 1689) all belonged to the lineage of Europe's great revolutions; that pursuit requires a good deal of what Robert Merton once called adumbrationism. In fact, Malia says specifically (p. 91) that the Mülhausen and Münster Anabaptists of the 1520s and 1530s "adumbrated" much later radical enthusiasts such as the Levellers and Diggers of the English Revolution.

Second, he claims that each great revolution shaped conditions for the next. It did so more through changing ideas of what was possible than through transformation of social, economic, and political arrangements of the regime that was to produce the next revolution. Third, he portrays the Russian experiment as simultaneously the culmination, termination, and perversion of the revolutionary tradition: the great locomotive wreck. Malia pastes together the second and third claims by introducing the revolutions of 1848 as a failed great revolution that by inspiring Karl Marx created the illusory program of the Russian Revolution. Even if true, such a claim undermines the earlier story concerning centrality of inheritance from one revolution to the next. As a result, the book works repeatedly at cross purposes, for example in its dismissal of October 1917 (p. 81) as a "Bolshevik coup d'état" rather than a "profound social revolution." Perhaps so, but then what has become of the Tocquevillian master model, with its durable changes concentrated in the revolution's very first phases?

The book's third organizing argument concerns European history in general. It operates less obtrusively than the explicit treatment of revolutions, but no less crucially. Two features stand out: geography and chronology. For Malia, Europe equals Christendom, which means that Europe expanded as Christian states expanded. Eventually Russia, for the book's purposes, be-

came part of Europe. In contrast, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Africa, and the South Atlantic hardly matter. As a result, Asian commercial connections play no part in European revolutions, the Dutch, Portuguese, and Spaniards shrink to European rather than worldwide maritime powers, and even Russian involvement in spaces to the south requires no attention. The Hanse-connected Baltic, in Malia's account, lacks cities. Chronologically, Malia adopts a conventional northwestern European perspective: a static feudalism defined by fiefs gives way to Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, and a modern era of substantial states and commercial expansion. The simplifications matter because they rule out asking whether distinctive features of social organization concentrated great revolutions in a minor portion of the European space, and whether other equally consequential forms of struggle occurred in the rest of Europe.

Malia takes contradictory positions on his fourth line of argument, comparative history in general. He ends the book—that is, his appendix on high social approaches to revolution—with ringing endorsements of the comparative methods employed by Tocqueville and Max Weber. Those methods, according to Malia, empowered their users to single out the true causes of the phenomena they had set out to explain: the French Revolution and the rise of capitalism. The logical procedures John Stuart Mill codified as the methods of similarity and of difference require that the cases compared be causally independent of each other.

Malia's own crucial comparisons, however, aim precisely at identifying causal connections from one great revolution to the next. Indeed, he defends his fundamental claim that revolution is a political and ideological transformation rather than a social transformation (first stated on p. 3) not by comparing social, political, and ideological conditions in his successive cases but by stressing the transfer of political and ideological themes from one to the next. Logically, such a procedure depends for its conviction on demonstrating that similar processes link revolutions, not that each revolution resembles its predecessor in some regards and advances beyond it in other regards. The book neither specifies the similar processes nor demonstrates their existence.

As a superbly skilled Russian historian, in his fifth line of argument Malia predictably lays out a provocative analysis of Russian revolutionary transformations. Negatively, he undertakes demolition jobs on three standard views: that Russia's struggles of 1905 qualified as a dress rehearsal for 1917, that the revolution of 1917 and thereafter resulted from Russian social and economic transformations up to that point, and that a proletarian revolution occurred in 1917. Positively, Malia gives us an ideologically motivated political seizure of power over a war-weakened state, followed by two decades of Leninist and Stalinist effort to consolidate political control. (Leon Trotsky makes only fleeting appearances in Malia's drama.) As a partially independent cause, war figures much more prominently in Malia's account of the Russian Revolution than it does in

his explanations of earlier revolutions. In passing, Malia also makes an implicit comparison that surely deserves more attention: in 1905, the tsar kept control of the army, while in 1917 the war-weary troops deserted the tsar almost instantly. At this point the book finally comes to recognize the crucial parts played in all revolutionary processes by mobilization, control, and transfer of armed force.

Nevertheless, Malia never lays out a full, systematic explanation of the Russian Revolution. By that stage in the book the emergent sixth argument is beginning to take over. That argument indicts the failures of Marxism. Marx's scheme, Malia tells us, fails on all counts: it wrongly asserts that economic transformations drive political and ideological change, that economic oppositions generate class struggles, that class struggles make revolutions. A revolution, counters Malia, "is a political, ideological, and cultural break with immemorial tradition; its essence is the passage from a corporate and hierarchical world that was simply given by history and/or divine ordinance to a world where men consciously order and mold their society. Seen in this perspective, such a transition—usually accelerated through violence, and sacralized by the blood of martyrs—by its very nature can occur only once in the life of a given Old Regime polity" (p. 264). Thus the very idea of a succession from bourgeois to socialist revolutions, concludes Malia, contradicts historical necessity.

Furthermore, Malia continues, the idea of development beyond revolution toward stateless communism is an unrealizable political illusion, defeated by the indispensability of political authority. Hence self-identified Marxists must choose some elements of the doctrine and reject others if they are to act politically; basically they must choose between the path leading to the welfare state and the crueler path leading to the authoritarian party state. Lenin and Stalin chose the second path, with disastrous results for Russia and its emulators.

What then explains this faulty theory's mobilizing power? Malia offers two answers, without connecting them. First, Marxism provides its followers with a political religion, built on G. F. W. Hegel's portrayal of reason as becoming immanent in history, proceeding dialectically through contradictions toward higher and higher forms, greater self-consciousness, and ultimate liberation. That secular theology appeals to those in need of a guiding faith. Second, and more surprising, is the system's appeal to intellectuals in backward areas; Marxism invites them "first to rise to the level of the advanced West, and then to trump the West's ace by becoming socialist" (p. 252).

Malia's extraordinary synthesis takes us on a great journey through European history since the fourteenth century, and marks the journey's stages with revolutions. It makes a convincing case for the transforming power of revolutionary action. Those of us who remain skeptical of its causal arguments can still enjoy the many surprising vistas that open up along the way.

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THOMAS BENDER. *A Nation among Nations: America's Place in World History*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2006. Pp. xii, 349. \$25.00.

For the past few years, historians in the United States and elsewhere have vocally advocated a transnational reorientation of their discipline. In an age of globalization, the excessive disciplinary concentration on national histories seemed limiting and insufficient. As a result, world, global and transnational histories have thrived. Wherever one looks—historical journals, the programs of the meetings of professional associations, the titles of dissertations in progress, the catalogues of publishers—one finds ample evidence for such a reorientation. With the United States as its epicenter, similar currents have emerged in Europe, Japan, China, and India, among other places, and among historians who study virtually every part of the world. Global labor is being studied in Amsterdam, global economic inequality in London, and global industrialization in Osaka. Despite the proliferation of such projects, much of the transnational reorientation of history to date has focused on programmatic, methodological, and theoretical debates. To cite just one example: when in the fall of 2005 the First European Congress of World and Global History met, most of the papers presented were of a conceptual kind—with empirical research still limited.

In the United States, among historians of North America, no one has been more prominent in advocating such a transnational reorientation of the discipline of history than Thomas Bender. A United States historian by training, Bender has written at great length about the need to place the history of one nation—the United States—in transnational perspective. As the principal organizer of a number of conferences at La Pietra on transnational approaches to United States history and as the editor of a volume of essays that derived from these conferences, he has done more than anyone else to awaken United States historians to the possibilities of internationalizing the study of the American past.

It is therefore with a sense of excitement that historians of the United States have greeted the publication of his new study of North American history in transnational perspective. This is not a narrow monograph on a particular problem of U.S. history interpreted in novel ways but an effort to reconsider substantial chunks of the core narrative of American history. The resulting volume is not only a powerful argument for the need to practice history in a cosmopolitan mode but also a deeply learned and at times brilliant retelling of key themes in U.S. history.

Bender begins by defining the task ahead of him as being to “mark the end of American history as we have known it” (p. 3). This is perhaps somewhat of an overstatement, considering that, as Marcus Graeser has recently pointed out, the United States can look back on a distinguished history of thinking about its own na-

tional history in transnational perspective, and on historians situated within an environment structured to be unusually conducive to such perspectives (Graeser, “Weltgeschichte im Nationalstaat: Die Transnationale Disposition der amerikanischen Geschichtswissenschaft,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 283 [2006]: 355–382). Indeed, historians such as Frederick Jackson Turner and James Harvey Robinson shared some of Bender's concerns, the latter arguing in 1930 that “without some vivid conception of the whole sweep of civilization national history is likely to be very badly interpreted” (Robinson, “The Newer Ways of Historians,” *American Historical Review* 35 [1930]: 247). Yet Bender employs these cosmopolitan sentiments in entirely innovative ways; his take on U.S. history has little in common with earlier generations of historians whose cosmopolitanism tended towards sweeping statements that imbued certain nations, classes, or races with ill-defined but universal traits. Bender, instead, using to good effect the rich social, intellectual, and political history produced during the past thirty years, embeds developments on the North American continent within the larger political, economic, social, and intellectual history of humanity. He does so by retelling five central episodes in the narrative of North American history: European expansion, the American Revolution, the Civil War, late nineteenth-century imperialism, and the rise of the welfare state. These examples are well chosen, both because they are so central to the traditional narrative and also because they allow for fresh perspectives once properly situated within a larger frame.

Bender embeds North American history in global history by taking various tracks simultaneously. For one, he compares developments in North America with what he sees as parallel developments elsewhere. He contrasts, for example, the process of nation-building in Western Europe, Latin America, and East Asia with that in the United States during the age of the American Civil War. Similarly, he traces the emerging welfare state in the United States in contrast to the rise of welfare states in Germany, France, and Argentina. Second, Bender searches for connections among various parts of the world: “The abolition issue,” he writes, “was forced in part because they [the Republicans] knew of the progress of emancipation elsewhere in the Atlantic world” (p. 154). In a similar mode, Bender charts networks of intellectuals in which American thinkers are presented as just one node in larger Atlantic or even global conversations on, among other things, nationalism and social reform. Third, and less frequently, Bender traces the shifting nature of global connections and places North America within this changing structure of the global. The history of European settlement in North America, for example, is embedded in a wide-ranging and brilliant account of the

rise of new perceptions of global space throughout the early modern world. Clearly dominant among these three different but compatible modes of investigation, however, are comparisons of large-scale structural changes between various nation-states. When it comes to the analysis of connections, Bender quickly focuses on networks that connect ideas and intellectuals to one another.

What do we learn from his fascinating journey through North American history? Most basically, Bender effectively buries any exceptionalist reading. The book is full of stories that show that North America had its own distinct history; nation building in the United States *was* different from that in other parts of the world, and so was the history of imperialism. However, as Bender demonstrates, these were local instances in a larger global process, a process characterized by significant variations within general similar patterns. France, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States all used their powerful states and capital-rich businessmen to gain control of new markets, sources of labor, raw materials, and territories, even though the ways they did so differed significantly. Similarly, Bender examines how the second industrial revolution radically shifted the relationship among labor, capital, and states everywhere, and how states responded in broadly similar ways throughout the industrialized world. The main point is that the United States fits within a general pattern, and that it is this general pattern that deserves emphasis.

Yet because exceptionalist readings of North American history have fallen out of fashion a long time before Bender's intervention, the principal contribution of this volume is how he teaches us to view key themes in American history from fresh perspectives. These themes are too numerous to summarize in a short review, but by way of example, let me mention a few. Bender embeds an account of the American Revolution in an account of material, ideological, and social developments in many other parts of the world: the American Revolution is presented as one instance in the history of Atlantic revolutions, revolutions that were deeply related to one another. The rapid expansion of the United States in 1898 is similarly told as part of a larger, global story that integrates the westward expansion of the United States into an account of modern colonialism. And the American Civil War, traditionally seen as a quintessential national event, is embedded within processes (nation making), ideas (liberalism), and economic networks (cotton) that show it to have been one instance in a number of larger and truly global processes.

As a result of brilliantly telling dozens of such key stories, Bender provides in a little more than 300 pages an enormously learned and rich account of big chunks of the narrative of American history. While many of the elements of the story will not be unfamiliar to vociferous readers of the burgeoning new research in American history in global perspective, they have certainly never ever been assembled into one volume before. At

a moment when few historians have the courage to write big-canvas histories of the United States, Bender has rendered a powerful synthesis. This is an extraordinary accomplishment.

Indeed, with this volume, Bender has become the foremost scholar of North American history in transnational perspective. The case he makes is so powerful that it seems all but impossible to go back to an older and more limiting account of the nation's history. Yet such a self-consciously paradigm shifting intervention also raises some questions. For one, in the project of transnationalizing North American history, there is an implicit tension between wanting to tell a cosmopolitan history and taking a particular territory as the starting point. Privileging such a territory has the advantage of engaging audiences who care about this nation's history, but it also entails a certain teleology: The territory whose history is globalized matters because it eventually constituted a nation-state. Bender makes the global relevant through the nation-state instead of the nation-state through an analysis of the global. This is a legitimate choice and an enlightening one, but it is important to remember that it deemphasizes networks that are not first and foremost rooted in or relevant to the later development of a particular nation-state.

As a result, the book does not take the shifting structure of the global itself as a consistent subject of investigation. This is partly the choice of writing a transnational history of a particular space that eventually turned into a relatively stable nation-state. Yet, as Sebastian Conrad has argued recently in a book that in many ways parallels Bender's work, nationalism and nation building can only be fully understood if seen in the context of the changing form of the global itself; the global and the national are constitutive of one another (Conrad, *Globalisierung und Nation im Deutschen Kaiserreich* [2006]). Globalization and the formation of nation states are part and parcel of the same process. Bender examines this connection beautifully when he addresses the prenatal history of North America, but he does not systematically locate the history of U.S. nationalism and nation building within the history of globalization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Partly as a consequence of this particular choice, Bender also clearly privileges comparisons over connections, and connections among intellectuals over other kinds of links. To some extent this is fine, because Bender does not strive to write "total" history. His is an interpretation of North American history by way of examples. Yet it also evades some of the hard work of reconstituting connections of an economic, social, and political kind—the kind of webs that can only be re-constructed through painstaking archival research. The otherwise marvelous chapter on the American Civil War, for example, compares developments in the United States with roughly contemporary developments elsewhere, but it remains unclear how these are causally related to one another. And if we are observing just conjectural parallels, then it seems that we are back to a discursive universe in which a particular national

history was told as one instance in the more general history of modernity, a history in which the container of the nation-state in itself, however, remained stable. Such comparisons certainly can illuminate important aspects of the history of North America, but to be fully successful they need to construct explicit and systematic comparisons of the kind that the best works in historical sociology by scholars such as Charles Tilly and Theda Skocpol have developed.

Both such comparisons as well as the reconstruction of transnational networks rest on access to information about a wide variety of places. While Bender's book is amazingly strong in detailing snippets of the histories of various parts of the world—from France to Chile to Japan—it privileges both evidence and secondary literature written in English. There is a smattering of French and Spanish sources cited, but neither historians nor protagonists writing in languages other than English have much of a chance to weigh in on the story being told. It seems likely, however, that we miss important connections and misread some comparisons if we limit ourselves to the universe of English speakers, a small

minority, after all, among the world's inhabitants, including its historians. Even if one thinks of United States history in a narrow way, one cannot but help notice that many of the networks the United States has been part of were forged in languages other than English. The project of studying American history in transnational perspective depends in the long term on the ability of American historians to access the rich font of human knowledge and communication not written in English.

Despite these quibbles, Bender's book is the definite statement on how to embed the history of North America within global history. After reading this book, no one should ever be able to write United States history without thinking about how that history is situated within the larger history of humanity. Bender's book makes its case in a conclusive way; it is a must read for anyone interested in the history of North America, and anyone thinking about transnational and global history.

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DAVID S. BROWN. *Richard Hofstadter: An Intellectual Biography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xxiii, 291. \$27.50.

Professional historians will find this book engaging, illuminating, and at times frustrating. David S. Brown carefully examines Richard Hofstadter's personal life, skillfully locates him in his changing cultural and political contexts, and provides fair-minded critical analysis of his brilliant and influential work. Given that Hofstadter's writings ranged over American history from 1750 to 1970 and challenged many prevailing interpretations, accurately characterizing and gauging the lasting significance of his contributions is no mean feat. Although specialists inevitably will quarrel with some of Brown's judgments, his wide-ranging research and judicious assessments make his study a solid guide to one of the twentieth century's most important historians.

Hofstadter (1916–1970) was born and raised in Buffalo, son of a Polish-born Jewish father and a mother of German Protestant descent. He was christened in her Lutheran faith, sang in the church choir, and gravitated toward Judaism only after his mother's death in 1926. In his own words, Hofstadter “spent a lot of years acquiring a Jewish identity, which is more cultural than religious” (p. 53). That identity remained murky to many in the American historical profession and even at Columbia University, where he earned his Ph.D. and taught for almost his entire career. Hofstadter grew to be at home in New York and refused numerous offers from other universities. Yet he remained suspicious of the city's cosmopolitan parochialism—of all American parochialisms among the most constricting because among the least self-conscious—and gently recom-

mended trips west of the Hudson to those who railed against southern and western hayseeds. Many of his richest insights as a historian derived from his status as an outsider surprised to find, as the categories changed beneath his feet, that he had become an insider. He worked hard to achieve the intellectual independence that became his hallmark; his taste for irony came naturally.

Hofstadter's first experience of anti-intellectualism, a cultural malady he diagnosed and deplored in his most incisive critiques of American conservatism, came in the 1930s. As a student at the University of Buffalo, Hofstadter followed the lead of his future wife, the novelist Felice Swados, into labor radicalism and the interwar peace movement, then, in 1938, into the Communist Party. He left four months later, after the Moscow trials, she after the Nazi-Soviet Pact. The intolerance and intransigence of their erstwhile allies imparted a lasting skepticism about all forms of political fanaticism.

Family pressure led Hofstadter to study law; boredom led him to pursue doctoral studies in history. At Columbia his most enduring influences were Henry Steele Commager and Merle Curti, particularly the latter's course “The History of American Social Thought,” which shaped Hofstadter's scholarly career. His undergraduate senior thesis had caused Hofstadter to doubt Charles Beard's account of the Civil War. His first experiences with independent research at Columbia, seminar papers on the New Deal and on Thomas Jefferson,

disillusioned him about two of America's sacred cows. His dissertation, which became *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (1944), took on two others, individualism and capitalism. Hofstadter was already developing the independent critical spirit animating the book that established his reputation (and won him the first of his two Pulitzer Prizes) and for which he remains best known, *The American Political Tradition* (1948). A caustic dissection of long-honored figures ranging from Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, and Abraham Lincoln to Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, and both Roosevelts, Hofstadter's essay collection has sold over a million copies and opened the eyes of generations of readers to personal foibles and ironic twists missed by earlier historians. Against hero worshippers who had lionized America's "great men," and against progressive historians who had embraced self-styled champions of "the people" against the villainous "interests," Hofstadter ventured a series of portraits rendered in subtle shades of gray. Like the satirist H. L. Mencken, whom he admired and sought consciously to emulate, Hofstadter preferred to puncture myths perpetuated by others.

Even more widely influential, at least among historians, was Hofstadter's next major book, *The Age of Reform* (1955). Brown reveals the multiple sources of the book's concern with antisemitism and its conceptual armature, "status anxiety." The work of Hofstadter's undergraduate adviser Julius Pratt had introduced him to the "psychic" rather than economic value of American expansion. Critic Meyer Schapiro's analysis of "Populist Realism" (1938) revealed the underside of Thomas Hart Benton's artistic celebrations of Americana. Daniel Bell's essay exposing "The Grass Roots of American Jew-Hatred" (1944) singled out the attitudes of American farmers. In an essay of 1951, Oscar Handlin uncovered not always latent antisemitism in responses to the financial crisis of the 1890s. Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land* (1950) laid out the persistent American romance of the West and the mischief caused by the distorting myths of "the garden" and "the yeoman," ideas that Hofstadter incorporated into his analysis of rural nostalgia as self-consciously as he echoed in his conclusion the familiar closing passages from F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*. Thus the celebrated Columbia faculty seminar of 1953–1954, which focused attention on the work of Theodor Adorno, Karl Mannheim, and other members of the Frankfurt School, was only one among the many sources feeding Hofstadter's critique of the American reform tradition. Several of the colleagues and students who read the manuscript warned Hofstadter that his charges concerning the antisemitism of Populists and the social-psychological maladjustments of Progressives seemed exaggerated and untenable. But Hofstadter, undeterred, advanced his provocative claim that reformers achieved little because their "ceremonial" measures were designed primarily to provide catharsis. As his particularly incisive critics C. Vann Woodward and David Potter pointed out, and as Hofstadter himself

later conceded, he had substituted for the progressives' economic dualism an equally inadequate psychological dualism.

Hofstadter's writings in the late 1950s and early 1960s proved no less fuzzy and no less influential. Hofstadter became increasingly disillusioned with the culture that had not only rejected Adlai Stevenson for Dwight Eisenhower but seemed increasingly prone to amnesia, if not mindlessness. That anxiety inspired Hofstadter's widely discussed concepts of "anti-intellectualism" and "the paranoid style," two loose clusters of ideas he deployed to make sense first of Joseph McCarthy and Barry Goldwater and their followers and then of the excesses he perceived in the New Left. Hofstadter feared the fascist potential of mass democracy in America from the early 1950s onward, and he worried that endorsements of violence by radical leftists would spark a powerful conservative backlash. In one of the most revealing sections of the book, Brown deftly links Hofstadter's less well-known writings about higher education in the 1950s, in which he defended intellectual freedom against threats from conservatives who were dehumanizing those they attacked, to his critique of the New Left at Columbia in 1968 and in the American Historical Association in 1969. Much as his more conservative critics accused him of denying the legitimacy of challenges to the New Deal order from the right in the 1950s, so in the late 1960s Hofstadter found himself accusing self-righteous student radicals of claiming immunity to criticism for their own violence and denying the humanity of their foes—including Hofstadter and other liberals on the Columbia faculty—who embraced their goals but not their tactics. Not surprisingly, Hofstadter was accused of becoming more conservative, but Brown argues convincingly that he remained worried primarily that the American public might turn sharply right. Although Hofstadter himself had exposed the tepid and piecemeal reformism of the liberal sensibility in the 1930s and 1940s, the conservative resurgence of the postwar years heightened his respect for the achievements of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman.

Brown's final chapters examine Hofstadter's last books, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (1968), *The Idea of a Party System* (1969), and the posthumously published *America at 1750*, projected to be the first of a three-volume synthesis. These books show Hofstadter wrestling with the progressive historians whose explanations he rejected, then explaining the rise of the pluralism and "comity" (not to be confused with consensus) he prized in American politics and society. In these books he continued to probe the tensions between economics and psychology, between intentions and outcomes, and between the terrible cost of indentured servitude, slavery, and the oppression of women and the eventual if still incomplete triumph of equal protection before the law.

Hofstadter was never, to use his own phrase, an "archive rat." All of his beautifully crafted books testify to the continuing value of creative, integrative interpre-

tations, written in vibrant, accessible prose, at a time when more detailed and narrowly focused studies increasingly dominate the historical profession. Hofstadter's work also illustrates the continuing value—and the perils—of borrowing from other disciplines, as he did throughout his career. Historians who augment their analysis with the tools of social science, Hofstadter wrote, are “engulfed” in a “web of relationships” that they “can hope to understand only in a limited and partial way.” The use of social scientific concepts has not “amplified” historians' voices but only “enlarged” our task. Although our “work has no greater certainty,” it can have “greater range and depth” (p. 73). At its most enduring best, Hofstadter's work reflects the dazzling illumination that a theorist such as Max Weber can provide. At its most unconvincing worst, it warns us against the bloated overconfidence of pseudo-scientistic reductionism. Historians distrust fashions masquerading as laws of human behavior for good reasons.

Hofstadter's own example as a historian inspired his many readers and especially his doctoral students. Brown pieces together from their testimony a nuanced portrait of Hofstadter the teacher. He advised his students to think big and to think for themselves. If he was rarely deeply engaged with their work, he nevertheless leveraged his prominence to help almost all of his advisees—including, it is worth noting, many of the women as well as men who have emerged as leaders in our profession—to secure teaching positions at a time when old-boy networks remained decisive. His practice of reading to his undergraduate courses the galleys of his latest book, on the other hand, or his strategy for dealing with his many graduate students by being equally inaccessible to all of them, show less attractive dimensions of his fierce commitment to his scholarship.

Hofstadter's lifelong sensitivity to tragedy and complexity, rooted perhaps in the death of his mother when he was ten and of his first wife in 1945 (only a year and

a half after their son Daniel was born), showed itself not only in his work—particularly in his final books, written under the shadow of the leukemia that took his life at age fifty-four—but in a mordant sense of humor that delighted his friends but seldom surfaced in his teaching or other facets of his life. Impressively self-disciplined and prolific yet personally modest, Hofstadter emerges from this biography as an admirable man who ended his life suspended precariously amidst intricate cultural webs spun by forces he feared and did not fully understand. Driven from Morningside Heights by the armed robbery of his second wife in the elevator of their apartment building, assailed by many of his students as an apologist for a power structure he had devoted his life to demystifying, working furiously on a trilogy that he estimated would take seventeen years to complete, Hofstadter found himself in an impossible situation that only a historian with his unique gifts as a writer could have captured.

That observation brings me finally to the frustration that reading this book elicits—frustration that is not the author's fault. Because the Hofstadter estate granted Brown access to the Hofstadter papers but did not allow him to quote from them, readers are often left with paraphrases or summaries. Because many of Hofstadter's friends and students did speak with Brown and share their own correspondence with him, readers understand the richness of Hofstadter's own words and realize how much their absence in crucial passages diminishes the book. For that reason alone another biography will eventually be necessary and will offer an even richer portrait. Until then, Brown's study provides a rewarding glimpse into the fascinating life—and a fine commentary on the enduring work—of the inimitable Richard Hofstadter.

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DARÍO A. EURAQUE, JEFFREY L. GOULD, and CHARLES R. HALE, editors. *Memorias del mestizaje: Cultura política en Centroamérica de 1920 al presente*. Miami: Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica. 2005. Pp. 626.

As fate would have it, this reviewer found himself in Guatemala City the week of Ronald Reagan's death and elaborate state funeral in June 2004. Watching from a distance in one of Reagan's bloodiest success stories in Central America and suffering cable television's obsession with endlessly repeating pomp and circumstance seemed quite unlike what was portrayed as an alternately celebratory and cathartic American experience of one last good-bye to the Great Communicator. How strange that overblown rhetoric of remembrance must have seemed to local observers, reminiscent of the campaign claim made by Reagan's ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick,

that Central America was the most important place in the world for the U.S. to stand tall. In Guatemala the survivors of the Cold War on the Left denounced what they considered the genocidal policies of the late president and his allies, while the latter offered their own fulsome praise for his having turned back the tide of communism where it mattered most for them, at home and not in Eastern Europe.

As the Marx of the master classes for their generation, Reagan and Kirkpatrick had stridently warned of the specter haunting America in the Cold War world, communist expansionism in its own backyard. With now both dead one can only wonder what they may have

thought of the results of their policies in the region, if indeed they ever again thought of such backyards once the crisis had passed. Neo-liberalism and electoral democracy of one sort or another emerged triumphant in all the Central American nations by the 1990s, however much or little the latter owed to Washington's guidance and support. Now nearly a generation removed from the region's bloody civil wars of the 1970s and 1980s, there is no small irony in the fact that precisely in Guatemala, where the left-wing forces of non-Indian (referred to as *ladino* in Guatemala and *mestizo* elsewhere in the region) society were most soundly defeated militarily, and hundreds of Indian communities were decimated by the victorious armed forces, virtually simultaneously there emerged an extraordinarily vibrant pan-Mayan movement. Elsewhere in Central America, non-Mayan indigenous groups also joined in a process of challenging national governments of both the Right and Left to seek to create truly multi-ethnic states rather than the Spanish-only, assimilationist ones of the past.

That process in Guatemala and elsewhere in the region represented both a surprise for analysts and a true watershed moment for turn-of-the-century Central America. Thus, the volume reviewed here, on the ideologies and experiences of race mixture and cultural politics since the 1920s, represents far more than an interesting collection of case studies of twentieth-century ethnic relations and politics. It also amounts to an X-ray of the paths being opened by new, multi-ethnic politics long either repressed at the national level or submerged at the local and regional level by those same national elites. For the present it offers multiple historical reminders of paths not taken and obstacles not overcome; for the past it makes possible new ways of conceptualizing national and regional experiences not captive to those same homogenizing, supra-ethnic ideologies created by the traditions of a *ladino/mestizo* Liberalism and Conservatism that ultimately led to the cataclysmic violence of the recent past.

This volume, edited by Darío A. Euraque, Jeffrey L. Gould, and Charles R. Hale, consists of eighteen essays organized into six sections. Section one contains essays from the perspectives of anthropology (Hale) and history (Gould) that seek to contextualize the findings of the study for all of the twentieth century and the various nations. Sections two through five present national-specific studies of Guatemala (by Arturo Taracena Arriola, Jorge Ramón González Ponciano, Hale, Edgar Esquit, and Christa Little-Siebold), for Honduras (by Marvin Barahona, Mark Anderson and Sarah England, Euraque, and Rocío Tábor), for El Salvador (by Patricia Alvarenga, Gould, and Carlos Benjamín Lara Martínez and América Rodríguez Herrera), and for Nicaragua (by Galio C. Gurdíán, Gould, and Mario Rizo Zeledón). Costa Rica, Belize, and Panama are referred to occasionally by various authors but are not treated in case studies. Section six offers a synthesis and critical reading of the various contributions by anthropologist Carol Smith, highlighting just how unique this intellec-

tual gathering and its findings are not only for the region itself but for studies of resurgent and reconceptualized ethnicity in Latin America.

As a whole, the seventeen contributors, at least ten of whom live and work in the region, are quite clear in recognizing and building upon the critical reevaluation, pioneered by Gould in particular, of Liberal statecraft and its foundational ethnic elisions, from the late nineteenth century to the civil wars of the 1970s. For each of the four nations we learn a great deal about the creation and dissemination of its own version of what Gould dubbed "the myth of *mestizaje*," or mixed-race Nicaraguan history a decade ago. Only Guatemala opted for a far more polarized path in which indigenous groups were not arbitrarily folded into presumptively *mestizo* majorities to constitute the modern nation state. The three "middle countries" of Central America—Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua—crafted their own, far less generous and less successful versions of Mexico's early twentieth-century exaltation of the "cosmic race" solution based on *mestizo* majorities who would offer a form of benign tutelage for any remaining Indian minorities. Not only was the lack of any successful radical, revolutionary political process in the middle countries key compared to Mexican experience, equally central was Guatemala's wrenching political experiences with revolution, in 1871 and again in 1945–1954, in consolidating its own far-rightist path of ethnic exclusion.

Far less consensus is to be found, not surprisingly, when it comes to the analyses of the most recent neo-liberal period and its newly ethnicized and multicultural politics. While formally democratic in all four cases, these are after all regimes whose predecessors were for many decades notoriously slow and ineffective in responding to popular pressures for change, while very adept at demonizing opponents and calling on Washington for help in repressing such challenges in the name of stability, anticommunism, or both. The basic framework common to all the various case studies synthesizes an interrogation of the relationships between national states and local communities structured around ethnicity and historical exclusion; the ways in which traditional representations of indigeness and regional ethnic distinctiveness are deployed by both national elites and the new or resurgent social movements based on hybrid categories of race (ethnicity) and place; the emergence of new forms of (basically indigenous and Afro-descendent) ethnic self-identification and their political correlates; and the newly ambiguous and defensive attitudes toward that formerly commonsensical, mythical, and comfortably majoritarian positionality of "mixedness" now that its parent category of Indian (and to a lesser extent African American) has reemerged from the shadows to claim centrality not just in the distant past but in the present and future of the nation.

Contrary to the book's organization via national frameworks, its historical versus more contemporary logic appears to this reviewer to be the most noteworthy

strength of the collection as a whole. The Guatemalan case is not only allotted more space but enjoys greater historical depth, with the essays by Taracena Arriola and González Ponciano delving deeply into the historical logic of its uniquely anti-indigenous, indeed virtually segregationist national model. Hale and Little-Siebold explore regional and municipal case studies of ethnic terminology and self-identification or evasion, while Esquit provides an analysis of the pan-Mayan movement and its multiple agendas, openly recognizing some of its less fortunate positions in the often heated recent debates in Guatemala.

In the other three national cases there is also a split between essays that focus on contemporary ethnicity and politics and those that look to earlier historical periods for their inspiration. Tellingly, in the Honduran case ethnic politics has involved both self-identified indigenous and afro-descent groups. All four essays presume as much and deal with both simultaneously. Barahona and Euraque seek to trace the movements forward from the early twentieth century, with the latter focusing in particular on the Garifuna (often referred to in earlier times as the Black Carib). Contemporary conflicts over the "authenticity" of various ethnic and cultural identities and expressions today are discussed by Anderson and England, while one of the most interesting essays, by Tábor, focuses on gender and its various, often highly essentialized, perceptions by both the national political class and the indigenous and African-descent movements. Indeed, only in the Honduran essays is the role of African-descent populations, whether historical or contemporary, addressed directly. To judge by this fact, it seems safe to say that in the four cases studied Guatemala is not in fact the only "outlier." Its non-use of the Indian as mythic national foundational referent, accorded an honorific equality along with cultural erasure leading to its grotesquely racist labor recruitment practices and political exclusion in the twentieth century, does appear unique. However, Honduras also seems quite unique in its far more open recognition of African-descent populations, the Garifuna in particular, having a place at the national table then and now.

For El Salvador and Nicaragua, the deeper historical background is the focus of two essays by Gould and one by Alvarenga, while contemporary anthropological cases are presented by Lara Martínez and Rodríguez Herrera for El Salvador and by Gurdíán and Rizo Zeledón for Nicaragua. The cases dealt with, however, are radically different and offer a panorama of possibilities for future analyses. Gould's essay on El Salvador is a study of historical memory of ethnicity and the massacre (*Matanza*) of 1932 in the post-1970s revolutionary nationalist traditions, a model that could readily be employed to study many other national and regional cases. The essays by Alvarenga for El Salvador and Gould for Nicaragua show more clearly than any others that, in those militantly *mestizo* nations, indigenous participation in regional and national politics before the 1950s was far greater than traditionally imagined, whether un-

der Conservative guidance in (however imperfect) electoral forms or via conscripted and often coercive army, national guard, or rural police service.

The essays on contemporary communities range from indigenous identity and globalization in Izalco and Cacaopera in western El Salvador (by Lara Martínez and Rodríguez Herrera), to two very different Atlantic settlements in Nicaragua both of which problematize the traditional dichotomization of *mestizo* Western and indigenous Atlantic coast Nicaragua in very useful ways. While Gurdíán focuses on a lowland Miskitu community long the archetype for Nicaragua's highly-conflictive Atlantic coast "other" (alternately seen as indigenous, African American, or both; *zambo* in Spanish colonial terms), Rizo Zeledón presents a fascinating case of agricultural colonization zones in the mountainous east leading toward the Atlantic. There, the manifest contradictions of the histories of peasant colonists moving from communities largely unrecognized as indigenous in contiguous provinces nationally defined as *mestizo* are briefly and tantalizingly presented by contrasting the dominant ideologies of interpretation at the national level, in order to then confront them with telling reflections from the oral histories of founding families.

In all these cases it is clear that the neo-liberal era and globalization have generated many new and often contradictory processes of ethnic identity formation of which national governments appear to have virtually no awareness, much less understanding. From dreadfully similar processes of social polarization and willful ignorance emerged not only the infamous massacre of 1932 but the exercise of naked, bloody force instigated and celebrated by Reagan and Kirkpatrick in the early 1980s, converting into dangerous communists many peasants squatting on what they insisted were public lands.

This volume clearly marks a turning point in our understanding of the resurgence of ethnicity and ethnic politics in postwar Central America. One can only hope it makes a contribution as well to averting another cataclysmic scenario inviting foreign intervention on one side or the other. While the volume offers no clear evidence of any grand strategic understanding or pact among Central America's newly multicultural and doggedly traditional ethnic political actors, its more historical chapters offer voluminous, chilling evidence of the disastrous consequences of failure to reach such compromises in the past. What it does provide is the most detailed examination to date of the many new ways in which post-civil war cultural and political life throughout Central America has been and is being remade.

These societies' political conflicts are no longer being expressed through Cold War-era Left and Right paradigms of a *ladino/mestizo* nationalism riddled with unstated and unchallenged ethnic exclusions. Many of the most dynamic elements of a postwar civil society have emerged along those very same fault lines of ethnic exclusion, so well or poorly hidden in each case, from

mass graves dug by that very nationalist tradition a century or more ago. Likewise, today's discourses of ethnicity and politics, which at their worst alternate between a deceptively simple and presentist call for ethnic and civil rights and a thoroughly ahistorical ethnic essentialism, clearly flow from many of those enduring conflicts. By showing us where these positions and movements come from historically, we are far better able to assess where they may be leading for the future. While this collection may represent the definitive burial

of Central America's mythological *mestizo* nation, with both its admirable and bloody legacies, we should expect no Reaganesque state funerals. Central America's elites and civil societies have moved on, if haltingly, however much nationalist majorities elsewhere may pine for and celebrate the renewal of Cold War certainties of good and evil, no longer so easily invoked and masqueraded with "backyard" metaphors.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

RUDOLPH BINION. *Past Impersonal: Group Process in Human History*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 200. \$38.00.

Rudolph Binion's book is a welcome change from historiographical trends that have stressed the micro, the local, and the individual. By contrast, Binion sees big. Packed within 148 pages of text, his book proposes a bold new approach with exciting interpretations in art history, literature, demography, and group psychology across Europe and America and from late antiquity to the present. Throughout, it is the history of collectives whose intricate twists, turns, and trajectories lay beneath and largely unknown to the individuals who comprised them. This investigation of "psychological facts" (to use Marc Bloch's phrase) is not, however, a return to the structuralism of the 1950s and 1960s, where events lay supposedly on the surface of history with revolutions and other datable occurrences such as the Black Death playing second fiddle to glacial conjunctures and geography. Instead, the shifts Binion charts are datable and often arose from political events such as the American and French Revolutions.

Binion examines three group processes in history: the adaptive, maladaptive, and cultural or symbolic. For each, he provides two case studies. The adaptive is not unlike the collective awareness seen in the animal world. For these Binion focuses on the upsurge of fertility limitation within the family: first with its leaders, the United States and France, spurred on by their eighteenth-century revolutions, and then a century later with its fast spread across Europe, when the continent was faced with a colossal Malthusian catastrophe because of the fall in infant mortality. With a rich array of literary examples across genres and from Ireland to Russia, Binion investigates the psychological adaptation to this radical departure in the moral doctrines of church and state and engrained biological behavior. With a single voice, fiction from 1879 to 1914 assailed the family, in Émile Zola's words, seeing it as the vehicle for the degeneration of the human species.

The other two group processes find no parallels in the animal world. In the first of two case studies on the maladaptive, Binion focuses on Germany's collective reliving of the trauma of World War I with Adolf Hitler as

its agent. That trauma came when General Erich von Ludendorff's failed attempt to expand Germany eastward in 1917–1918 was avenged and relived in Nazi propaganda and in the horrific facts of World War II and the Holocaust. For the second case Binion explains the Romantics' dialectic craze between involvement in, and retreat from, the world, their bent for incestuous love and suicide, as a reliving of the French Revolution and its promises dashed by terror and tyranny.

The cultural or symbolic as group process is at once simpler and more complex. At first it appears little different from older notions of historical periods as described by a single world view or a dominant set of values (Will Durant's "Age of Faith," for instance). Thus Binion's first case examines the trajectory of modern world values from the Renaissance to the early twentieth century. In the Renaissance, the dominant value was "Being," as seen in Castiglione's *The Courtier*, where patrician pedigree counted for more than deeds or possessions. In the eighteenth century "Doing" triumphed, as seen in Thomas Carlyle's "Done Work," Samuel Smiles's "Self-Help," and Karl Marx's labor theory of value. By the early twentieth century, the plebeian virtue "Having" came up trumps. No doubt, cultural historians will raise questions about these as "the" dominant values of each particular period. How do we explain, for instance, the Renaissance change in attitudes toward death, which stressed an individual's biography of past deeds and a new confidence about salvation centered on charitable works, soon to offend Martin Luther as telling God what to do and to touch off the Reformation? And as for "Having," how do we explain Renaissance changes in testamentary practice, where family identity became zealously tied to property and palaces, or the new European craze for collecting that took off with the Renaissance and the Baroque?

The second case of symbolic group process examines an intricate interlacing of sets of threes across a millennium of art and religious history that interfused the Massacre of the Innocents with Rachel weeping over her exiled children and Mary mourning for Jesus that eventually—all three—developed into the Pietà. In all three, Binion explains, the innocents come back to life in one form or another; it is the Christian denial of death.

The final chapter, "Death on a Rampage," proposes to unite all three group processes around the Black Death. The adaptive can be well attested with bodily, medical, and governmental progress as the disease came back at increasingly elongated intervals with generally lower levels of mortality. The cultural side with its ghoulis Dance of Death, Triumph of Death, and Maidens of Death was also adaptive, inuring populations to the horrors of repeated mass death as orgiastic and sepulchral sex aimed at restoring lost population. But what of the maladaptive? Its only sign presented by Binion was not a "psychological fact" but solely physiological and one that was hardly peculiar to plague, Europe, or even humans: as hosts adapt to a pathogen, the success of that adaptation eventually begins to wear off as larger portions of the population are left without immunity to it, thus providing the pathogen with new opportunities to return and to infect. For the Black Death and its recurrences, the one striking cultural or psychological maladaptation fails to fit Binion's schema of relived trauma. It came during the plague's first strike or even happened with the threat of plague, before it actually arrived. This was the spread across continental Europe of self-flagellation and, more horrendous still, the mass burning of Jews from 1348 to 1351.

No doubt others will raise other questions to challenge Binion's vast canvases, explanations, and insights. Such questions, however, cannot gainsay the importance of this work for its approach, many conclusions, and vast erudition. This book should be read not only by historians across subdisciplines and periods but by scholars across the social sciences and humanities. Its big questions, posed comparatively, transnationally, and even globally—as in the epilogue on the relived traumas and global challenges that face us all in the twentieth-first century—should stimulate new research and interpretation for specialists in other disciplines. Rarely do works of history cross so clearly the intellectual divide between the arts and sciences: this is such a book.

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JAY WINTER. *Remembering War: The Great War and Historical Memory in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 329. \$35.00.

Jay Winter has written a fine book about what he calls the "memory boom" of the twentieth century: the lively interest in the topic of memory in public and professional circles. At the center of the book is the Great War, to the study of which Winter has devoted a lifetime of scholarship. Winter proposes the following interpretation: although the causes of the contemporary memory boom are diverse, "the initial impulse behind this varied and ubiquitous cultural project emerged during the 1914–18 war" (p. 1). The language, images, and practices of the Great War shaped and determined the modes in which other conflicts were remembered

and represented. Indeed, the influence of the Great War on modern memory is not limited to the last hundred years alone but will determine also the future memory culture of our children and grandchildren. In this sense, at the heart of the memory boom of the last century, argues Winter, stands the challenge to take care and cognizance of the victims and the suffering of war. Winter identifies two generations of memory in the modern period. The first spanned the years of the 1890s to the 1920s, and it centered on memory as the shaper of identities, especially national identities. Remembering the dead of the Great War was fundamental to this generation. The second memory boom emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, and was in the main shaped by World War II and the Holocaust. While the second memory boom built on the first, it also broke many of its identity narratives, for it brought to the fore the subjective experience of people and especially a new form of remembrance, that of the witness and the survivor.

Winter engages these claims in twelve independent chapters (four have been published before) that are connected to the main argument. The style is that of the essay, the writing is fluent, and the endnotes are few. Part one, "War and Remembrance," outlines the book's main arguments about memory, history, and the Great War. The second part, "Practices of Remembrance," explores among others photography, war letters, and war memorials as memory sites of the Great War that survived the cataclysm of the first half of the last century. The third part, "Theaters of Memory," focuses on film, television, museums, and war crimes trials as sites where groups link history and memory of war long after its end.

The book provides an argument about memory and the twentieth century. There are many books on specific topics in the flourishing field of memory studies, yet too few provide a wide-ranging argument about the development of historical memory. In spite of Winter's obligatory nod to interpretative caution and to multiple causes, his argument is focused on one target. To my mind, the argument—of the centrality of the Great War, of the two memory generations determined by the two world wars, and of the rise of the witness as a moral symbol—is not necessarily wrong, but it is too neat and is not unexpected. The book thus brings together intelligently a large body of work on memory and links it usefully to the history of the Great War rather than providing a striking new view. The problem is that when you look for memory trends by focusing on the world wars and the Holocaust you are bound to find their overdetermined centrality. It runs the danger of reducing twentieth-century memory to war memory, while ignoring many other representations and social practices and how they linked with war memory. And we should question, rather than accept as a given, whether the Great War was indeed the impulse behind the current memory boom.

In terms of method, Winter argues for the importance of agency in the making of memory and for the centrality of social practice in analyzing it. These are

good and widely accepted points. He is aware of the methodological pitfalls of the term "memory," following the writing of several historians of late. His suggestion to shift the term "memory" to the term "remembrance" as a way to remedy some of these problems is one plausible way of thinking about it. My own view is that ultimately it is not the term that counts but the methodological intentions of the historian when practicing the craft and reconstructing the past. In this sense, Winter knows his craft, although his methodological solutions are at times obvious, as when he proposes to regard history and memory as ambiguous, multifaceted, and overlapping creative spaces.

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KEVIN M. KRUSE and THOMAS J. SUGRUE, editors. *The New Suburban History*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. x, 289. \$24.00.

Almost forty years ago, two academic conferences reflected as well as encouraged the excitement attracting scholars to "the new urban history." The 1968 Yale Conference on the Nineteenth-Century Industrial City resulted a year later in the publication of *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History*, edited by Stephan Thernstrom and Richard Sennett (1969). Three days of meeting during June 1970 in Madison, Wisconsin, produced Leo F. Schnore's edited volume, *The New Urban History: Quantitative Explorations by American Historians* (1975). *Nineteenth-Century Cities* in particular attempted to connect history and sociology and emphasized the everyday life of ordinary people. To a great extent, it established social mobility studies as a cottage industry for the new urban historians and gave little attention to issues of government, politics, and power.

In February 2004, scholars gathered at Princeton University to participate in a conference on "City Limits: New Perspectives in the History of American Suburbs," which produced the volume under review. The meeting showcased the latest work on suburban America and did not shy away from the topics that had received short shrift many years before; it also recognized the importance of suburbs for the understanding of modern America, a central tenet of the book. As editors Kevin M. Kruse and Thomas J. Sugrue emphatically point out, in 1990 a majority of Americans lived in suburbs while forty years earlier only twenty-five percent did. By the last decade of the twentieth century, the United States was indeed a suburban nation.

This, however, was not news to those interested in such matters. In his masterful synthesis, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (1985), and in earlier writings, Kenneth T. Jackson gave the clarion call. Jackson, who did not neglect the impact of the federal government on suburbanization but tendered prominence to its role, on another important matter

seemed to fall into a pattern with other suburban historians such as Lewis Mumford and Robert Fishman, who saw their subject as "homogeneous, conformist, and bourgeois" (p. 3), the suburban image especially popular during the 1950s. The "new suburban history" represented by the essays in this book attempts to revise the interpretation of the first generation of suburbanists and reveals how far historians have come in moving from their "new urban history" forebears.

The essayists consider subjects such as increasing suburban heterogeneity, first as African Americans arrived at a time when earlier observers stressed homogeneity. Andrew Wiese, for instance, informs us "during the 1940s and 1950s, the number of black suburbanites rose from one and a half to two and a half million" (p. 100). Michael Jones-Correa adds that by 1999, thirty-one percent of blacks, forty-four percent of Latinos, and fifty-one percent of Asian Americans lived in suburbs (p. 184). In metropolitan areas, attempts at racial integration gave rise to many social experiments, often creating conflict but sometimes bringing about successful cross-class or cross-race coalitions. Matthew Lassiter's essay about the Charlotte-Mecklenburg (North Carolina) metropolitan area offers insight into a national test for two-way busing, and the impact on class contradictions within President Richard M. Nixon's "Silent Majority" and the era's "reactionary populism."

If busing shook the metropolitan politics of suburbia in the last quarter of the twentieth century, so did the tax revolts that originated in California and were preceded by a state-subsidized social policy to which the Reaganites reacted, reshaping modern conservatism; Robert O. Self describes the early policy that became the focus of attack. In an essay that nicely brings together the history of science, higher education, and Cold War politics, Margaret Pugh O'Mara explains the rise of the high-tech suburb, the "city of knowledge" so dependent on the research university. The framework of such places had little "to do with white flight and more to do with deliberate creation of enclaves for a rarified upper stratum of the white-collar class: the professor, the scientist, the engineer" (p. 60). While reflecting concern with worldwide political conflict, they had little to do with domestic conflict.

These and other essays in the volume reveal the complexity of second-half-of-the-twentieth-century suburbanization. While suffering the normal unevenness of a variety of authors contributing to a single book, editors Kruse and Sugrue have done a more than creditable job of bringing unity to the subject and justifying the existence of a "new suburban history." For those who have not read the larger works of many of the essayists, this collection provides an excellent introduction to the subject. It also reveals how far we have come since the "new urban history."

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

WILLIAM GERVAISE CLARENCE-SMITH. *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xxvi, 293. \$29.95.

In this bold and pioneering study, William Gervase Clarence-Smith surveys the history of slavery in the vast Muslim world from the time of the Prophet to the twenty-first century. Readers may become somewhat confused in the first part of the book as they are bombarded with names and facts and plunge from the Philippines to Morocco, Turkistan, West Africa, and India within a few pages. But the book gains continuity and coherence as one moves on, in part because of the focus on Islamic responses to Western antislavery values.

The reader soon realizes that slavery in Muslim lands not only preceded and fed into slavery in the New World but persisted in major ways for nearly a century after 1888, when Brazil outlawed the last remnant of the institution in the Americas. Further, for over thirteen centuries the Christian world has been bordered and penetrated by an often-expanding Muslim universe, so that even in Brazil one major slave insurrection was led by Muslims. In other words, even apart from its inherent significance, this long-neglected subject is of crucial importance for a non-parochial understanding of slavery in Europe and the Americas.

One central point on which I side with the historians Clarence-Smith criticizes, such as John Hunwick, Suzanne Miers, and Paul Lovejoy, pertains to an incipient antislavery mentality or trend within Islamic history. Clarence-Smith quotes these and other distinguished scholars who deny such a tradition. While I have long argued that human slavery has always generated tensions and contradictions, I have also held that even Christianity harbored no such incipient abolitionism until the seventeenth-century English civil wars generated a new radicalism that eventually combined in complex ways with the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and evangelical revivals.

No pre-nineteenth-century Muslim critic of slavery could begin to equal the late fourth-century Saint Gregory of Nyssa in his sweeping condemnation of the very principle of slavery. But the unique Gregory was no abolitionist, a term Clarence-Smith misuses and that must be limited to such people as the eighteenth-century pioneers, John Woolman, Granville Sharp, and Anthony Benezet, who sought at least to do something about eradicating a deeply entrenched social evil. As Clarence-Smith's own account vividly shows, the very small number of Muslims who first delivered unequivocal attacks on slavery was deeply influenced by the well-developed Western antislavery movements, which had begun to shift their focus to the Islamic world, having scored great achievements in the Americas. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, for example, was a rationalist who had lived in London in 1869–1870. In 1893 he contended that because of Islam's founding values, slavery "should have rapidly disappeared soon after the revelation of the

Quran." According to Clarence-Smith, this was partly a response to "a vitriolic British propaganda campaign against the Sudanese Mahdi" (p. 196).

Belief in an incipient antislavery trend, or in an inherent if hidden Islamic hostility to slavery, is clearly the product of mostly twentieth-century Muslim writers and officials who have struggled to respond to the mainly British-led campaign to eradicate human bondage from the entire world—a campaign endorsed by both the League of Nations and the United Nations.

As Clarence-Smith shows, without fully endorsing the implications, Muslim reformers have been moved by two motives. First, the effort to win support from other Muslims by proving that the Prophet, the Qu'ran, or traditions embodied in the Hadith, can be seen as demanding human equality and a concern for the down-trodden that are totally incompatible with slavery. The second effort has been to counter the criticisms of outsiders who use slavery and concubinage as a way of portraying Islam as a backward, illiberal, and exploitative religion incapable of adjusting to modern democratic values. It should be stressed that since slavery remained legal in many parts of the Muslim world well after World War II, these efforts did lead to sharp clashes among "radicals," "gradualists," and "literalists." By the early 1980s there was a widespread but by no means total Muslim endorsement of abolitionist ideals.

Clarence-Smith has logically searched for early manifestations of antislavery sentiment in the dissenting or millenarian Muslim sects, particularly the Druzes, who settled in the mountains of Greater Syria in the eleventh century. Yet he acknowledges that some millenarian sects actively engaged in slave trading, and the evidence is so limited that Clarence-Smith continually finds it necessary to use such expressions as "unclear," "probably," and "uncertain," and to urge future scholars to conduct more research. When he turns to non-Muslim parallels, one's confidence is shaken by his errors concerning the early Palestinian Essenes (whose supposed abolitionism depends on the highly idealized fantasy of Philo of Alexandria, which is at odds with Josephus) and the Pennsylvania Quakers' petition of 1688 (which had only four signatures and which, having been rejected and suppressed by the highest Quaker governing group, had no influence on the much later Quaker endorsement of abolitionist principles). Both mistakes reflect a desire to find earlier examples of true abolitionism than the historical record allows. While Clarence-Smith presents little evidence on the Druzes, it is possible that they "banned slavery, concubinage, and polygamy" (p. 59). But we are also told they refused to accept converts and were in effect "a separate religion" (p. 60). They clearly had no influence on Islam, in contrast to the influence of mid-eighteenth century Quakers on Christianity.

Apart from such doubts, I have gained from this book much valuable information about the extraordinary complexity and diversity of Islamic slavery, as well as

the long and still incomplete struggles to condemn and abolish the institution.

DAVID BRION DAVIS,
EMERITUS
Yale University

JOHN GILLIS. *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. xiii, 217. \$26.95.

Inspired by his own island experiences (the book is dedicated to Maine's Great Gott Island and its inhabitants), John Gillis has produced an original, wide-ranging, and thought-provoking book about the intellectual construction of islands over two thousand years. In so doing, he offers some unexpected connections—between the religious sea-going voyages of the Irish St. Brendan and the desert ascetics of the Sinai, the creation of Acadia National Park and the independence of the Faroe Islands, Harris Tweed and Outward Bound. Islands, Gillis argues, have played an essential role in Western culture, which “not only thinks about islands, but thinks *with* them” (p. 1). If islands have often mattered to Europeans because they were literally set apart, Gillis insists that we think of islands as places that are connected to mainlands and that, in fact, shaped what happened on continents.

Islands, it turns out, are surprisingly tricky things to study, not least because they occasionally vanished. The earliest maps reveal numerous islands that never existed yet were firmly planted in space to be found by adventurous explorers. Other islands, real and imagined, moved themselves about: Hy-Brazil, for example, began off the coast of Ireland in a sixth-century legend, and when, over the centuries and despite assiduous efforts, no one could find it, Hy-Brazil shifted its location. As if it were not enough for islands to wander about like Odysseus, they also swelled and shrank in size. All of these geographic fluctuations were accompanied by shifting meanings. Islands have been associated with peril from their shoals, wealth from their material assets, spiritual renewal, sanctuary, and economic desolation. Gillis's great accomplishment is to prod the reader to think differently about islands by helping us climb inside the heads of those Europeans who paid attention to islands and sought in them their salvation or their fortune.

In its effort to connect the shifting meaning of islands with the creation of the Atlantic world (as promised in the subtitle) the book is less persuasive. Gillis hopes “to see Atlantic civilization not as an appendage of European civilization but as something with its own history and geography, forged as much offshore as onshore” (p. 87). The challenge that Gillis faces, as he acknowledges, is that the Spanish fit his model poorly. To consider the Atlantic world without Spanish activities on the American mainland is to overlook or minimize the importance of silver, discovered at Zacatecas and Potosí in the 1540s, to global economies and European geopolitics. Spanish access to mineral wealth prodded rivals to

seek their own inland empires and it was that competition that made the Atlantic world. A history of the Atlantic world with *only* islands is an Atlantic without silver and indigenous empires. But as Gillis makes clear throughout his study, a history *without* islands is equally unsatisfying.

Gillis is interested in sketching broad strokes, and in such a compact survey an author must always make difficult choices about what he can include. Aside from an early chapter on Mediterranean ideas about islands, this book focuses on northwestern Europeans (especially Ireland, the United Kingdom, and Scandinavia) and North America (especially the United States). Some readers might chafe at “Western culture,” “Western thought,” and “Europeans” all lumped together. The book is written from the point of view of an island visitor and a self-professed island lover, although in his final chapters Gillis illustrates very effectively the gap between what island dwellers and island visitors thought of their homes. Might other voices have shaped this story differently? How, for example, did the people of the Caribbean understand the relationship between sea and land? They were great mariners. And what of Africans in the western Atlantic? For many Africans ensnared in the slave trade, their first experience with islands would have been the trading forts of the African coast; their second experience was reaching an island port in the West Indies for those shipped to that region, with the miseries of sugar production awaiting them. If islands opened vistas for Europeans, the reverse might have been the case for Africans, for whom islands in the Atlantic surely opened the gates of hell. Moreover, which islands matter? The islands featured here, especially at the end of Gillis's study, are those small places attached to states or nation-states: Vinalhaven or Mount Desert in Maine, the Hebrides, Blasket Island (off the Irish coast). Might island nations (like Jamaica or Cuba) or nations assembled from multiple islands (such as the Federation of St. Kitts and Nevis) or islands linked uncomfortably to nations (such as Puerto Rico) look different in modern American and European minds? These questions only reinforce the timeliness and originality of Gillis's study, which should prod other historians to think more systematically about islands, mainlands, and their connections.

ALISON GAMES
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FRANCIS J. BREMER and LYNN A. BOTELHO, editors. *The World of John Winthrop: Essays on England and New England, 1588–1649*. (Massachusetts Historical Society Studies in American History and Culture, number 9.) Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 2005. Pp. viii, 408. \$50.00.

This is the third major collection edited or coedited by Francis J. Bremer that explores the world of the New England Puritans. Comparing the three books reveals how that world has been conceived, and how it is being rethought. Back in 1977, Bremer and Alden Vaughan

compiled an anthology of previously published articles entitled *Puritan New England: Essays on Religion, Society, and Culture*. The essays were thematically wide ranging, but as the title suggests, most were focused intently inward, on New England itself. Several, however, sketched out the English background of American Puritanism. As Bremer reminds us in the introduction to his latest collection, the new Atlantic history is not nearly as novel as its practitioners claim. The leading historians of New England Puritanism, from Samuel Eliot Morison and Perry Miller onward, always knew that the European and English context was indispensable for understanding their subject. Yet many scholars have taken a more parochial approach. Bremer's 1993 collection, *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith*, was "transatlantic" in the sense that it included essays on English Puritanism and essays on New England, but most were rooted on one side of the ocean or the other. Only in this latest book, coedited with Lynn A. Botelho, do we see the triumph of a truly Atlantic approach. It is about John Winthrop's world rather than the man himself (the subject of a major biography by Bremer), and it is appropriately expansive in its range. Nearly all of the chapters encompass England and New England, and some draw in Scotland and Ireland, Virginia and the Caribbean. In two cases, this happens because a historian of early modern England is paired with a historian of New England, while in others individual scholars navigate confidently between the old world and the new. The result is a book that emphasizes how much the Puritan colonists owed to England, while throwing into high relief the things that made New England distinctive.

The collection is thematically broad, including essays on race and ethnicity, piety, economic ethics, government, law and political thought, gender, and print culture. Inevitably, there are gaps. Identity is a major theme of the volume, and the reader comes away with a strong sense of the English identity of Winthrop and his contemporaries. But there is relatively little on their sense of belonging to an international community of reformed churches. The Thirty Years' War, John Calvin, and Latin texts are mentioned in passing, but their profile is lower here than it was in the mind of Winthrop.

Yet in all sorts of ways, the collection extends our horizons and questions our settled assumptions. Three essays provide alternative perspectives on English or Puritan identity. Vaughan has been working on Puritans and Native Americans for forty years, but in this wide-ranging new essay on "England's 'Others' in the Old and New Worlds," he and Virginia Vaughan place the Indian-English relationship into a much broader framework. They show how the ethnocentric English defined themselves over against the Irish, the Welsh, the Spanish, the Indians, the Turks, the Jews, and the Africans. While Puritans showed a greater concern for the reformation of the "Other," they shared common English prejudices and "largely defined themselves in contrast to whom they were not" (p. 61). Tom Webster

concur in emphasizing the adversarial nature of Puritan identity formation. His essay on the internal dichotomies in devotional writing builds on the work of Patrick Collinson to argue that the godly needed a perceived enemy to bolster their own sense of self. Mark Peterson, by contrast, suggests that while New England Puritans were riven by internal disputes, they did not need external antagonism to preserve piety. Indeed, Winthrop recreated in Massachusetts the sheltered godly enclave that had been disrupted by Laudian intervention in the Stour valley.

Two other essays assess the degree of continuity between England and New England. Bremer's substantial chapter on the governance of Massachusetts explores the extent to which Winthrop and his colleagues replicated the political institutions and religious culture of East Anglia. While stressing their improvisation and innovation, he maintains that their patterns of governance remained "recognisably English" and concludes that "they did not act as 'Americans,' but as Englishmen" (p. 225). James Hart and Richard Ross argue that the first New England generation showed scant interest in the idea of an ancient constitution, preferring a "legal primitivism" that turned to biblical law (p. 267). Only later in the seventeenth century did they develop their own "indigenous ancient constitutionalism" as a means to defend their polity against English intrusion (p. 277). For all its indebtedness to English patterns, New England followed a distinct trajectory.

Three of the essays challenge stereotypes about Puritanism, complicating its connections to capitalism, patriarchy, and print. Mark Valeri joins a long-running debate about "Puritans and the Marketplace," providing compelling evidence of godly zeal for regulating economic practice and disciplining users, engrossers, and profiteers. In this chapter, Puritans are not promoters of the "spirit" or "rise" of capitalism but defenders of an archaic code of economic ethics. If the argument is not a new one (the disciplining of the merchant Robert Keyne is well known), it is given a fresh lease on life. Richard Godbeer reprises some of the themes of *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (2002), suggesting that although early modern culture was deeply patriarchal, gender identity was more fluid than is often thought. Rank often outweighed gender, and while gendered power was masculine it was not exclusively tied to one sex. Puritan men were taught to imagine themselves as brides of Christ, while women could at times take on masculine roles. Finally, Alexandra Walsham and David Hall question "the assumption that Protestantism and the Reformation had a peculiar affinity with literacy, writing and print" (p. 369). Their essay is entitled "Justification by Print Alone?" a phrase borrowed from A. G. Dickens. Drawing on a wealth of recent scholarship as well as original research, it emphasizes that Protestantism relied heavily on script and speech as well as print. Even in Puritan New England, it seems that less than half of all households owned a Bible. A great deal of lay piety must have been nourished, not by reading but by oral culture, especially ser-

mons and catechizing. As for print culture, it was shaped by readers as much as by orthodox theologians; as a result, the religion of Protestants was fluid and heterogeneous.

"Justification by Print Alone?" is the piece de resistance of this collection, but the volume as a whole is an impressive achievement, and the Massachusetts Historical Society has done the authors proud. The book is impeccably produced, printed on quality paper in a large font, with very few typos. It will be eagerly received by historians of New England. Whether historians of old England will read it remains less certain. As Bremer ruefully notes, "it remains extremely rare to find any treatment of the colonies in studies of England's seventeenth-century political, legal, economic, or social history" (p. 4). Yet these essays may convert anglocentric skeptics, for they showcase the rewards of a comparative Atlantic approach to early modern scholarship.

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ALDEN T. VAUGHAN. *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xxv, 337. \$50.00.

Contributing significantly to the burgeoning scholarship about colonial peoples traveling to England during the early modern period, Alden T. Vaughan reconstructs the life experiences of virtually all the Inuit and North and South American Indian males and females who made the voyage prior to 1776. He strategically concentrates on this particular set of sojourners, enabling him to identify specific patterns of experience, reception, and consequence over distinct chronological phases. The earliest endured or perished from abduction by Englishmen as alleged primitive specimens for display in England; many of the latest came voluntarily as tourists or justice seekers protesting in London against oppression by Anglo-American colonists and often gained prestige at home for their efforts. Meticulously using the limited and—with one major exception—indirect sources available about each Indian, Vaughan richly demonstrates what the visit meant for him or her and for American and British history.

Vaughan for the most part clearly delimits his subjects geographically, chronologically, and ethnically. Focusing on the 175 indigenous people from North or South America who sojourned in the British Isles, he only briefly mentions the far more numerous ones who traveled elsewhere in Europe. He starts with the earliest visitors to England whom he can identify and stops with what he calls "Britain's civil war" of 1776 (p. 208), a logical terminus for Americans living in or around the thirteen colonies, if not those far north or south of them. Vaughan excludes all settled African and Euro-Americans and also people of mixed Indian and European or African descent, unless they were culturally "Indian" (e.g., pp. 182, 225, 329).

While Vaughan's chosen limits produce a well-de-

fined study, they do not reflect either Native American or British presuppositions of that time. Different indigenous ethnicities living in the thirteen colonies, let alone Brazilians or Canadian Inuits, did not consider themselves collectively "American." Conversely, Vaughan eschews the tens of thousands of Africans and Asians who had been in England even longer than these Americans. Yet, as Vaughan occasionally admits, English newspapers, church records, and other accounts often used the labels "Indian," "Black," or "Moor" indiscriminately for Asians, Africans, and Native Americans. Further, Vaughan asserts that these American visitors were received by English people differently from the far more numerous other nonwhites by claiming that Americans were "instant celebrities" (p. xii), more frequently painted or otherwise artistically portrayed. But English images of individual or stereotyped Africans and Asians in Britain also abounded. More explicit discussion of the extensive scholarship about English notions of "race" during this period would have added even more depth to Vaughan's analysis. For instance, he might have engaged with the contention of Nabil Matar's *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (1999) that English dramatic and other artistic cultures of that period deliberately conflated representations of Mediterranean Muslims and American Indians.

Of all the Indians whom Vaughan has identified, only one left a substantial first-hand written account: Samson Occam (1723–1792), a Christian preacher whose diary recorded part of his British tour to raise money for the education of Indians (most of his hard-earned funds disappointingly went instead to white students at Dartmouth College). Occam's diary provides Vaughan with fascinating personal responses to British society and culture. For virtually all Vaughan's other American visitors, he must reconstruct their impressions, itineraries, and actions based on distorting accounts by their British hosts. Further, since even Occam wrote in English and never published his account, it remained inaccessible to his American contemporaries. Thus, the extreme disparity between the vast colonial archive consolidating and publishing descriptive and ethnographic accounts by Britons about Americans, Asians, and Africans contrasts with the few and scattered accounts written by nonwhite visitors about Britain during the early modern period. This asymmetry reinforced the dominance of European knowledge and information about those other cultures and continues to shape our imbalanced understanding of these transoceanic encounters. Nonetheless, Vaughan persuasively asserts that those Americans who survived to return home (over a quarter died in England or en route) gained prestige by orally informing their relatives and friends back in America about the wonders and flaws of England.

Vaughan's careful research in the often fragmentary written sources available about these American visitors approaches the comprehensive. While a few more American visitors—as he defines them—may eventu-

ally surface, he has largely and valuably reconstructed their visits, showing larger historical patterns. None settled or formed communities in Britain, as many thousand African Americans did. Yet all of these Indian American visitors had life-changing experiences. Further, they had noticeable effects on British culture as well as their own. In political terms, some held status as diplomats, claiming to represent their nations before the English crown, people who "proved powerful negotiators," able to "swing their tribes" to war or peace (p. xii). Their visits, however asymmetrical and limited in number, can help us understand with greater subtlety the nature of transatlantic encounters in the early modern period.

MICHAEL H. FISHER
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SUSAN SCOTT PARISH. *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History. 2006. Pp. xvi, 321. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.50.

It is in the nature of the so-called new historicism to take the anecdote and make of it differences that are fundamentally rhetorical, including, of course, the ubiquitous "other." Erased by a taxonomy of distinctions, the narrative disappears in favor of the fragment and the incidental. Susan Scott Parish's book is full of fascinating moments and of telling intersections, in the vein that has informed the literary archaeology of scholars like Stephen Greenblatt. Unfortunately, it is also overburdened by them. Even the opening tale of Kwasi, a slave in Surinam at the end of the seventeenth century, soon disappears into a structure of exploitation, manipulation, and profit. His story of "unmitigated betrayal" (p. 2) momentarily introduces us to the "making of Enlightenment knowledge in both imperial centres and in American colonies" (p. 3). Unfortunately, we soon lose sight of Kwasi switching between ingratiation and intimidation, trapped between European and African codes of conduct.

An analysis of the conventions that informed the European exploitation of nature is not easily reducible to tales of difference and deference, of slaves, natives, and colonial women. London's Royal Society acknowledged the Americas' contribution even when colonials might come to resent the "epistemic arrogance of the European virtuosi" (p. 114). Yet, collecting was always a process manipulated both by donor and patron, in a circularity of obligation and recognition. But how was this in any way unique from the European culture of clientage and of learning that had "whole Armies to command" (p. 117)? This was amply reflected in Robert Hooke's description of the Baconian Royal Society as "a Cortesian army well Disciplined and regulated though their number be but small." Collecting followed conquest.

Parish represents colonial science as knowledge-making across inchoate "polarities of race and sex" (p.

22). But "limiting" communities prove to have been simultaneously "enabling." The naturalist's expertise could not simply be reduced to functions of exclusion or exception determined by race or gender. Parish's view is at best ambiguous and ultimately reveals a "diffuse recognition of authority" in the practices of empire and empiricism (p. 314). Much is made, for example, of race and the use of African slaves in the collection of botanical samples. Undoubtedly, whites got credit for what slaves did, and not merely in natural collections. To take but one example, it is proposed that the methods of treating smallpox by Alexander Garden in the 1760s had come from slaves. But to describe this as "reducing them to still more painful forms of embodiment" (p. 263) glosses over the great influence of black populations on the inoculation controversies in Boston over forty years earlier. And it pays no attention to the link between protection and investment that caused British African Company slavers to adopt inoculation when British gentry were unwilling to risk their own lives in the practice. Who actually benefited in this unethical and forced experiment? Where then are the roots of what had seemingly become by the end of the eighteenth century "a racial binary of the mind" (p. 261)? Does such reductionism sum up Thomas Jefferson's views of the mental capacities of Africans, or of Virginia doctor John Mitchell's obsessions with the cause of blackness? Can it explain the experiments done by their contemporary the radical democrat, Thomas Beddoes in England, to test the effects of newly discovered chemical compounds on the skin of a freed slave?

Parish's approach relies heavily on categories of exclusion. These appear to operate at the furthest periphery of empire and yet remain the legacy of London's gentlemanly center. Even this, however, will not hold. Surely science in private or public realms cannot be reduced to "engrossments of heterosexual eros, the brutish realm of war, and the dissolute behaviour of the clubs and coffeehouses" (p. 139). Parish exaggerates the so-called "eros of gift giving" (p. 167) in order to demonstrate the way in which it was initially tempered by natural discovery. She likewise postulates a "private male epistolary disparagement" (p. 196) of the single female collector. Yet evidence of those who sought to include women in natural observation, even in dramatic electrical displays, was hardly a novelty either in the colonies or in Europe. There are many British examples, from the same moment, of female participation in natural philosophy. The famous chemist, industrialist, and democrat, James Keir, refused to have his daughter educated in music in the belief that such girls were good for nothing else. Miss Keir became an accomplished botanist and chemist. Was James Keir exceptional? Perhaps so. But no more so than Matthew Boulton, who likewise refused, on the same grounds, to have his son attend operas or balls—places of dissipation—rather than gaining useful, natural, knowledge. We must eschew the facile categories that pass for explanatory principles. Indeed, they obscure the very same porous

"epistemic and social bounds of European natural history" (p. 310) in the American colonies that Parish seeks to explain.

LARRY STEWART
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NICHOLAS P. CUSHNER. *Why Have You Come Here? The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 255. Cloth \$74.00, paper \$29.95.

This disappointing book takes on a large and important subject: Jesuit missionary efforts among the natives of the Americas, a topic ripe for comprehensive and comparative treatment. From the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, Portuguese, Spanish, French, and English Jesuits worked tirelessly, mostly on the edges of European empire, to convert the pagan nations to Christianity. Acute observers and prolific writers, they left rich and copious records to the benefit of historians interested in both the Indian and the European experience of colonization and cultural change. Jesuit sources have fueled an outpouring of scholarly activity in recent decades, but mostly within narrowly regional silos. To soar above this partitioned historiographic landscape and survey Jesuit missions across the hemisphere is to take on a daunting challenge and Nicholas P. Cushner deserves credit for his ambitious effort at synthesis, even if his book is incomplete and conceptually flawed.

Cushner devotes chapters to the missions in Florida, northern Mexico, Andean Peru, Paraguay, Canada, and Maryland, but his treatment of these respective mission fields is quite unsystematic, making anything more than the most casual comparisons impossible. The Florida chapter concentrates on relations with natives, while the Maryland chapter examines Jesuit plantations with hardly a word about Indians. Brazil, site of the first and one of the most important Jesuit missions to the Americas, is hardly mentioned. Moreover, when he ventures outside Latin America, the author literally gets lost: in the New France chapter, he has La Prairie east of Sillery instead of west, he locates Mount Desert Island in present-day Nova Scotia rather than Maine, and he thinks Father Paul LeJeune, travelling northeast from Quebec City, suddenly plunged into "what is today upper New York State" (pp. 152, 154, 158).

Known for a series of fine monographs on Jesuit agricultural estates in Peru and Rio de la Plata, Cushner is strongest when he concentrates on economic topics. Seeking financial independence for their educational and evangelizing projects, the Jesuits established seigneuries in New France, sugar plantations in the West Indies, and vast cattle ranches in Mexico, while in Paraguay they commercialized Guaraní tea (*yerba mate*) with great success. What a pity Cushner did not write a book clearly focused on the Jesuit role in the colonial economies of the Americas! This book contains much anecdotal material on that topic, but the title, the pref-

ace, and much of the content of the book proclaim that this is a study of the religious encounter between indigenous peoples and Jesuit missionaries.

In the historiography of mission studies—putting things crudely for the sake of brevity—there is an "old school," prevalent until the 1970s, and a "new school"; the dividing line has much to do with whether one approaches natives as objects or as subjects. Cushner is old school all the way. His opening chapter, "When Two Worlds Meet," consists of two pages devoted to "Indians" in which cultures from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego are homogenized, essentialized, and associated with the natural environment; what follow are more than fourteen pages on the intricacies of Counter-Reformation theology presented as a vehicle for introducing the Jesuits. Subsequent chapters continue the tendency to treat Jesuits as the carriers of complex ideas and clear strategies, while Indians remain ethnographic abstractions and objects to be acted upon by others. Practitioners of the "new school" want to look more closely at indigenous cultures, examining the encounter with Christian missionaries as an incident in the history of the native peoples involved.

In the newer literature, cultural and religious change—"conversion"—turns out to be a difficult and complex phenomenon to be apprehended, imperfectly, in against-the-grain readings of missionary sources, informed by ethnohistorical research. What did baptism mean to the Indians who accepted it? Was there an element of submission to the conqueror, ritual alliance, an appropriation of the invader's spiritual power? How did Christian ideas, ceremonies, and behavioral norms mesh with particular native traditions and with the transformations wrought by colonization? Scholars are also looking more closely at the Jesuits themselves and finding, beneath the rhetoric of confident certainty, signs of confusion and doubt as they came to terms with American cultures.

Cushner, notwithstanding his exposure to the new school of mission studies, seems to have resisted its implications. For him, the Indians have a "belief system" and the Jesuits have a "belief system," and the missions were about a simple process of substitution. "The purpose of this book," he states, "is to explain and interpret how one belief system replaces another" (p. vii), as if religion were nothing more than a creed, as if it were independent of other aspects of culture, and as if it were transferable in a zero-sum game. As scholars struggle to find a vocabulary adequate to the task of describing the subtle and complicated ways in which aspects of Christianity blended with, coexisted with, layered upon, and braided with Guaraní or Iroquois culture, Cushner's approach seems woefully reductionist. In asking were conversions "sincere or fake" (pp. 68–69) and in insisting that multiple "belief systems" could only co-exist after "Locke, Hume, and the American and French revolutions" had established the principle of tolerance (pp. 3–4), the author demonstrates a striking

ability to ignore the findings of an entire generation of work in the field.

ALLAN GREER
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MAYA JASANOFF. *Edge of Empire: Lives, Culture, and Conquest in the East, 1750–1850*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2005. Pp. ix, 404. \$27.50.

Maya Jasanoff's book tells stories of men who built lives, fortunes, and collections (of antiquities, books and manuscripts, and curios) in India and Egypt while they were in the service of Indian nawabs, Egyptian pashas, or the East India Company. In doing so she follows the recent lead of several historian-storytellers like Linda Colley, who focus on the lives of Europeans who were able to exploit (or indeed were victims of) the commercial and career possibilities opened up as European trading companies or governments established control over territories in Asia and Africa. Unlike older imperial historians who lavished attention on the political and military leaders who crafted modern European empires, these historians pay attention to those Europeans whose place in the apparatus of empire was more uncertain and whose motivations for being in what Jasanoff calls the "East" were more varied. At its best, this makes for entertaining vignettes of men (and some women) whose cupidity, innovative and corrupt commercial practices, and cultural flexibility—a necessary condition of doing business with local ruling elites—mark them as different from the racist imperialists who ruled European empires after the mid-nineteenth century.

Jasanoff produces an enthusiastic recreation of the cultural and political milieu within which Robert Clive and Warren Hastings functioned in Bengal, or Antoine Polier and Claude Martin in Awadh. There are others, whose presence here derives from Jasanoff's interest in collectors: that is, in Europeans who used the profits they made in India to produce themselves as quasi-nawabs in India and as country gentlemen at home in Britain or France. Money was not enough for this purpose, and art and collectibles could put a gloss on the most suspect fortune. Jasanoff describes equivalent collectors at work in Egypt and traces, for instance, the competition between Henry Salt and Bernardino Drovetti that led to the major collections of Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum and the Louvre. In each case she paints a vivid picture of the personal greed of the connoisseur as it intersects with the imperatives of local and international politics, which is to say that the efforts of a Salt are framed within a complex understanding of Anglo-French and Egyptian-Ottoman rivalries. Indeed, Jasanoff is at her most convincing at these moments when she is able to show how the trading networks and territorial ambitions of empire connected Seringapatam and Alexandria and London and Paris.

While collectors and collections provide useful points of entry into the cultures of empire and the politics of imperial museums, "collecting" itself is an odd

conceit for the uncertain, but nevertheless dogged, extension of empire. Jasanoff characterizes "British imperial expansion in this period as collecting writ large" (p. 8), which might suggest an idiosyncratic, though still potentially effective, mode of biography-centered narrative, except that she means this term to counter what she caricatures as the representation of "the British Empire as an insidious behemoth" by "postcolonial nationalists" (p. 8). (Here she footnotes only Angus Calder, who might not recognize himself in this description.) Nor does Jasanoff engage any writing by postcolonial nationalists or the critics of empire whose scholarship she complains about; there is an odd footnote or two, but no serious consideration at all of the work of postcolonial scholars who have shown how modern empires were, at home as much as overseas, made up of formal and informal systems of resource mobilization, the extraction of surplus, and political control. Jasanoff tilts against the "familiar language of an 'imperial project'" (p. 10) that she thinks bedevils studies of the British Empire, and while the term has been used, for very good reasons, to describe particular colonial initiatives, there exists no "postcolonial" consensus that this is the only frame within which to understand the aspirations, hesitations, successes, or reverses that comprise that history.

The bulk of Jasanoff's book plays to her strengths: she writes fluidly, and takes a delight in the same curiosities and social milieus that her biographical subjects also found fascinating. Her mode of cultural history shows precisely how the movements of collectibles and collectors identify by-ways of power in the multiple theaters of empire. However, objects and individuals, no matter how lovingly recollected, do not add up to an argument that historians should think of empire as instantiating "the essential humanity of successful international relationships" (p. 13). While many Europeans served Indian or Egyptian feudal elites, and even rose to prominence, their histories, captivating as they might be, do not typify the processes of European expansion. Similarly, Europeans did make friends with, or have sex with, or even marry, those they colonized, and there were certainly some who chafed against the racism and exploitation that defined European imperialist practices, but their stories do not add up to a systemic reappraisal of the workings of modern empires. That reappraisal is in fact underway, and is to be found in the scholarship of historians who do not shy away from the concerns of those peoples who were at the receiving end of imperial power, whether that power was exerted by Europeans or by the native elites who functioned increasingly at their command.

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SUGATA BOSE. *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 333. \$27.95.

The Indian Ocean region has, since publication of K. N. Chaudhuri's groundbreaking *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (1985), been the focus of a dynamic debate. Chaudhuri and scholars such as André Wink and Janet L. Abu-Lughod, adopting a Braudelien approach to the region, assert that by the end of the first millennium C.E. there arose a regular and sophisticated system of transoceanic exchange linking the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia, and the Far East that they term the first "global economy." This economy was based on the monsoons, a system of biannually alternating winds and currents unique to the Indian Ocean and South China Sea that facilitated return voyages directly across the region. The debate was further advanced by Michael Pearson, who demonstrated that Africa also formed an integral part of the first global economy.

This forms the backdrop to Sugata Bose's new book, the stated aim of which is to challenge the conventionally held view that this age-old trans-Indian Ocean nexus had by the early nineteenth century been largely undermined by the forces of European capitalism and imperialism. Bose counters that the indigenous nexus was maintained through to the late 1920s, when it withered under the impact of the Depression. From the late eighteenth century, Britain achieved economic and political dominance throughout the region, but not hegemony. Rather, what Bose terms an indigenous "bazaar nexus," lying between the top layer of European "capital" and a bottom layer comprising "peasants, peddlars and pawnbrokers," operated in a dynamic and sustained fashion throughout the Indian Ocean region. Largely invisible to Europeans, but highly visible to the peoples of the Indian Ocean, it comprised less of a "world" system than an "interregional" system in which the exchange of ideas and culture were as important as the exchange of commodities.

Thus Bose promises the reader an exposé of the continuity into the modern era of an ancient and sophisticated maritime system of long-distance exchange. Moreover, he promises to do this through travel accounts written by passengers aboard vessels wherein "the weaving of broad patterns of interregional networks is matched . . . by the unraveling of individual tales of proconsuls and pirates, capitalists and laborers, soldiers and sailors, patriots and expatriates, pilgrims and poets. An analysis of the large flows of goods and money is balanced with an interpretation of the perceptions and experiences of people who were the key actors in the Indian Ocean interregional arena in modern times" (p. 23). If only that promise were upheld. Instead, we are treated to what increasingly, chapter by chapter, becomes a nationalist Indian version of Indian Ocean history. The key actors are all Indian and the only country in the region that counts is India. Bose provides some fascinating overviews of trans-Indian Ocean flows of Indian capital and labor to East and South Africa, and to Burma and Malaya, but such insights are hardly new; these movements have already

been well documented by Claude Markovits and others. Moreover other peoples indigenous to the Indian Ocean, including Africans and Southeast Asians, whose contribution to the continuity of traditional indigenous trading networks in the Indian Ocean are also well documented remain peripheral, obscured from view, of marginal significance.

Of far greater significance for Bose are the British—and not for establishing the Pax Britannica in the region that permitted the expansion of the Indian trading network. Rather, Bose summons up a caricature of the unrelenting colonizer and oppressor against whose narrow racist and capitalist vision he pits the liberating universalism and profound antimaterialism of Indians. In the section on Mohandas K. Gandhi's experiences in South Africa, where Africans are largely invisible, what matters is the way in which his brushes with white authorities helped form Gandhi's emerging nationalism. In another chapter, Bose shows Indian pilgrims on the Hajj becoming convinced of the ills of colonialism and of the universalism of Islam. The issue of universalism is raised again in his discussion of the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore, although here the Indian Ocean nexus threatens to vanish. Bose's anti-Raj sentiments are given most vent in the chapter he devotes to his great uncle Subhash Chandra Bose, who in World War II collaborated with the Japanese (this included a brief trip aboard a Japanese submarine in the Indian Ocean) in an unsuccessful attempt to defeat the British and Indian forces in India.

In sum, this is http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subhas-Chandra_Bose a curious book. A historical and literary dance through the history of rising Indian nationalist sentiment against British imperial rule, it appears aimed more for domestic Indian nationalist consumption than for scholars of the Indian Ocean world. In it, Bose grossly underestimates the complexities of the British imperial presence, and the many divisions along ethnic, caste, religious, economic, and political lines that existed among Indians, at home and overseas. More importantly, his concern with the Indian nationalist cause leads Bose increasingly to lose sight of his initial thesis and the wider enduring rhythms of trans-Indian Ocean world exchange.

GWYN CAMPBELL
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AARON SACHS. *The Humboldt Current: Nineteenth-Century Exploration and the Roots of American Environmentalism*. New York: Viking. 2006. Pp. xii, 496. \$25.95.

Aaron Sachs argues that the life and writings of the Prussian explorer and scientist Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) demonstrate how exposure to extreme natural settings and immersion in native cultures can engender the kind of humility, egalitarianism, and holism needed to make the environmental movement relevant in a new century marked by rampant ecological destruction and global inequality. Humboldt articulated a "social vision of nature" (p. 346) that empha-

sized sustainable, democratic use of natural resources, rather than the defensive preservation of disconnected tracts of wilderness. As a result, his work gave rise to what Sachs calls the "Humboldt Current," a powerful intellectual tradition that combines ecological and sociological insights into a "global vision" (p. 87) with a radical political edge.

Sachs sets out to challenge the views of postcolonial scholars like Mary Louise Pratt, whose *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992) remains the most influential account of nineteenth-century exploration narratives and their appropriative gaze. Basing his argument on multilingual archival work of the best kind, Sachs reconstructs Humboldt's "radical romanticism" (p. 41), praising his recognition that a "chain of connection" (p. 13) links material phenomena, creating a global "unity in diversity" (p. 52). Sachs maintains that rather than "imposing Western, rationalist, colonialist concepts" on conquered peoples and places, Humboldt's "universal science . . . actually revealed the social and ecological damage wrought by colonialism" (p. 13). Humboldt's encyclopedic, self-published monographs, especially *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America, 1799–1804* (1814) and *Cosmos* (1845–1861), examine "humanity's relationship to nature as an explicitly social problem" (p. 45), revealing that the exploitation of humans and nature are two sides of the same coin.

Claiming that "no other European had so great an impact on the intellectual culture of nineteenth-century America" (p. 4), Sachs devotes most of his book to the Humboldtian travels of key American explorer-scientists, J. N. Reynolds, Clarence King, George Wallace Melville, and John Muir. Narratives of their expeditions to the Antarctic, South America, the western United States, Alaska, and the Arctic alternate with close readings of their published works. Throughout, Sachs demonstrates the intellectual debt these men owed to Humboldt, and argues that because of his influence, they were able to resist the brazen imperialism and racism of the age. Instead, they "focused on understanding the interrelationships of the peoples and landscapes they encountered in the wild, and they wound up questioning the values of their home civilization" (p. 7). While he is careful to acknowledge that their "expeditions sometimes paved the way for white settlement" and that their writings frequently reproduce the racism and instrumentality of their day, Sachs insists that these "explorers themselves forcefully resisted the course of empire" (p. 18) by telling "stories of an interconnected, interdependent world, in which men were often dominating exploiters, but in which they could potentially be artful balancers and stewards" (p. 32).

Sachs has worked very hard to make this book accessible to a nonspecialist audience, announcing his ambitions in a characteristically effusive passage: "Good storytellers, like good ecologists, weave webs, enrapturing their audience with the delicate, sticky power of organic connectedness" (p. 30). The effect of this deliberate discontinuity is sometimes felicitous; too

often, though, it makes for awkward bouncing between snippets of narrative and nuggets of exposition. Also, there is a tendency to employ jarringly anachronistic language, such as when Sachs paraphrases Humboldt this way: "The point is that being lost can be fun" (p. 48). Finally, while reflection on personal experiences has been a successful feature of much recent scholarship, here it devolves into self-aggrandizing storytelling: "Atop many mountains . . . I have also felt a kind of Humboldtian awe and peacefulness" (p. 51).

More seriously, because the book is overly worried about refuting straw versions of identity-based counterarguments, it engages in troublingly insubstantial discussions of the sexuality of Humboldt and his successors. Sachs reports that some of these men had intense emotional relationships with other men with whom they also sometimes shared beds, but he does not demonstrate the relevance of these facts. There may well be a vital connection between ecosocial radicalism and the experience of sexual oppression, but too often this material feels like opportunistic gossip. Also, Sachs does not take up some of the most recent debates in environmental humanities. For instance, as Dana Phillips argues in *The Truth of Ecology* (2003), scientific ecologists have long since stopped modeling unlimited connectivity within ecosystems that evolve toward climax states of maximum diversity, preferring instead to think in terms of patchy complexity and punctuated equilibrium. Finally, and most importantly, the book does not systematically explore Humboldt's own rootedness in historical context. Instead, it represents him in neo-Romantic terms as a self-made intellectual hero, a forgotten genius whose original ideas might reverse the ongoing environmental crisis if only we could recall them. But of course, Humboldt's ways of thinking were the product of a unique historical conjuncture: the postrevolutionary phase of transatlantic capitalism in which triumphant republicanism for a time remade everything, including natural history, in its own image. Sachs does mention Humboldt's progressive political commitments several times, but in order to truly understand the power of his ideas, we need a much more fully developed account of their contingency, of the way in which the Humboldt Current had its real source in the broad social and political movements of the early nineteenth century.

Despite its sometimes maddening faults, this book deserves to be read critically for the important contribution it makes to the scholarly fields of environmental history, the history of science, and environmental literature. It will also earn a substantial audience of general readers, challenging them to think in new, and perhaps transformative, ways about the complex relations between human societies and their natural environments.

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MYRON ECHENBERG. *Plague Ports: The Global Urban Impact of Bubonic Plague, 1894–1901*. New York: New York University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 349. \$48.00.

Bubonic plague began spreading from a long-standing endemic area of southwest China in the mid-nineteenth century. When the disease reached the south China coast in 1894, international sea traffic quickly carried it worldwide. Myron Echenberg presents a welcome synthesis of recent scholarship on what became the world's most recent plague pandemic.

Plague's diffusion has long been associated with sea transport, and Echenberg focuses his work around the experiences of ten port cities, on six continents, in the first decade of the pandemic: Hong Kong, Bombay, Alexandria, Porto (Portugal), Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Honolulu, San Francisco, Sydney, and Cape Town. He argues that the pandemic's interest derives in part from its coincidence with the emergence of new Western disease paradigms, and with the high tide of Western imperial power.

Despite both new laboratory-driven medical science and Western political and cultural presumption, traditional responses to epidemic menace remained very powerful in the early years of the pandemic. Responses to epidemics that long preceded the new microbiology—quarantines, isolation of the sick, cordons, destruction of “infected” property, broad-scale sanitation—maintained their hold to some extent in all the cities that Echenberg discusses. In some cases (such as Rio de Janeiro) a very heavy official hand applied those established remedies. The same governments showed more hesitation about adopting the new measures suggested by microbiology, such as rat eradication and the use of Waldemar Haffkine's plague vaccine. Yet even traditional official responses could result in dramatic reshaping of a city's social geography. In Rio de Janeiro the “dangerous classes” were effectively removed from some areas, while in Cape Town the epidemic accelerated the emerging policy of apartheid.

Popular responses also reprised those of earlier epidemics. Perhaps 100,000 people fled Hong Kong; those who could afford flight in Porto and Sydney did likewise. Scapegoats were singled out, perhaps on the basis of race (Honolulu, San Francisco, and Cape Town) or of class (Porto and Rio de Janeiro). In different ways both officials and populace conspired to conceal the disease; people who feared official policies (isolation, destruction of property, peremptory burials) hid disease cases in their families, while officials from Bombay to Buenos Aires denied (sometimes for weeks) that their cities harbored plague at all.

Resistance to broad-scale sanitation was common. Protests, strikes, boycotts, and riots greeted cordons, compulsory isolation hospitals, and the destruction of property; Hong Kong, Bombay, Porto, and Cape Town were all shaken by such upheavals, and all governments feared them. Elites took part in resistance; merchants bitterly resented quarantines. Nor was the new microbiology popular; the Haffkine vaccine was widely feared

on a variety of grounds, from its apparent racial application (in Bombay, San Francisco, and Cape Town) to its perceived dangers (everywhere) to the fear of the Rio de Janeiro elite that its application would contradict the principle of survival of the fittest.

In Echenberg's view, some cities enjoyed more success in resisting plague than others, notably Alexandria and Sydney. In Sydney the newer microbiological responses were given more headway. In Alexandria officials remained relatively tolerant of the city's diversity and gained more general assent for their measures. For Echenberg, therefore, success depended in part on openness to new approaches, and in part on acceptance of social diversity. Unfortunately neither has commonly figured in epidemic crises (including that of 1894–1901), and Echenberg writes in part to urge their importance for present epidemic threats.

Although some resistance had its roots in different non-Western traditions, neither official policies nor popular reactions to them can be explained simply by a Western hegemony/colonial subjugation dichotomy. Echenberg's chapters provide frequent illustrations of that point, although he does not emphasize it. For example, he particularly notes the ways in which “resistance” often led to changed policies in colonial periphery and central metropole alike. Imperial officials in Hong Kong and Bombay eased up on their draconian sanitary regimens; in Porto compulsory isolation of the sick was abandoned; in San Francisco Chinese merchants successfully appealed to courts to lift plague restrictions.

Earlier twentieth-century historical writing on the pandemic, especially by active researchers in plague epidemiology, cast the story as a triumph of biomedicine. Echenberg is rightly dubious about that story; tradition was too persistent, responses too ambiguous, and the “victory” model ignores the role of exogenous forces in the spread or halt of epidemics. Echenberg pays proper attention (for example) to the role of rodent and flea ecology.

Echenberg argues that this plague pandemic was the first worldwide one in which mortality in the developed West clearly diverged from the less-favored rest. The mortality figures from Hong Kong and Bombay illustrate that point. I hope, however, that further research will extend Echenberg's study in both time and place. For example, a synthesis of current knowledge about the serious rural mortality in Asia after 1901 (explicitly outside Echenberg's framework) would be welcome. That suggestion reflects not criticism but the stimulus that Echenberg's book affords. He has written an able and wide-ranging synthesis.

Interesting photographs, especially from Porto, Honolulu, and Sydney, supplement the text. Less successful are the maps, which could include greater detail and more precision, as well as indications of scale.

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MARGARET E. DERRY. *Horses in Society: A Story of Animal Breeding and Marketing Culture, 1800–1920*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. Pp. xvii, 302. \$60.00.

Horses, once the ubiquitous engines of trade and agriculture, are now used only for sport and pleasure. When the working horse disappeared from modern society, it did so “almost . . . before anyone really knew it had happened” (p. 232), observes Margaret E. Derry. As a result of early expectations that the horse would persist despite technological change (initially confirmed by the continued need of horses even in a world filled with railways and motor cars), and perhaps also because of the horse’s very ubiquity, there seemed to be no need to record the horse’s history at this pivotal moment, making more difficult the modern historian’s job of recovering the story of how and why the working horse disappeared. Derry plumbs a wealth of contemporary commentary—debates on breeding practices, evidence of the government’s influence on the production of horses for specific needs in war and peace time, and the voices of various players in the horse industry—to fill in the gaps in our knowledge of this transitional moment for the horse’s social, political, and cultural roles. Like her previous book, *Bred for Perfection: Shorthorn Cattle, Collies and Arabian Horses since 1800* (2003), this one uses the limited example of humans’ relationship to a specific animal to draw a wide-ranging and suggestive portrait of the ideas and material developments that have dictated the shape of the present. It should be of interest not only to specialists in animal studies but also to those interested in international trade of the period, and in the history of science.

At the outset, Derry explains the continuing, and apparently ineradicable, contradictions between approaches to breeding inherited from earlier centuries, which required purity and strict attention to genealogy best exemplified in the creation of the thoroughbred horse, and more scientific, empirical approaches to cattle and sheep breeding that better articulated with market forces. Derry accounts for the influence of eugenics, Social Darwinism, and early genetics theory on the already complex process of breeding working horses. In a series of chapters on horse “types” (light, heavy, and farm animals), Derry traces the different systems that arose in Europe, Britain, and North America to satisfy domestic and international markets: differences in cultural uses for horses (the English drove, North Americans rode), conflicts between nations (French definitions of “purebred” did not satisfy American ideas about purity, putting strains on trade in heavy breeds), and conflicts over rural vs. urban needs (the robust, medium-weight, all-purpose Canadian farm “chunk” was transformed by demands for greater specialization, mainly for a growing urban market, until it merged and disappeared into the heavier draft breeds) drove horse production.

The international market for horses used in war provides a test case for the interactions between assump-

tions about breeding and international trade, as well as the fraught search for rationalization in both arenas. The supply of remounts could determine the outcome of military ventures as much as, or more than, the supply of human troops, a fact that led governments to attempt to ensure a ready supply of quality animals. But government efforts to organize breeding and trade faced huge obstacles: in England in the early 1870s, for instance, horses were both imported and exported at competing rates, largely because of the consequences of the Franco-Prussian War, which made Germany a unified country and so a new trading partner on the Continent. Domestic issues like the relative financial advantage in breeding cattle and sheep instead of horses, or warranties and licensing fees that had to accompany horse sales, created a dearth of useful light types of horses, while foreign systems that ensured quality, like the French Haras stud licensing system or the Prussian depots that bred specifically for war, further encouraged imports of the resulting superior mounts. Waves of reform did not make a dent in the problem: although the British government attempted to remedy this situation, the Boer War showed in shocking terms how much they had failed, and again at the start of World War I, England had only 25,000 horses in the army, compared to the hundreds of thousands of horses needed for any full-scale military campaign (p. 120). The United States and Canada were drawn into the international horse market in large part because of British demand for remounts “ironically . . . at a time when the use of horses in combat was all but over” (p. 139); the glut of animals that resulted provided the basis for the pleasure horse industry of our own time. Overall, however, the remount problem inspired renewed focus on the art and science of breeding in both Britain and North America.

But as Derry points out, efforts to breed for improved stock ran smack into the various conflicts outlined in her first chapter. When the British Commission on Horse Breeding tried to clarify how breeders should encourage better soundness in animals, veterinarians could not agree on what hereditary unsoundness was, nor did their opinions convince breeders who valued (their own) experience over science. Soundness, pure breed, inheritability, the role of the mare vs. the stallion all intersected “but often in a confusing and entangled way” (p. 182). Nor did what was viewed by many as government interference through stallion licensing laws and inspections resolve the problem. Cross-border trade battles between the United States and Canada resulted in the perception, and eventually the reality, that stallion control laws became “an elitist tool to promote the interests of the few” (p. 201).

Derry paints a full and complex picture of horse culture in the context of economic, social, demographic, political, technological, and even artistic change taking place during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While Derry does suggest the ideological dimensions of horse culture related to race, class, gender, and national identity, however, her work is more prac-

tical than ideological: readers familiar with work by Harriet Ritvo, Nigel Rothfels, or Kathleen Kete, for example, will be disappointed at Derry's more limited use of theory and her more restrained conclusions. And Derry's writing, usually accessible and jargon-free, does occasionally threaten to overwhelm the non-expert with horse-related detail. Nonetheless, these drawbacks do not erase the usefulness of Derry's contribution, which not only explains where the working horse went and why, but also explains the cultural and ideological "work" that horses and the horse industry performed at the turn of the century to create a modern world that would no longer need them.

KAREN RABER
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BRIAN AMKRAUT. *Between Home and Homeland: Youth Aliyah from Nazi Germany*. (Judaic Studies Series.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 232. \$37.50.

Brian Amkraut tells the story of Youth Aliyah, a German Zionist-inspired Jewish organization that recruited teenagers for immigration to Palestine. From 1932 till the beginning of World War II, Youth Aliyah helped some five thousand young Jews to make this journey, supported, in the first few years of the Third Reich, by Nazi authorities. They landed in Palestinian settlement colonies, or kibbutzim, and helped build the social and economic foundations for the state of Israel. Amkraut draws much of his material from case studies, and it is unfortunate that he does not mention names. Does he have to protect citizens of present-day Israel because of a recurrence of world-wide antisemitism?

The author exemplifies in some details how the entire process of wooing and transporting these children was fraught with difficulties. 1932 was a year when the Weimar Republic was most visibly in decline, but Zionism was not popular among Germany's generally well-assimilated Jews and few anticipated the threat of expulsion from the country, let alone mass murder, at the hands of Adolf Hitler. Matters changed during 1933, of course, but many if not most Jews did not see the need to emigrate, especially to Palestine and under circumstances that meant separating, for a while at least, from their children. Funding was always a problem for Youth Aliyah, because German-Jewish institutions were not Zionist-inclined and, as time went by, became increasingly impoverished. Youths who volunteered were sequestered in special preparation camps, where they had to learn Hebrew but otherwise got bored, passing time reading and smoking. Yet because many teenagers caught on to the idea of Zionism and emigration much more easily than their parents (in families where fathers had often served in World War I and stressed their Germanness), a generation gap developed between these children and their elders. This gap was reduced after the enactment of the Nuremberg Race Laws in September 1935, the Anschluss of Austria in March 1938, and the events leading to the November pogrom of

1938, as parents increasingly acknowledged the necessity of emigration, even for themselves.

There were other anomalies. Although, in keeping with the tradition of Jewish welfare organizations, the functionaries of Youth Aliyah were mostly women, they recruited a majority of boys for Palestine. Ironically, laws of selection were applied here which resembled the rule of "survival of the fittest" practiced in the Third Reich, for boys were deemed more capable of contributing to the economy of the Palestinian kibbutzim. Another irony lay in the fact that to the extent that assimilated German Jews were not Zionist, children of *Ostjuden* living in Germany were, and if they were willing recruits for Youth Aliyah, they were not as welcome in Palestine, which had hardly an Orthodox kibbutz. In all, only 800 Orthodox children were transported by this organization to Palestine.

Although this is a welcome contribution to the literature on modern Jewish history and the Holocaust, the German side of this story is less well covered. There are factual mistakes, such as when Herbert Backe (not Bäck) is introduced as Nazi minister of agriculture for 1934 (he was not so until April 1944). The SS and Gestapo are hardly referred to, and I would like to have seen more on the interaction between these and other Nazi organizations and Youth Aliyah. As Amkraut mentions that one catalyst stepping up the youth exitus was the miserable treatment of Jewish children in the schools (as long as there was German-Jewish coeducation), he reminds the reader that it would have been salutary to reveal more of the relations between Jews and Germans on a daily basis, while Youth Aliyah was attempting to gain strength.

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DAVID M. K. SHEININ. *Argentina and the United States: An Alliance Contained*. (The United States and the Americas.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 285. \$22.95.

In his original and highly refreshing book, David M. K. Sheinin succinctly and convincingly demonstrates that, contrary to the conventional interpretation, discord between these two countries is really the exception to what has been a surprisingly stable and cooperative bilateral relationship for the past two centuries. Sheinin's thesis nonetheless acknowledges that there have been genuine episodes of disagreement and misunderstanding. For example, Argentine governments have often been critical of U.S. heavy-handedness and moral piety; American officials have complained that their Argentine counterparts were either incompetent or unsophisticated. Yet, Sheinin contends that, on key financial, military, and strategic issues of the day, the relationship largely reflected a "quiet cooperation" between Buenos Aires and Washington.

Sheinin also makes overwhelmingly clear that there was usually more than met the eye when it came to U.S.-Argentine relations, especially when most of the public

attention revolved around what political leaders might have been saying as opposed to what they were actually doing. For example, when in 1950 a U.S. ambassador questioned the fiery Argentine president Juan Domingo Perón about his anti-American tone, Perón's response reflected the nuance often present in the Argentine stance, "Damn it, can't people realize that certain things are said for local consumption?" (p. 105).

If only for its clarification on the true nature of the historical character of the bilateral relationship, Sheinin's book is a valuable contribution. Yet, Sheinin's treatment of the fascinating and usually overlooked aspect of American cultural influence in Argentina over the past two hundred years provides broader societal context to the more orthodox treatment of diplomatic, political, and economic relations. The reader learns, for example, that Perón's wife, Eva, while forever associated with Argentina's aspired glory and dispossessed workers, grew up dreaming of being a Hollywood star. Or that, while Argentine authorities occasionally banned American cultural imports such as jazz records, most of the time the Argentine public swallowed up just about everything they could from their neighbors to the north, including embracing American rock singer Bruce Springsteen when he came to perform in 1988.

The unexpected and often misunderstood nature of the U.S.-Argentine relationship began as early as Argentina's war of independence against Spain in the early 1820s. Sheinin writes that Argentine leaders held the American revolutionary experience in high regard. Contrary to the view that Washington was indifferent to Latin American independence, President James Monroe and his secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, sold arms to the rebels; U.S. merchants continued to supply Buenos Aires. Another oft misinterpreted reality is that for the almost one hundred years since Argentina's independence, its leaders actually embraced the infamous Monroe Doctrine as a means to keep Europeans from regaining control in the Western Hemisphere. It was only later, well into the twentieth century, that Argentina increasingly began to see the United States as the next "European" power in the region. According to one prominent Argentine political figure, "When the bankers were British, the Monroe Doctrine defended us. But who will defend us today from the grandchildren of Monroe?" (p. 58).

Sheinin's balanced and thoroughly researched narrative includes a plethora of fascinating episodes such as when in 1982 the Argentine military junta fatefully concluded that Washington would side with them against the British following their occupation of the Falkland Islands. Or when, just a few years later, the Reagan administration strongly condemned the coup attempt by renegade military officers against democratic president Raúl Ricardo Alfonsín. Sheinin also provides a lucid picture of how in the 1990s Argentine president Carlos Saúl Menem strongly aligned with Washington's foreign and economic policies.

Sheinin's book is an important lesson that relations between countries usually consist in some form of the

"good, bad, and ugly." And, to be sure, this has been the case with Argentina and the United States over the years. Perhaps the Argentine-U.S. case is a reminder that we must not let the more widely reported periods of the "bad" and "ugly" allow us to automatically conclude that there has been very little "good" in a particular diplomatic relationship.

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MARÍA CRISTINA GARCÍA. *Seeking Refuge: Central American Migration to Mexico, The United States, and Canada*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 273. \$19.95.

María Cristina García's book eloquently explains the various factors that shaped the experience of over two million Central American refugees in Mexico, the United States, and Canada from 1970 to the 1990s. Blaming the Cold War for driving people out of their countries, García explains how government officials and pro-immigrant advocates in religious institutions and nonprofit organizations shaped responses to the Central American refugee crisis. According to García, government officials in North America conveniently politicized their initial responses to strengthen their own foreign or domestic agendas but left few venues for legalizing the status of Central American immigrants. As a response, activists mobilized national and transnational networks to establish refugee assistance programs, inject public debates with moral consciousness, and advocate humane immigration policies.

García accurately concludes that Mexico's effort to present itself as a middle power in hemispheric affairs and a negotiator in the Central American peace process, and the country's pride in accommodating refugees, all shaped Mexican immigration policies. Its depiction as a regional leader, an autonomous broker, and a social democratic nation that welcomed exiles was central to postrevolutionary Mexico after the 1920s. In line with this process, García's conclusion that the establishment of the Mexican Committee for Refugee Assistance (COMAR) in the 1980s offered inadequate aid for Central American refugees makes sense. COMAR functioned as a government institution that showed Mexico's regional leadership and autonomy from the United States, two critical factors for strengthening the power of the state in Mexico since the 1920s. In practice, according to García, the Mexican Government failed to protect Central American refugees because it made them "pawns of foreign policy decisions" (p. 10). However, García makes a distinction between state policy and the response from Mexican citizens, praising those who mobilized, offered refugee assistance, and pressured government officials to keep Mexico a safe haven for refugees. Criticism from refugee advocates forced the Mexican government to re-examine its policy as the country's "credibility and moral authority in the Central American peace initiatives, as well as in migratory issues related to its northern boundary, became de-

pendent on its response to the migration across its southern border" (pp. 46–47).

Turning to the United States, García argues that U.S. policy makers failed Central American refugees until the 1990s, when years of pressure from immigrant advocates coalesced into a judicial and legislative process that offered venues to legalize their status. According to García, support for repressive right-wing military and paramilitary factions in Central America was responsible for U.S. failure to ameliorate the refugee crisis. The approval of refugee petitions declaring torture, repression, and persecution by factions that received U.S. aid directly challenged President Ronald Reagan's Cold War policy in the region. This contradiction reduced the approval of political asylum for Salvadorans to less than three percent. Refusing to acknowledge widespread political violence, the United States also rejected United Nations pleas to offer Extended Voluntary Departure status (EVD) to Central Americans, denying them access to a temporary protection program that had offered legal residency to other refugees since the 1960s. Blaming the United States for the refugee crisis and outraged at the country's policy, pro-immigrant groups in the 1980s mobilized over 430 religious institutions throughout the country. These activists, according to García, kept the Central American refugee crisis in news headlines and pressed for judicial and legislative venues to legalize their status. The latter came in the form of temporary residency permits and ended with the 1997 Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act. As a result of these programs, Central Americans had "more vehicles through which to negotiate their stay in the United States" (p. 112). Crediting social activism for these reforms, García acknowledges that the work of pro-immigrant advocates through organizations like the sanctuary movement, which protected and aided refugees in defiance of immigration laws, shaped public debates, and "ultimately facilitated the legal challenges that gave Central Americans certain protections in U.S. society" (p. 108).

Although García paints a more favorable picture of Canada's response to Central American refugees, she holds Canadian policy makers responsible for not appropriately responding to this crisis and for conveniently using refugee policy as the "means through which Canadians distinguished themselves politically from the United States" (p. 119). Despite substantial refugee assistance, the passage of the Multiculturalism Act that encouraged immigrants to retain their cultural and linguistic heritage, and pro-immigrant stands from organized labor, García shows how waves of immigrants into Canada have often sparked policies designed to limit migration. These policies, according to García, ultimately closed the doors to Central American refugees in 1987 and in 1992, as they successfully limited the number of immigrants seeking refuge in Canada.

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JOANNA BOURKE. *Fear: A Cultural History*. Emeryville, Calif.: Shoemaker and Hoard. 2005. Pp. xii, 500. \$27.00.

The author of any single-volume cultural history of fear must inevitably face some tough decisions about what to leave out, since a large part of the appeal of fear as subject for cultural historians is its ubiquity across the entire range of human experiences. Joanna Bourke has restricted her account to the English-speaking world and to the last two centuries. But she has also limited herself to studying only certain kinds of fears, which fall, broadly speaking, under two headings. First, she is interested in fears that have an essentially democratic quality, in that they affect all human beings regardless of their personal or social circumstances: these include the fear of death, of pain, and of disease, as well as nightmares, to which we are all vulnerable. Second, she is concerned with particular moments of heightened fear, whether in the form of what she calls "moral panics" or in response to natural or unforeseen disasters. The book as a whole is an attempt to connect these two kinds of fear: the fears we cannot avoid with the fears that we have more or less invented for ourselves.

Bourke does not provide an extended methodological justification for her approach, although she does offer a series of reflections on method as afterthoughts to her separate chapters. Here, she makes it clear that what links naturally constituted fears with constructed fears is their joint location in our emotions. The failure by historians to recognize that fear is primarily an emotional experience has resulted in its "disembodiment" in two distinct ways. Excessively constructivist accounts have ignored the physiology of fear, and Bourke castigates historians who identify fear with particular social groups drawn according to "the holy trinity of class, gender and ethnicity," because the physiology of fear creates groupings that are more diverse but also more transient (p. 355). Her main fire, however, is directed against historians who overrationalize fear and interpret it exclusively through the economic prism of risk assessment. "Historians have been more comfortable analysing 'utilities' or 'moral economies' than studying the ebb and flow of anger, hatred and fear. Individuals in terrifying situations are portrayed as economic subjects in trousers and skirts" (p. 289).

Bourke's own history focuses on examples of fears that are pervasive, have a strong physical component, and exist somewhere beyond the rationalizing discourse of risk. She then seeks to place these fears within the context of the social power structures that serve to articulate and reinforce them. The first example she chooses, the late Victorian terror of premature burial, illustrates many of these themes. But it also illustrates some of the limitations of this approach. Although Bourke convincingly conveys through letters and diaries just how terrifying the thought of being buried alive was for those who dwelled on it, she does not clearly distinguish this particular terror from the wider fear of death itself. Instead, she runs them together as evidence of the emotional construction of states of fear.

Yet fear of premature burial is a historically limited phenomenon in ways that the fear of death is not. Moreover, the most plausible explanation (as Bourke notes) for its rapid disappearance in the early years of the twentieth century suggests that it was amenable to rational treatment. It was the "professionalizing" of death certification that allayed peoples' fears.

Bourke's "emotionology" seems unbalanced in other respects too. She quotes Clifford Geertz in her introduction to explain the focus of her book: "Not only ideas, but emotions too, are cultural artefacts of man" (p. 7). But although Bourke's cultural history is full of emotions, it is perhaps too ready to neglect ideas (in this respect it stands in contrast to Corey Robin's *Fear: The History of a Political Idea* [2004], which despite being narrower in its focus is a more balanced book). There is very little intellectual history in Bourke's account; what there is tends to revolve around Sigmund Freud and psychoanalysis. This does not simply mean that Bourke misses all those attempts by thinkers of the last two hundred years to make sense of fear, but she also misses important cultural trends. For example, there is no mention of cognitive therapy, which has transformed the way many people think about the treatment of phobias by encouraging their victims to reason their way out of them. Bourke quotes, in the course of a chapter on "social hysteria," the most celebrated words spoken on the subject of fear during the twentieth century, Franklin D. Roosevelt's injunction that "nothing is so much to be feared as fear itself" (p. 184). But Bourke treats this as just more evidence of the manipulation of fear in panic-speak. She never stops to consider any of the range of circumstances, from the personal to the political, when what Roosevelt said might just be true.

The book also suffers from the looseness of its writing and its frames of reference. Sweeping statements abound; "Fear paralysed the nation" is Bourke's summary of the American public's response to the threat of nuclear annihilation during the late 1950s (p. 267), which is simply false, even as a metaphor. There are also repetitions, factual errors, and other confusions. Bourke quotes without comment from an unpublished Ph.D. thesis from 1920 the following assertion: that if "the period of man's residence on earth [is] considered as having covered one hundred thousand years, that of civilization would be represented by the last ten minutes" (p. 69). Whether the mistake is Bourke's or in the original, it is hard to see how it could have passed uncorrected, since it is so obviously absurd. Elsewhere in the book, a single author is variously referred to over the course of fifty pages as "the famous psychiatrist Irving J. Janus" (p. 231), "the leading war psychologist Irving L. Janis" (p. 270), and "the prolific war commentator Irving J. Janis" (p. 281). All three names appear in the index, followed by a question mark, which unfortunately seems a fair comment on the copyediting of this book.

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ASIA

LIMIN BAI. *Shaping the Ideal Child: Children and Their Primers in Late Imperial China*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 311. \$42.00.

Limin Bai's portrait of late imperial childhood, children, and their primers joins a growing English-language literature, including recent books by Ping-chen Hsiung (*A Tender Voyage: Children and Childhood in Late Imperial China* [2005]) and Anne Behnke Kinney (*Representations of Childhood and Youth in Early China* [2004]) on the history of Chinese childhood. Bai substantially adds to this literature with a perceptive analysis of elite efforts to cultivate the ideal child through literacy and moral instruction.

Since the publication of Philippe Ariès's landmark study, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (1965), historians have been careful to distinguish between the construction of childhood by adult belief and proclamation and the lived worlds of children. While focusing on the former, that is what Neo-Confucian educators believed they were doing in their textbooks for "adults in training," this book provides tantalizing clues to the physical surroundings, embodied rituals, and adult-child interactions that children experienced while learning to read, count, and come to understand their social roles in the Ming and Qing dynasties.

Bai's volume begins with a graceful foreword by Ruth Hayhoe, one of North America's leading interpreters of the rich humanity and diversity of China's educational heritage. Hayhoe introduces Bai's study through four core characteristics of Chinese educational thinking from the classical period to the present: the primacy in education of moral training; the belief in children's human potential to blossom, given properly supportive educational environments; the necessity of furthering children's maturation and understanding through learning "by heart"; and the centrality to learning, knowing, and being of relationality, the development of an individual in relationship to significant and familial others.

With these reflections as a starting point, readers will find much to admire in Bai's review of how late imperial educators enacted their belief "that educating the child was an investment in creating the ideal adult" (p. 205). Bai illustrates this central theme by examining the relationship of children's primers to theories and practices of "lesser learning" (*xiaoxue*, the contemporary Chinese word for primary school) from the pre-Han era through the nineteenth century. Along the way, Bai explains the very humble origins of texts that were much later popularized by Ming and Qing literati as the first steps to literacy: the *sanzi jing* (Trimetrical Classic), *baijia xing* (One Hundred Surnames), and *qianzi wen* (One Thousand Character Classic). In doing so, Bai systematically guides readers through diverse sets of educational materials (including medical texts and philosophical examinations of children and childhood) to show how they were intended to shape behavior by inscribing,

often with the help of moral exemplars, prescriptions for children's appropriate ritual performance in daily life. Recitations on good deeds and stories of morally precocious children laid "the foundation for practice in reverence" (p. 41) that secured filial piety, the indissoluble bond and reciprocal obligation to obey, nourish, and care between child and parent.

Through vivid examples Bai describes the significant influence on primers of China's long tradition of storytelling, including Taoist and Buddhist tales that contributed to as well as challenged Confucian notions of childrearing. Bai also persuasively demonstrates the "educational revolution" represented by the writings of one of the greatest philosophers of the late Ming, Wang Yangming (1472–1528), who challenged the formalistic education of his day by emphasizing the developmental nature of the human life course, the importance of play in children's learning, and most importantly, the instinctive moral sense of all human beings that when properly nurtured could lead to sagehood.

The most salient theme in Bai's study is that literacy training reflected a seemingly universal duality of all formal education: it can transform but more often than not conserves, consolidates, and passes on conventional morality and sentiments—in the case of late imperial China shaping a popular consciousness of childhood that turned even offspring of non-elite families into "Confucian messengers" (p. xvi). Ming and Qing educators were mightily concerned about the values and behaviors of other people's children and "tried to use the power of literacy . . . to train them to be 'willing partners' of the ruling class and law abiding subjects before anything else" (p. xvi).

Bai's book ends with an analysis of the views of childhood of late nineteenth-century reformers such as Liang Qichao (1873–1929), who was desperate to revitalize what he perceived to be China's anachronistic educational system that systematically "ruined children." Confronted with international aggression, upending innovation, and the prospect of cultural and national identity on the brink of destruction, Liang saw the future of children and educational reform inextricably linked to China's struggle for survival. By demanding recognition of this connection, he foreshadowed the May Fourth movement's violent confrontation with the Confucian heritage, the rise of Chinese nationalism, and the beginning of a discussion (and dichotomy) that continues to this day on how to create—for the sake of the healthy development of China's children and future—an effective synthesis of Chinese and Western educational values and practices.

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VIRGIL K. Y. HO. *Understanding Canton: Rethinking Popular Culture in the Republican Period*. (Studies on Contemporary China.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 510. \$125.00.

Virgil K. Y. Ho's book attempts, in his words, to present "a 'thicker' glimpse of perceptions of realities—and the realities themselves—that prevailed in the dynamic city of Canton during the 1920s and 1930s" (p. 2). Thus, in one fell swoop, he neatly addresses structural anthropology, the new cultural history, and postmodern cultural studies. In this, he joins other recent works on the cultural history of Chinese cities, particularly Hanchao Lu's *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century* (1999). But Ho sees himself in the tradition of the great historian of French cultural life, Theodore Zeitlin, in using "certain specific aspects of life and the popular attitudes towards them, as a way to tell the story of the city and the life of its people from a different point of view"—in fact, from a multiplicity of viewpoints that are "full of incongruities, ambiguities, and even contradictions" (p. 2). Yet the key to understanding this work is signaled in its very title: Ho proposes a "rethinking" that upends the standard historical view of Canton promoted by officials and intellectuals, while, at the same time, countering the postmodern insistence that there are no historical facts, just representations (p. 361). Of course, other agendas are at work as well, given the state of the field of Chinese studies. Issues of modernity, identity, and uses of the past in the present are never far from the surface in this fascinating but somewhat idiosyncratic ride through early twentieth century Cantonese history and historiography.

The book can be divided into three parts. Ho begins his argument that the standard view of Canton needs revision by focusing first on the city: the image of the Chinese city itself and then Canton as influenced by both Chinese tradition and the West. Challenging the accepted truism that a strong anti-urban, pro-rural bias characterizes Chinese history, he definitively complicates the picture. By carefully and creatively reading the popular press, short stories, travel books, comics, popular film, advertisements, mass media, and a host of other artifacts from the past (even a vernacular Cantonese textbook written for Chinese learners in Burma; see p. 63), Ho draws out the complex ways the city and countryside have been portrayed—sometimes as haven, sometimes as hell—by all manner of people, from the mandarin elite to common folk, from Chinese residents to foreign observers. Gradually, "the old ambivalent cultural relations between city and countryside were redefined as the result of a cumulative process that gave its first sign of full eruption during the 20s and 30s" (p. 42).

The second truism that Ho challenges is that Canton as the cradle of the [1911] revolution and hotbed of nationalism was necessarily anti-imperialist, anti-foreign, and particularly anti-Western. Delving into his rich store of evidence, he argues for a more complicated reality. While no doubt many chafed at imperialist strictures, changing images of urban living often equated being modern with being Western (often via Japan, as he rightfully argues in an important corrective), from the new visibly robust male body in advertisements (p.

62) to the “dining on Western cuisine” fad of the 1920s (p. 63) and the “inveterate habit” of inserting Western words into one’s speech (p. 75). Ho concludes that “popular attitudes toward the West were not necessarily always one-sided and belligerent . . . on balance during this period modern Cantonese culture showed a strong leaning towards the West” (p. 89).

In the middle section of the book, Ho selects three disparate aspects of Cantonese popular culture—opium smoking, gambling, and prostitution, justifying his choice because they “are more misrepresented . . . in contemporary perceptions and literature and . . . have been misunderstood by historians” (p. 8). Ho argues that rather than confirming the official rhetoric that identifies each one as a “problem,” a “calamity,” and one of the “bad customs,” his evidence demonstrates that the “socially disastrous consequences” . . . “might be far less than were depicted in the official publicity” (p. 182) and, even further, that each might have “its worthy social and even patriotic side” (p. 172). While not justifying these practices, Ho wishes to present “an alternative, though possibly no less realistic, view” (p. 226).

Ho first questions the official views regarding the extent of each “problem” (pp. 75, 187, 227) and then presents more complicated visions, drawing inventively on his wide array of sources. For each practice, he finds deep historical roots (opium use apparently can be traced to Tang Dynasty times; p. 104), positive uses (from helping the poor cope to offering usually harmless pastimes for those with money), and official condemnation alternating with toleration and even promotion since all three produced significant revenue. In each case, the users, producers, and promoters all have more complicated stories than the official word would have us believe (prostitutes were sometimes exploited by madams but could develop deep emotional bonds with them; rickshaw pullers used opium to help their endurance without much apparent negative effect; gambling brought communities together). Finally, all three “social problems” were seen as emblematic of China’s moral decline and detrimental to the Chinese “race,” but calls for control and suppression in order to ensure China’s survival as a strong, healthy nation were only weakly enforced. Today, all three are flourishing. Most of these arguments are not new; the contribution of Ho’s work is to make them freshly and persuasively for Canton.

Finally, Ho’s last chapter, “Cantonese Opera as a Mirror of Society,” propels the book in yet a third direction. If we truly want to understand what makes Canton distinctive, Ho believes it more instructive to look at Cantonese popular culture “in a less intellectually and politically biased way” (p. 346) and focus instead on Cantonese opera, the people’s (and I suspect Ho’s) favorite leisure-time activity. Different from the staid *kunqu* traditional opera or imported Western theater favored by officials and intellectuals, Cantonese opera is profane, unconventional, sensationalist, and beloved precisely because it is extravagant and colorful, with

over-the-top props and scenes, loud percussive music, and inventive style. An estimated 5,000 different scripts were being performed in the period from 1911–1936, many of them new. Ho argues that Cantonese opera was an entertainment “truly for the people” which became a “mass opera for a mass society” (p. 332), easily incorporating selective Western elements (instruments, scenery) to produce the blend that is popular Cantonese opera today, “a strange but wonderful hybrid of things new and traditional, Western and Cantonese, popular and elitist—a true epitome of Cantonese society” (p. 359).

In his introduction (p. 8), Ho explains that this volume is a truncated version of his original project, which included four more aspects of Cantonese life. Rather than apologize, he should continue to mine his wonderfully eclectic sources. I would urge him to leave aside the whipping boy of postmodernism, relegate all historiographic debates to the notes, and bring us the sequel to this book post haste. This is a very rich picture of the making of modern Canton, in all its complexity.

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KAVITA SIVARAMAKRISHNAN. *Old Potions, New Bottles: Recasting Indigenous Medicine in Colonial Punjab (1850–1945)*. (New Perspectives in South Asian History, number 12.) Hyderabad: Orient Longman. 2006. Pp. xiv, 280. Rs 795.00.

This book offers a crucial sharpening of historical perspective on the modernization of indigenous South Asian medicine. While there has been abundant study of the way that indigenous practitioners responded to the universalist claims of European medicine by developing professional identities and institutional entities compatible with a nationalist frame, too little attention has been given to the entanglement of this process in linguistic and communalist projects. Kavita Sivaramakrishnan’s erudite and careful study remedies the neglect. Focusing on the colonial Punjab, Sivaramakrishnan makes visible the relationships among the establishment of professional medical associations and colleges, the development of vernacular print media, and the realignments among Unani and Ayurvedic practitioners along lines of religion and language. She describes how colonial policies that reified Muslim and Hindu communities influenced budding prenationalist administrations to encourage the coalescence of indigenous medicine around religious identities. She shows how, in competing with European medicine by reframing their practice as not only medicine but cultural heritage, vaid and hakims embarked on a communalist enterprise. Not only is the particular story of indigenous medicine in colonial Punjab one that has not been previously told, but here it is told in a way that clearly reveals the connections between nationalism and print media, and between religion and modernity.

As a region where indigenous medical practice had not been organized along a Hindu and Muslim divide,

the Punjab is a productive location for this study. As Sivaramakrishnan points out, Unani was relatively prominent in the Punjab and was practiced by Hindus as well as by Muslims. The story of indigenous medicine in the Punjab, therefore, has the potential to highlight the open controversy and awkward jostling of identities attendant on the rearrangement of indigenous medicine along religious and linguistic lines. The Hindu dominance of proto-nationalist organizations for Ayurveda in other areas of the subcontinent faced a more complicated set of negotiations in the Punjab. Sivaramakrishnan scrupulously details the particular strategies of key organizations, individuals, and publications, noting for instance the care with which Muslim editors of indigenous medical journals reassured Hindu vaidya readers who clamored for more coverage of Ayurvedic subjects; the social and governmental pressures that led Hindu hakims to join Ayurvedic associations, and Hindu and Sikh practitioners to exit Unani associations; and the wariness of Punjabi-speaking vaidyas to embrace Hindi as a cultural symbol for the distinctiveness of Ayurveda. She documents the collaborative efforts of Hindu and Muslim practitioners to build a united Punjabi front in the face of the polarizing effects of newly standardized patterns of medical education and registration. Ultimately she shows how indigenous practitioners were led to deploy a concept of Sikh identity, to the extent that vaidyas, while accepting the idea of a Hindu nation, also elaborated a uniquely Punjabi Ayurveda rooted in the Sant religious tradition.

The one disappointment of the book, for this reader, lies in its lack of engagement with the consequences of this story for bodily practice. Issues such as the standardization of drugs, the development of vernacular texts, and debates over religious content are addressed in terms of their political implications for class and community, but not in terms of their implications for physical regimes of bodily care. On the one hand, it might be argued that forms of embodiment are not the focus of this work. On the other hand, given that healing and bodies are compelling metaphors in nationalist and communalist discourse, the absence of interest in a changing governance of bodies seems a missed opportunity. Was medicine simply one more arena of the public sphere in which linguistic claims and communalist sympathies were elaborated? Readers are left to wonder how the struggle over communalist agendas permeated the physical exercise of indigenous medicine. The image of "old potions" in "new bottles" seems to cede to a formulation of which the author herself, in the case of language, offers a cogent critique. Sivaramakrishnan writes with astuteness of the modern preference for a transparent language that is separable from the knowledge it represents, describing the emergent demand for a pure translatability of medical texts as against the literary density and metrical commitments of a Sanskrit poetics. Given her alertness to the historical contingency of the transparency of language, one might have expected her to be similarly reflective about a formulation whereby old medical knowledge

can be poured into new nationalist and communalist forms, as if without changing the knowledge itself. Yet the reader's curiosity is left unsatisfied as to how new linguistic and communalist commitments left their impressions on Punjabi medicinal recipes, diagnoses, and bodily regimes. That said, this book makes an important contribution to the history of indigenous South Asian medicine.

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MATTHEW ISAAC COHEN. *The Komedi Stamboel: Popular Theater in Colonial Indonesia, 1891–1903*. (Ohio University Research in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series, number 112.) Athens: Ohio University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 473. \$30.00.

Although I am, like many anthropologists, generally wary of universalizing statements, there is one generalization I can support pretty much without reservation: theater people are something else. Mercurial fortunes, with wild popularity turning to ignominious obscurity and riches to penury at astonishing speed (and then maybe the reverse), great romances and terrible crimes, the latter often stemming from the former, all of the stuff of high drama, or melodrama, play on the stage and play in real life. As far as I can tell, it's all true. Matthew Isaac Cohen's engaging chronicle of one Indies theater star/entrepreneur/director/writer's professional career does nothing to undermine my conviction that this is one stereotype that will outlast all scholarly quibbles. Thank goodness! It makes it so much fun to read about the things theater people get up to.

Let me hasten to note that Cohen expresses himself far more circumspectly than I just have. Indeed, his book bespeaks scrupulous care: the author has combed exhaustively through newspaper accounts in a number of languages, in a number of places, to trace out the exact movements of the Eurasian theater personality Auguste Mahieu over the course of twelve years, from the time his considerable talents as a performer made him the star of a new troupe he cofounded until the time of his death, in January 1903. Cohen has also looked into all the passing judgments and arguments that surrounded Mahieu's troupe and others wherever they appeared: about the quality of a troupe's performers, the relative worth of one genre vs. another, the evaluation of performances of any sort as a justifiable activity—in sum, all the sorts of debates that people enter into when assessing performing arts and the people who put them on. This makes Cohen's book picaresque in somewhat the same fashion as the troupes he follows.

But Cohen justifies his endeavor more ambitiously. He sees in *komedi stamboel* not just a hybrid genre but also a "subaltern cultural movement," one that promoted an alternative "Indisch nationalism" (p. 24) by mixing together not only stories and performance practices from everywhere but also, and more importantly, actors, producers, and spectators of diverse ethnic and

class origins. Cohen no doubt means to contrast this embracing multiethnic nationalism with the more sectarian, and volatile, allegiances that have caused considerable violence in Indonesia in the century since Mahieu's death, and his empathy for the failed dream of a multicultural nationalism is not out of place. Yet much of what he can adduce for evidence for this version of nationalist aspirations suggests more the Eurasian struggle to win respect from Europeans than a more idealistic effort to win the latter's respect for all the people of the Indies. At times, Cohen appears caught up in a contemporary celebration of the hybrid that is more attractive, but not a lot more considered, than earlier, dismissive attitudes toward it.

The virtues of Cohen's book are at the same time its faults: no detail about Mahieu's various troupes' tours, the plays they performed, the reviews they generated, the artists' peccadilloes, or the financial upsets they underwent escapes mention. At a great many points, a reader comes upon a fascinating and suggestive passage about a general topic that some detail in this history causes Cohen to pause to consider, only then to be brought rather suddenly down to earth with yet another discussion of more mundane facts about performance dates or repertoire or finances. As a result, the book is at once illuminating and impressive—we are in the presence of a scholar who can think large thoughts on the basis of many small facts that he has gathered from a great array of sources—and somewhat daunting. It sometimes feels like there is a struggle on for Cohen's soul, between the obsessive collector and recorder of information on the one hand and the more expansive and engaging analyst on the other. Nevertheless, his book is a signal contribution to our understanding of expressive traditions in a part of the world, Southeast Asia, where such traditions have long enjoyed immense popularity, and where nationalist projects—which those traditions have addressed—have long posed and continue to pose urgent challenges.

WARD KEELER
University of Texas

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

WARWICK ANDERSON. *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health, and Racial Destiny in Australia*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 390. \$23.95.

Warwick Anderson is a medical doctor and historian of science. This broad-ranging study builds on a considerable body of local research to produce the first comprehensive history of Australian medical and scientific ideas about race from the early nineteenth century to the 1940s. It is a work of major significance.

Anderson has written both an authoritative and prescient synthesis and a work of original research, utilizing the letters, journals, publications, and other surviving documentation of local medical practitioners and scientists. It is a work distinguished by command of its field and clarity of exposition. Parts of the study ap-

peared in article form in the late 1990s, and the book was first published in Australia in 2002. In 2004 it was co-winner of the Australian Historical Association's W. K. Hancock Prize, awarded biennially for an outstanding first book. The version under review is the Duke University imprint, issued in 2006.

The book is in three sections, dealing with the "Temperate South," the "Northern Tropics," and "Aboriginal Australia." The analysis deals with changing paradigms of medical and scientific knowledge, ranging from ideas of rapid biological and genetic adaptation, the germ theory of contagion, and ideas of racial fixity, evolution, and eugenics. Anderson documents the development of the concept of colored races as incubators and transmitters of disease, the thinking that opposed typologies of "white against colored, purity against danger, health against disease" and informed the quarantine mentality of the "White Australia" policy enacted in the first decade of the twentieth century.

In the tropical north, the capacity of white Australians to undertake physical labor, and of white women to raise healthy offspring, was "on endless trial." In the interwar years scientific research began to support an understanding of the resilience of white capacity in harsh climatic conditions: "white bodies had come to seem more robust, or more readily stabilized or salvaged . . . but even so, race remained a potent, if still indefinite, category of analysis."

Anderson argues that "racial thought grew vigorously in Australia, but it was perhaps a more variegated crop than elsewhere." Some of the idiosyncratic ideas related to the advocacy by a minority of scientists of a policy of biological absorption of Aboriginal people, depicted as archaic Caucasians who over several generations could be absorbed into the white gene pool without danger of reversion. During 1938–1939, Joseph Benjamin Birdsell, later professor of biological anthropology at the University of California–Los Angeles, and Norman D. Tindale, of the South Australian Museum, undertook a major study, sponsored by Harvard and Adelaide universities, of the mixed Aboriginal-European populations of eastern Australia. While his own findings and the development of scientific thought led Birdsell in the 1950s to shift his focus from racial typologies to population dynamics, in Australia the movement to disassociate race and culture was not to have its major impact for at least another decade.

While this book serves to demarcate the field for generalist students of Australian race relations and for further research by specialists, it is not without its weaknesses. The concept of "whiteness" is insufficiently problematized, particularly in the context of the diverse attempts by nineteenth-century medical practitioners to understand the impact on people of British stock of climate and conditions of Australian life. There is an uneven examination of Western racial thought, which at times leaves the timing and character of Australian developments inadequately contextualized.

Most significantly, there is inadequate consideration of the relationship between political and scientific dis-

courses in Australia, inadequate consideration of the nature of conservative and liberal understandings of race. Medical and scientific research and paradigms had impact on politics, but only as one of the means of reinforcing a discourse shaped primarily by the economics of colonial expansion. This limited, arguably marginal role of scientific knowledge is indicated by the early history of the Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine, established in the northern city of Townsville in 1910, moved after a 1925 inquiry to the University of Sydney, and renamed the School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. While research into life in a sub-tropical environment was depicted as of major importance for the future development of the north, the federal and Queensland governments combined provided funding for the establishment of the Institute of no more than £800, while a local businessman donated £1000. Anderson notes that "white Australia was framed as a vast experiment, the results of which only medical scientists could interpret": while this may be true at the rhetorical level, the pace and nature of colonial development were dictated by the realities of political economy, not science.

ANDREW MARKUS
Monash University

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

TINA LOO. *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 280. \$29.95.

This book suggests that states of nature are cultural manifestations of the interplay of people's impact on the environment and their conceptualization of nature. Tina Loo makes three arguments by examining Canadian wildlife management from the turn of the twentieth century to 1970. First, wildlife management evolved from decentralized, local, and customary practices to a bureaucratized and scientifically professionalized regime centralized in federal government hands. Second, rural people nonetheless remained important, if subordinate, contributors to this regime. Third, wildlife management regimes shaped Canadians' values about their relationship with the environment.

From the turn of the century to 1945, according to Loo, Canadian federal and provincial officials responded to industrial expansion by introducing American Progressive-influenced scientific management to wildlife regulations, developing national parks, and regulating northern territories. Day-to-day conservation relied on amateur observation and enforcement by wardens and the staff of local fish and game associations. New policies focused on limiting aboriginal and rural working people's rights to hunt animals for food and trade. Although some ignored regulations, poached, threatened enforcement officials, or protested, many aboriginal and rural people commodified their local ecological knowledge as guides and camp operators for bourgeois sport hunters and tourists. Bourgeois Cana-

dians' new sense of nature embraced hunting and fishing in the wild as an antimodernist, masculine restorative in the face of an emasculating and enervating urban life. Some antimodernists rejected outright the impact of capitalism on the environment, and read avidly the wilderness requiems of the Englishman Archibald Belaney, the ersatz aboriginal Grey Owl. Rural people turned to the work of Jack Miner, who between 1910 and 1940 studied the migration of geese, established sanctuaries on his property, wrote and lectured on the subject, and provided information to government officials. Loo argues that Miner's popularity partially arose from his rejection of the Progressive faith in the conservation "expert." Instead, Miner accepted rural people's right to hunt and modify the environment within the responsible boundaries of a Christian sense of dominion over nature.

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) drew on the ecological knowledge and communal property rights of aboriginal trappers to manage its trapping territories. The HBC wanted to control the populations of fur-bearing animals to protect its profits in fur markets. The company's success encouraged greater federal interest after 1945 in rationalizing northern wildlife for the market. Northern caribou population management in the north and the protection of bison in Wood Buffalo National Park reflected the professionalization of a wildlife conservation bureaucracy. Federal scientists and bureaucrats managed animals as meat and treated some protected areas as breeding, storage, and slaughtering systems. Their policies marginalized aboriginal hunters and non-human predators alike as pests. By the 1960s, popular aversion to management practices such as bounties on wolves found expression in the writings of Farley Mowat and the films of Bill Mason. They argued that the natural world had a right to exist independent of human values. Later in the 1960s, a more utilitarian scientific management appeared in the efforts of Ducks Unlimited Canada, which conserved wetlands for North America's bourgeois sport duck hunters. Preserving wilderness against industrial development by courting wealthy, if removed, interests became the speciality of camp operator Tommy Walker, who fought off development in northern British Columbia in the 1960s. Similarly, Andy Russell's films and writings encouraged people to think about the more sustainable use of "grizzly country" in Alberta. Although less romantic and antimodernist, Russell, like Walker, accepted an ill-defined sustainable human use of wilderness.

Loo's national perspective on federal wildlife management practices limits her ability to provide a nuanced understanding of the contesting values of social groups as they defined states of nature. Her book is unclear in its definition of a rural working class, especially as Loo appears to view aboriginal people as a separate social class. As well, almost all of the wilderness values Loo discusses were those of urban capitalists and the growing conglomeration of professional and petit bourgeois interests that some term "middle class," but she

does not address the states of nature conceived of by Canada's industrial and urban working class. Even the conservationists who might claim working-class backgrounds developed their ideas as cultural commodities to be consumed primarily by the bourgeoisie. A social perspective would reveal more about the environmental sensibilities of Canada's growing urban working class as well as those who depended on natural resource-sector employment. A superb intellectual and political study, Loo's book prepares the ground for future work by demonstrating that the interaction of wildlife management policies and contesting social values shaped twentieth-century Canadian views of the states of nature.

SEAN T. CADIGAN

Memorial University of Newfoundland

ALVYN AUSTIN and JAMIE S. SCOTT, editors. *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 326. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$29.95.

In recent years, Canadian religious historians have engaged in a wide-ranging historiographical reassessment of Christian missions. Influenced by new, international, theoretical insights provided by historians of gender, race, and postcolonial identities, a number of Canadian scholars have shifted their attention from the conventional oscillation of praising or denouncing missionaries to focus on the ambiguous and complex nature on the cross-cultural exchange and interaction between Euro-Canadian versions of Christianity and the multifarious ways in which these were understood, appropriated, and re-expressed by aboriginal peoples within Canada and communities of Christian converts in China, Japan, and India, the major sites of overseas Canadian missionary endeavor by both Protestant and Catholic churches. This collection of essays, edited by Alwyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott, ranges widely from analyses of missionary ideologies and the ways in which missionary identities were constructed, to the strategies employed by aboriginal Canadian and Chinese Christian converts to articulate a "Christian" identity within dominant Euro-Canadian definitions of Christian religion, to the deeply ambiguous relationship that existed between Canadian missionaries and early twentieth-century imperial powers, and to the role of missionaries in collecting cultural artifacts from overseas societies and organizing and presenting these collections in museums to Canadian audiences. Indeed, it is the contention of the editors that "missions have had a far larger impact on Canadian identity than they did in, say, the United States" (p. 4).

This volume is the product of a conference funded by the Currents in World Christianity Project, organized under the aegis of the Pew Charitable Trusts, a project that, in the words of the editors, "may prove to be as pivotal in (re)writing the history of missions as the great

missionary conferences of a century ago were in shaping the modern missions enterprise" (p. vii). And it is precisely in this propagandistic claim, and in their inability effectively to anchor Canadian missionary historiography within new international theoretical and historiographical currents, that the editors fall short in their aspiration to recapture the spirit and success of their late nineteenth-century exemplars. A standard critique of collections of essays is that the individual essays are of variable quality. While this is certainly true here, the greatest deficiency of the volume lies in the inability of the editors to "represent" the collection. The introduction, penned by Austin and Scott, shows no effective engagement with the extremely dynamic new historiography of missions; the citations betray no familiarity with seminal works in the field by Susan Thorne, Catherine Hall, Elizabeth Elbourne, or Jeffrey Cox, to name only a few of the historians who have sought to actively engage with theories of race, gender, and postcolonialism through the lens of the missionary enterprise and encounter. As well, despite the presence of a very stimulating essay by France Lord on the efforts of Quebec Jesuits to collect and market Chinese artifacts, there is no discussion or referencing of the substantial work on the Quebec Catholic missionary enterprise that has developed over the past decade.

A more puzzling lacuna, and more detrimental to the usefulness of this collection for international scholars seeking to understand something about the nature of the Canadian missionary enterprise, is the complete failure to chart the historiographical evolution of the extremely dynamic terrain of the encounter between Christian missions and Canadian aboriginal peoples, an extremely vital subdiscipline within Canadian history during the past three decades. Such gaps do considerable injustice to the work of Susan Neylan, one of the foremost scholars in Canada presently at work on the nature of the colonial religious encounter and interchange between aboriginals and Europeans. The significance of Neylan's superb article on the Tsimshian missionary, Arthur Wellington Clah, is lost because the editors have failed to integrate it into a wider historiographical and theoretical framework. A number of the essays do make effective statements, despite being literally buried by the editors. In addition to the articles by Lord and Neylan, Margo Gewurtz presents a perceptive deconstruction of missionary conversion stories of Chinese Christians; and Linfu Dong's very sensitive reading of the career and aspirations of the archaeologist-missionary James Mellon Menzies is most suggestive of twentieth-century missionary motives. Despite these tantalizing nuggets, international scholars who seek a volume that addresses the broader contexts of Canada's complicity in the history of religious colonialism, or its place within the new historiography of the missionary encounter, will be sorely disappointed.

MICHAEL GAUVREAU
McMaster University

MARTHA HARROUN FOSTER. *We Know Who We Are: Métis Identity in a Montana Community*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 306. \$29.95.

No people more confounded nineteenth-century Anglo-American efforts to imagine their westward expansion as a triumphant march across an untamed wilderness than the Métis, those populations of multiple origins and mixed racial ancestry. Their presence uncomfortably reminded Americans of the prior French and British occupations of the supposedly untrammelled wilderness. With their commitment to elements of their European cultural heritage, in particular the market economy of the fur trade, and their devotion to Christianity (albeit Catholicism), the Métis could clearly claim connection with the earlier empires and, in their physical embodiment of racial intermingling, suggest an alternative to the emerging Anglo-American myth of a frontier line that divided the civilized from the savage. Across the Midwest and Western Plains, the Métis were an unsettling reminder to incoming Anglo-Americans that historical realities were far more complicated than they wanted to admit. The Anglo-American response to this vexing historical reality was also repeated in each new territory to which they laid claim. Time and again they sought to erase the Métis as a distinct group, denying them an independent political or even ethnic existence. Whereas Canadians, in the words of Jennifer S. H. Brown and Jacqueline Peterson in *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (1985), gradually came to view the Métis as self-identifying "new peoples," Anglo-Americans did not. In contrast, they constructed the Métis either as mixed-blooded Indians or old French settlers: that is, as either "Indian" or "white."

How Métis communities in what would become the United States experienced this process, resisted or accommodated it, or bent it to their ongoing community needs has not been the subject of sustained scholarly attention. Martha Harroun Foster engages in such an examination, focusing on the Métis community at Spring Creek in central Montana. The Métis of Montana suffered a particularly harsh and often ironic reconfiguration into "Indians." Although they had lived in Montana since the 1860s, in the wake of the 1885 Riel Rebellion in Saskatchewan they were defined as Canadian Indians, and Anglo-Americans forcibly deported them to their supposed Canadian homeland on more than one occasion. In the 1890s, they were reconfigured again as Montana's "Landless Indians," who then struggled for decades either for a reservation home of their own or rights to settle among their Ojibwe kinfolk on an already existing reservation. In the process, the Métis publicly emphasized their Native heritage since it was only by declaring themselves to be "Indians" that they were eligible for what minimal social protection and economic assistance the Federal government offered Native peoples. While the Métis thus appeared complicit in their own racial transformation, Foster concludes by documenting the enduring nature of a Mé-

tis identity that has given rise, in recent years, to a public reassertion of ethnic distinctiveness.

Foster also reconstructs the social history of the Spring Creek community that took initial shape in the 1860s and 1870s. In some ways, that history conformed to larger Métis social patterns: people married both endogamously and exogamously, for instance. At the same time, Foster uncovers new features to Métis life. She finds Métis families far less patriarchal than conventional portrayals have suggested. Using painstakingly assembled genealogical information, she reconstructs family connections and marriage patterns, noting that maternal kin networks were crucial in building and maintaining the community. Such kinship flexibility was the Métis' greatest strength, Foster argues, giving them extensive kin networks to draw upon for endeavors as diverse as a workforce on a communal buffalo hunt or help in the increasingly frequent hard times.

Another exceptionally valuable discussion involves class distinctions within the Métis community itself. Foster reveals that some Spring Creek families filed for homesteads in the 1880s, a strategy that provided them with a measure of stability in the changing economic and social worlds of the late nineteenth-century Plains. Others continued the older economic strategy of following the buffalo herds and remained landless. These differences affected the ways Anglo-Americans viewed families and individuals. Métis families with homesteads were more prosperous, tended to emphasize a Francophile as opposed to a Native-oriented heritage, and, in the minds of Anglo-Americans, were often considered French or French-Canadian rather than Native. Hunting families, in contrast, were poorer, and more likely to be viewed by Anglo-Americans as troublesome, criminal, and ascribed a racial identity as "Indian." While all Métis faced discrimination and prejudice in Montana, class mattered, with the modestly prosperous landowning families better able to sustain themselves while the landless buffalo hunters slid into abject poverty.

Foster's deeply researched study is extremely valuable for its portrait of a local and previously little known Métis population while, at the same time, informing larger understandings of U.S. Métis communities.

REBECCA KUGEL
University of California,
Riverside

ROBERT A. FERGUSON. *The Trial in American Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007 Pp. xiii, 400. \$29.00.

Public criminal trials have been a feature of the American legal and cultural landscape since the founding of the republic. They can shape our social perceptions and influence our politics. More so than elsewhere, in the United States, highly publicized trials inspire popular novels, plays, and movies. The media has always focused on the criminal trials of celebrity defendants, who either are already famous or become so because of their

alleged crimes. The public, adversarial nature of the Anglo-American legal system invites controversy and creates drama. In his new book, Robert A. Ferguson expertly analyzes the cultural impact of American criminal trials.

Ferguson offers four framing essays, two at the beginning and two at the end, bracketing case studies of five famous American trials from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All nine chapters could stand alone, but they also work well together. The first chapter discusses the public nature of American trials and how litigators inevitably engage in the type of storytelling that creates persuasive narratives for the jury and the public alike. The second chapter presents the stage-like qualities of the courtroom and the actor-like roles of the various participants. Following highly critical case studies of the sensational trials of Aaron Burr, John Brown, Mary Surratt, the Haymarket defendants, and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Ferguson concludes with chapters critiquing the role of television in modern criminal trials and proposing C-SPAN-style coverage of such events. "Law is the democratic republic in this moment," Ferguson concludes. "An informed citizenry should not be denied the full effect of its voices whether in prior conflict or the moment of decision" (p. 336).

This conclusion is somewhat surprising given how critical Ferguson is of the trials that he chooses for his case studies. He sees Surratt, the Haymarket defendants, and the Rosenbergs as hapless victims of politicized courts dispensing vigilante justice for public consumption. Brown was a ruthless killer in Ferguson's account, but a crafty one who skillfully transformed his trial and execution into a stage for martyrdom that shifted public opinion decisively against slavery. Burr may or may not have been a traitor, but the prosecution's case against him, while failing to obtain a conviction, succeeding in creating a nationalizing narrative with Burr as its arch villain. Ferguson sees little good and much bad coming from these trials as the nation forsook justice and liberty for vengeance and fear. He suggests that, given recent developments during the war on terror, Americans have not learned much from these past episodes of injustice.

In every chapter, Ferguson weaves trial narratives with literature and news accounts spawned by the trials. He shows how reporters and writers have shaped the public understanding and memory of sensational trials, often long after the trials themselves ended and the defendants were hung. "These changes are mostly subtle," Ferguson notes at one point, "but as the trial of John Brown indicates, they can lead to wholesale shifts in communal thought for good or ill" (p. 152).

This book is most impressive for its historical and interdisciplinary sweep. Taking into account his introductory and concluding chapters, Ferguson touches on all periods of American history and draws heavily on the analytical techniques of law and literature. For example, he devotes as much space to examining three novels about the Haymarket trial as he does to the trial itself. These novels, Ferguson points out, present a powerful

narrative of justice betrayed at the trial, while the trial itself communicated only the prosecution's narrative of foreign-born anarchists inciting domestic terror. In the 1880s, the Haymarket defendants became the scapegoats for America's nativist fears while two decades later, their executions were widely seen as unjust media-fed lynchings. Ferguson does much the same with the Rosenbergs' trial, where he counterposes the prosecution's narrative coming out of the trial against the later narrative presented in E. L. Doctorow's novel, *The Book of Daniel* (1971), and other literary accounts of the trial. In the former narrative, the Rosenbergs were consummate traitors who placed America at risk. In the later narrative, they exemplified the innocent victims of McCarthyism. In both instances, the media helped to shape and communicate the narrative to an eager, listening public. Perhaps that is why Ferguson places so much hope in unedited C-SPAN-style coverage of trials. Without the media filter, he hopes that the public will reach a just conclusion. Throughout, Ferguson expresses his faith in the truth-finding capacity of the American legal system despite recounting its failings in individual cases.

Ferguson trips on various historical facts, such as when he misidentifies Theodore Roosevelt as William McKinley's 1896 running mate and the sponsor of the Scopes anti-evolution law as a state senator rather than a state representative. Relying on five distinct case studies inevitably produces a choppy narrative. Nevertheless, he succeeds in providing broad context to a timely topic. Drawing an express analogy from the Haymarket trials to current terrorism trials, Ferguson notes, "Blunders of the law in one local courthouse led to a national deterioration in intellectual exchange, a debasement in general political discourse, and a collapse in fundamental levels of public civility everywhere" (p. 230). He means this as a lesson for today.

EDWARD J. LARSON
Pepperdine University

ODAI JOHNSON. *Absence and Memory in Colonial American Theatre: Fiorelli's Plaster*. (Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. x, 322. \$69.95.

The intriguing subtitle of Odoi Johnson's book refers to the plaster casts that a nineteenth-century archaeologist, Giuseppe Fiorelli, made of the Pompeian victims of Mount Vesuvius's eruption in 79 A.D. Johnson uses this image to explain his methodology. Much of early American theater is no longer present: theaters were pulled down long ago, playbills were discarded, contracts were never written down, and performances, by their very nature, were ephemeral. Johnson's challenge, then, is to reconstruct American theater and theatrical experiences through the historical equivalent of Fiorelli's plaster casts.

Johnson's second task is to argue against the accepted historical narrative on early American theater. He sees most of the writings about colonial theater as

oppositional, pitting "Puritans against players" (p. 5). Johnson claims that theater historians' overreliance on legal documents concerned with banning theater has led to the assumption that colonial Americans were generally opposed to theater. Not so, as Johnson explains. Marshalling a diverse array of evidence—some overlooked by past scholars—Johnson presents a good case for throwing out the oppositional paradigm and replacing it with a more complex and theater-friendly one. Johnson demonstrates how, when, and the degree to which colonial Americans enjoyed, welcomed, and encouraged theater.

Johnson does not deny that colonists, especially in Puritan New England and Quaker Pennsylvania, had firm objections to theatrical performances. Yet this opposition recedes into the background of Johnson's text. What Johnson brings to our attention (or in theater parlance, downstage) are the "oblique scraps of material and documentary records through which the ghostings of performance's immaterial self can still be seen" (p. 153). Lacking the richest sources such as playbills and plays themselves, the physical theaters, critics reviews, and actors' letters or diaries, Johnson undertakes a creative evocation of performances long past. He intends to "reassert its absent presence back into the cultural landscape of colonial America, and back into the narrative of the history of performance in the period" (p. 15). His approach is through a series of case studies: a recently uncovered site of a colonial playhouse in Williamsburg, maps of playhouses, printers' receipts of lost playbills, Thomas Jefferson's account book, and the burned library of a nineteenth-century theater historian.

Johnson asks "What did the playhouse represent that it was worth so much when they had so little?" (p. 77). The answer is plenty. He situates colonial theater within the context of the British cosmopolitan perspective, the performance of gentility, and the eighteenth-century consumer revolution. Jefferson serves as a demonstration of all three contexts. The youthful Jefferson sought entertainment at the theater in Williamsburg. But Jefferson's social and professional aspirations, Johnson argues, were equally important motivations to attend performances and simultaneously exhibit his own cultural performance.

Johnson argues that colonial communities embraced theater and performers. As evidence, he cites examples of at least one manager and one actor who became Freemasons, a society that required a unanimous vote for entry. Membership meant immediate connections to the people who could lend their buildings for performances, print playbills, and encourage subscribers. Even in Massachusetts, where theater was officially banned, clandestine performances and amateur theatricals went on anyway. Johnson argues that banned or not, theater was part of colonial culture.

The strength of Johnson's book is its diligent and creative reconstruction of a colonial society infused with theater. Where his book lacks force is in his attention to the absences referred to in the title. Johnson laments

theatrical collections that no longer exist, like Colonel T. Allston Brown's memorabilia that went up in flames (appropriately, in a theater fire) in 1872. Johnson comments on how infrequently Americans took notice of theaters, plays, or actors in letters and diaries. He cites Elizabeth Drinker as one notable example, quoting from her diary during the first six months of 1768. But her silence on the subject is not surprising since Drinker's husband (as Johnson points out) was one of the Quaker elites who signed petitions and letters to the governor against the theaters. Johnson also remarks on travelers who could have seen a performance at some time in their journeys but left no mention of it. Nor was theater available to all Americans: the poor could not afford to attend, free blacks were not welcome, and slaves were there merely to save seats for their masters. Native Americans were present on rare occasions related to diplomatic missions or as spectacle. These absences serve as a useful reminder that colonial culture had specific racial, class, and religious dimensions, yet the point seems obvious. Johnson says he offers "a reading of absent and (im)material evidence" (p. 15), but his book is at its best when he displays for readers the remarkable body of evidence that is present in the colonial record.

SUSAN BRANSON
Syracuse University

JAMES DELBOURGO. *A Most Amazing Scene of Wonders: Electricity and Enlightenment in Early America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. 367. \$29.95.

In this well-researched and engaging study of science in early America, James Delbourgo distinguishes between American and European enlightenment by focusing on investigations into the mysterious phenomenon of electricity. In eighteenth-century Europe, those investigations took as their goal the discovery of explanatory theories of nature. Reflecting established political and social hierarchies, scientific experimenters often were supported by institutions, such as the Royal Society; intellectual authority, therefore, was centralized. America, by contrast, championing social and political equality, welcomed evidence gleaned from individual experience, however modest or idiosyncratic. Scientific inquiry often was carried out by eccentric naturalists, whose goal was practical rather than theoretical knowledge.

Eighteenth-century America was characterized by daring and invention, political and scientific revolution, and also by superstition, nonrational fervor for wonders and miracles, and social and philosophical disorder. Fertile, crazy, contradictory: these adjectives certainly come to mind when thinking about the period, and Delbourgo helps us to understand just how they applied to scientific inquiry. His history of electricity features Benjamin Franklin, to be sure, but Delbourgo is interested in early American science beyond Franklin's laboratory.

ry: in theaters, in churches, and in the makeshift offices of itinerant physicians.

Canonized as a heroic figure of both patriotism and scientific genius, Franklin affords a view of science among early America's elite. Even among these men, however, self-evidence was crucial to making scientific claims. A popular painting of Franklin, for example, shows him heroically poised to conduct "electric fire" from a kite through his body. Like other contemporary naturalists, Franklin used his own body to demonstrate not only the force of electricity, but also the validity of obtaining knowledge through the senses. Unlike some European contemporaries who delved into nature through laboratory experiments, Franklin, Delbourgo says, "transformed nature itself into a giant laboratory, whose forces could be manipulated through experimental gestures" (p. 56). Franklin's success in grounding lightning through a protective conductor proved that electrical experiments could have practical applications; more important, Franklin proved that humans could master, and divert, nature's potential to destroy.

Electrical demonstrations in people's parlors also served to suggest that nature could be tamed. Various machines that generated static electricity made it possible for ordinary men and women to feel electrical shocks without being harmed by them. The conflation of such sensations and sexual attraction gave rise to "games" like the electrical Venus who imparted a particularly sensational kiss. While Delbourgo admits that historians of science traditionally have claimed that during the Enlightenment such theatrics were rejected as "legitimate modes of engaging with nature," he argues that in eighteenth-century America, "wonder and play were central to electricity's appeal as an enlightened public science" (p. 119).

Certainly among the less educated populace, scientific beliefs were based largely on personal experience. Delbourgo explores self-evidence by asking how ideas about electricity developed and circulated. He introduces us to some surprising figures: notably, a physician in upstate New York remembered only as T. Gale, who used electricity to treat his patients' nervous disorders, and Elisha Perkins of Connecticut, who relieved patients' headaches, toothaches, and various other pains by passing short metal rods over their heads.

Although Gale treated patients with an actual electrical charge, he did not align himself with galvanism, which held that electricity coursed through living beings as a vital animating force. Instead, Gale believed that electricity, radiating as energy from the sun, animated the entire universe. His medical electrotherapy, then, harnessed cosmic energies. Perkins defended his therapy with even less theoretical grounding; his "tractors," as he called his metal rods, simply worked. Perkinism "made a virtue of plain speaking and of defending the public's ability to make their own judgments about natural knowledge by relying on evidence supplied by their senses" (p. 243). The popularity of these two physicians attests to what Delbourgo sees as the relationship "between enlightenment and evangelicalism—between the

agency of reason and the mystery of revelation" (p. 202). Testimonials about the efficacy of these electrical treatments served, Delbourgo tells us, as "virtual witnessing," which enabled readers to extrapolate from their own experiences with electricity to accept or reject the claims that naturalists made. Naturalists, and later scientists, did not have privileged expertise.

Delbourgo complicates our understanding of a particularly American enlightenment by demonstrating how social structures shaped scientific inquiry. America both depended upon and rebelled against European naturalists, preferring to forge an individualistic naturalism that incorporated religious fervor, spiritualism, materialism, and competing epistemologies. Underlying any scientific claims was a fierce commitment to individual experience and personal testimony, and an equally fierce rejection of hierarchal expertise.

LINDA SIMON

Skidmore College

DOUGLAS AMBROSE and ROBERT W. T. MARTIN, editors. *The Many Faces of Alexander Hamilton: The Life and Legacy of America's Most Elusive Founding Father*. New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 300. \$45.00.

This book is a collection of essays growing out of a conference organized by Hamilton College to mark the two-hundredth anniversary of Alexander Hamilton's death in 2004. Overall, the collection suggests that, despite what may strike some as a surfeit of Hamilton scholarship in recent years, meticulously researched and thought-provoking work on the first treasury secretary continues to pour forth.

In an introductory summary of his life, Douglas Ambrose sets out the questions that have long surrounded Hamilton: "Was he a closet monarchist or a sincere republican? A victim of partisan politics or one of its most active promoters? A lackey for British interests or a foreign policy mastermind? An economic genius or a shill for special interests? The father of a vigorous national government or the destroyer of genuine federalism? A defender of governmental authority or a dangerous militarist?" (p. 11). The ten essays that follow address many although not all of these questions. Stephen Knott, who has done for the Hamilton image in the American mind what Merrill Peterson did for Thomas Jefferson's, provides a condensed version of his argument and adeptly traces the vicissitudes of Hamilton's reputation over two centuries. Given Knott's grasp of the subject, it would have been interesting to hear more from him on the reasons for the revival of interest in Hamilton since the early 1990s and the recovery of his reputation among historians. The recent decline of Jefferson's standing (due partly to his views on race) does not really suffice as an explanation.

Robert M. S. McDonald's essay, "The Hamiltonian Invention of Thomas Jefferson," tries to show that by attacking Jefferson in the newspapers in 1792, Hamilton managed to promote Jefferson's standing as the op-

position's chief leader and stimulate the development of a Republican party press. It is true that Hamilton's attacks proved to be counterproductive, but McDonald might give greater weight to the fact that the "Philadelphia newspaper wars" had begun before Hamilton's columns appeared: that is, when Jefferson and James Madison installed Philip Freneau as their journalistic attack dog at the *National Gazette*. James H. Read's insightful contribution argues that the long and bitter argument between Hamilton and Jefferson was "neither parallel nor symmetrical" (p. 78). Whereas Jefferson consistently saw Hamilton as an abettor of corruption and subverter of the constitution, Hamilton's animus toward Jefferson was triggered not so much by the Virginian's political views as by his deviousness and habit of maligning Hamilton personally. When urgent public issues arose, argues Read, Hamilton moderated his criticism of Jefferson and gave him due credit for acting in the national interest. There is much to be said for this argument, although it does not altogether apply to the foreign policy debates of 1792–1793. After all, Hamilton harshly criticized the secretary of state's handling of the British minister George Hammond and the peace treaty controversies, and conducted a running battle against Jefferson over the treatment of French privateers. If Hamilton gave public credit to Jefferson for requesting Edmond Genêt's recall, he did so partly to rub in the fact that Jefferson had initially been a strong supporter of the disastrous French envoy.

At the heart of the volume are searching essays on the nature of Hamilton's republicanism by Robert W. T. Martin, Barry Alan Shain, and Colleen A. Sheehan. Martin's examination of Hamilton's view of seditious libel in the late 1790s convincingly demonstrates that the New Yorker was not as liberal and tolerant of dissent as some of his recent defenders have implied. Shain shows how "Publius" (Hamilton and Madison as authors of the *Federalist Papers*) skilfully and rather disingenuously deployed the concept of virtue to try to appeal to both sides in the New York state debate over ratification of the constitution. Publius's "essential view," according to Shain, was that virtue (commonly understood as a passion for the public good) was not necessary to good government. But as Shain acknowledges, Hamilton also counted on the fact that "the love of fame, the ruling passion of the noblest minds" (*The Federalist No. 72*) would prompt a virtuous few to perform arduous and heroic tasks on behalf of the collectivity. Another way of looking at it (suggested by the choice of the Roman Republican stalwart, Publius Valerius, as a pseudonym) is that Hamilton believed in and embodied, if not Montesquieuan virtue, Machiavellian *virtù*. Sheehan's subtle exegesis of Hamilton's and Madison's notions of public opinion concludes that the disagreement between the two cannot properly be considered merely (nor, she implies, even mainly) "personal or partisan." Rather, it concerned the "very character of republican government and the extent to which the people are capable of governing themselves" (p. 195). This is true, but let us not forget that there were

partisan and personal elements. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the more laurels Hamilton accumulated, and the more influence he exerted on Washington, the more intransigent Madison became.

If this book has a shortcoming it is that the contributions tend to neglect a key assumption underlying Hamilton's constitutional views and conviction driving his financial, economic, and military policies: namely, that "safety from external danger is the most powerful director of national conduct" (*The Federalist No. 8*). In other words, there is little here on his views of international politics and of America's role and destiny in the world. Only in Daniel G. Lang's interesting essay on Haiti does the reader get a glimpse of two important faces of Hamilton: the foreign policy adviser to George Washington who helped to head off what would have been a disastrous war with Great Britain in 1794, and the controversial soldier-strategist of 1798–1800 who favored war with Spain and France in order to secure both the country and lasting fame. Hamilton's differences with John Adams were nearly as bitter, and as consequential, as those with Jefferson and Madison. An essay on that subject would have fitted well into this book.

Carey Roberts's provocative contribution is a reappraisal of the effects of Hamilton's financial policies on the economy of the 1790s, but that task probably required more space than such a volume could allow. In the final pair of essays Peter McNamara argues that Herbert Croly misread Hamilton at the beginning of the twentieth century in thinking that Hamiltonian methods could be combined with Jeffersonian ends, and John Patrick Diggins explores the many affinities of life and thought between Hamilton and Abraham Lincoln. Diggins is right to argue that Lincoln, a self-made man and Whig who abhorred slavery, was much more of a Hamiltonian than (as some have claimed) a Jeffersonian. Indeed, though Diggins does not go so far, Lincoln rather than Theodore Roosevelt or Henry Cabot Lodge should be seen as Hamilton's greatest disciple. Lincoln saved Hamilton's project, the Union (a word sprinkled throughout Hamilton's draft of Washington's Farewell Address). Victory in the Civil War cleared the path for the emergence of the United States as a world power. That was the career for which Hamilton had tried to prepare it, whatever the doubts he had about his legacy near the end of his own life.

JOHN L. HARPER

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STEPHEN L. ELKIN. *Reconstructing the Commercial Republic: Constitutional Design after Madison*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 413. \$35.00.

Stephen L. Elkin notes in this book, regretfully, that "contemporary political science has more or less repudiated its Aristotelian origins and it has little more than a passing interest in the teachings of Montesquieu and Tocqueville." Thus, among other things, it has not "taught the value of moving toward a self-limiting sov-

ereignty capable of deliberative ways of law making" (p. 300). To correct this repudiation and bring back an understanding of the political realm worthy of Aristotle, Elkin has written a brilliant account of the nature of the American constitutional regime and its Madisonian origins, and as well provided extensive commentary on reforms needed to sustain such government in our own day. No other recent book, to my knowledge, so wisely assesses the American founding and so carefully and so specifically projects that understanding to contemporary political circumstances.

Elkin accomplishes this mainly by acknowledging, and in some measure accepting, the assumptions and concerns of political thinking in James Madison's day. He thus begins by understanding Madison in his own terms, rather than supposing that Madison had, or should have, understood questions of political inquiry as modern political scientists are wont to do. Recently, for example, Robert Dahl supposed that "if Madison were alive today, I find it hard to believe that he would advance [the] assumption . . . [that] the 'public good,' the 'interests of the people,'" could be definitely known and described . . . as if it needed no further justification." This contention about the public good, Dahl asserts, "would scarcely be debated" today (see Robert A. Dahl, "James Madison: Republican or Democrat?" *Perspectives on Politics* 3:3 [2005]: 442). Elkin does "advance" and "debate" assumptions about the public good just as Madison did, and in the process he offers deeply insightful understandings of Madison's political thinking and "constitutional design." Elkin shows that concern for the public good, and ready assumption of its "reality" was always at the center of Madison's constitutional design. Following Madison all the way, Elkin explains, for example, that preventing faction is not the essence of politics, but only "an element of the public interest" to be taken into account as lawmakers "deliberate," resting on a citizenry "with some experience of deliberating about the public interest" (p. 132). For nearly 100 pages Elkin pursues this analysis, with great faithfulness to Madison's thought. Elkin's projection of Madisonian principles to the present, although sometimes stretching a point, is on the whole both wise and on target.

Use of the term "commercial republic" in the title is a tip off to the only serious quarrel I have with the book. Although Madison would have had no objection to Elkin including him among those who valued the protection of property (including a "property in one's rights"), sound public finance, the promotion of national prosperity, and other elements of a commercial republic, Madison was not neglectful of the importance of a middle class and other aspects of the kind of civil society necessary for a public-spirited republic. The array of institutions and attitudes that Elkin has in mind in suggesting this neglect—public schools, vital local government, virtue-sustaining occupations (in Madison's day, especially yeoman farming), civic associations practicing public deliberation—were constant parts of Madison's political understanding. This is especially appar-

ent in Madison's lifelong agreement and partnership with Thomas Jefferson. One needs to add Jefferson's more detailed and eloquent attention to these factors, which Madison completely agreed with, to see that what Elkin regards as a "flaw" in Madison's thought is really very much present. I was surprised to find only one entry for "Jefferson" in Elkin's index; to have looked further for that connection would have been corrective and helpful. But this does not detract from the fact that this is the best book on the political theory of the founding era, and its relevance for today, to come off the press in a long time.

RALPH KETCHAM
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MARY BETH SIEVENS. *Stray Wives: Marital Conflict in Early National New England*. New York: New York University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 171. \$50.00.

The starting point for this wonderful monograph is 778 "elopement notices" published in newspapers in Windsor County, Vermont, and Hartford County, Connecticut, between 1790 and 1830. The notices published in that period often contained fascinating tidbits of information about those publishing the announcements—their marital relationships, economic problems, and motivations for exposing family life to public view. But Mary Beth Sievens ranges far beyond the notices themselves to paint a picture of marital life in early New England. Gathering additional evidence from census data, court files, birth and death records, probate documents, legal treatises, sermons, prescriptive literature, and secondary sources, she explores the "space" married men and women retained to shape their lives.

The moniker for the notices—"elopement"—did not suggest anything like the contemporary notion of slipping away for a quick marriage. It was derived from the content of many of the newspaper postings: allegations by one spouse that his or her mate had abandoned the marital household. A variety of other claims were also made: about infidelity; about wives failing to obey their husbands, observe reasonable spending practices, or run a proper household; and about husbands failing to support their families or abusing their wives. The notices are a rich catalog of marital disharmony and disarray.

Perhaps the most telling fact in Sievens's book is that only about a third of the relationships exposed to public view in elopement notices ended up in divorce court (p. 9). That perhaps surprising finding poses the central question explored in the monograph: if the notices were not a routine prelude to divorce, what purposes did they serve? To answer that question, Sievens breaks her work down into six chapters about the problem of wifely submission, the impact of monetary problems on marriage relationships, the importance of household and non-household work, the interweaving of family and community life, the ability of women to cope with marital separation, and the place of divorce in early na-

tional life. In each area, the structure of coverture law and the dictates of culture significantly limited the bargaining power of married women.

Over ninety-five percent of the newspaper notices were placed by men (p. 10). Though men claimed that their wives failed to fulfill their marital obligations for a variety of reasons, virtually all of the notices contained an admonition warning merchants not to allow wives to rely on their husbands' credit. The rules of coverture legally barring married women from active participation in most economic activity, requiring them to obey their husbands and establishing their dependent status were part of a one-sided "bargain." Upon marriage women gave up their status as civilly alive beings in return for a promise of support from their husbands. There were, therefore, strong economic reasons for husbands to publish elopement notices.

Wives had different motivations for bringing their marital problems to public attention. For them, the notices often were an effort to bargain with their husbands or gain public sympathy. Wives, Sievens tells us, were not powerless. There was some space for them to push, cajole, and move their husbands. The extent of this space is revealed in a variety of ways. In addition to those who sought divorce, another large segment of women lived separate and apart from their husbands without formal legal approval. They often attained that result as a result of agreements with their husbands. Wives who were young, owned some assets in their own right, or had a family support network were the most likely to divorce or separate. Neither group became truly "independent." Many relied upon alimony or men in support networks for their well-being. The separated women did not usually end up with new partners. In another fascinating and surprising finding, Sievens tells us that most of the divorced women in her sample also did not remarry (p. 104). Able to cope without a live-in partner, members of both groups usually chose to remain single. The rest of the women, less likely to have economic and family support at their disposal, were in a much more difficult position. A significant segment of them "reconciled" with their husbands. The notices explored by Sievens contained a number of "reconciliation" postings. Some took the form of apologies and others contained promises to behave properly. These are the most difficult to evaluate, but they provide a picture of the bargaining space women used to control their family lives.

Underlying the entire structure, Sievens reminds us, was an important conception of the family in early America. While we now think of family units apart from the various social structures in which they play a role, early New England families were tightly integrated into their larger communities and institutional networks. Notices, especially those published by women, called upon the community for support and used widely held norms as a baseline for bargaining with their husbands. Pulling us through the variety of ways in which women

could call upon their communities for support is the most valuable contribution this book makes.

RICHARD CHUSED
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BERNARD L. HERMAN. *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2005. Pp. xviii, 295. \$45.00.

In this wide-ranging and amply illustrated work, Bernard L. Herman examines "urban dwellings and the people who built and lived in them" in American port cities between 1780 and 1830, an era when maritime trade knit the Atlantic world together and its merchants set the terms of genteel sociability (p. 1). The book abounds in insights. Largely by studying dwellings—whether occupied by merchants, artisans, widows, or slaves—and the material objects found in them, Herman seeks to learn "how and why people acted in particular ways" and "the larger cultural significances of their actions" (p. 1).

No overarching thesis unifies this book. Casting his study as "a series of explorations," Herman gives each chapter a distinctive focus. Chapter two, which begins the exploration, examines how elite merchants in Norfolk, Virginia; Portsmouth, New Hampshire; and Charleston, South Carolina, built and furnished their houses, especially as magnificent settings for the polite gamesmanship then familiar throughout the transatlantic world. Chapter three studies Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the only inland market town to be considered, showing how "burghers" of lesser means reconciled newly fashionable neoclassical taste in house design with older, local-German building traditions. This same chapter also sketches similar "negotiations" between "cosmopolitan" and "backcountry" town houses in Portsmouth and other New England ports, finding that newer forms typically dominated the city's core but not its outskirts.

Herman then looks more directly at the lives of occupants. Chapter four, on "servants' quarters," analyzes the subtle ways in which masters and their slaves in Charleston—and house owners and their servants in London (England), Philadelphia, and other cities—lived both together and apart within the same households. Slave owners, Herman concludes, assumed that their "gaze," or visual oversight, conferred social control, while their slaves conducted their lives unseen in back-lot quarters and, more significantly, in full view, but hidden by the cultural blind spots of owners. Then, turning to women's history, Herman devotes chapter five to "the widow's dower," showing how law courts, especially in Portsmouth, divided up houses after male breadwinners died, leaving widows with severely reduced quarters inside their former homes, but without physically altering their houses. In Portsmouth widows held eleven percent of all taxable properties in 1821–1823.

Throughout, Herman displays prodigious knowledge of port-city dwellings along the Atlantic seaboard (Newport and New York escape close scrutiny, however), in England and, to a lesser degree, in the Netherlands and Germany. Chapter six, for example, surveys hundreds of artisan houses, revealing unexpected variations in size, from tiny, one-room dwellings, to small, well-finished three or four-room houses, to a "mansion." This chapter also displays Herman's passion for material culture. Even the smallest artisan house, however crowded, contained culturally resonant objects, such as a tea tray, suggesting its owner's knowledge of "the trappings of polite sociability" even if circumstances "reduced means for enacting the associated behaviors." In his last major chapter, Herman studies travelers, searches their luggage, again looking for objects betokening genteel behavior, and then follows their owners into boarding houses, taverns, inns, and coffee houses, most of them converted residences, not purpose-built structures.

Herman's study sparkles with ideas, as if in joining his vast knowledge of building layouts and material culture, he were striking two flints together to illuminate ways of life long lost from view. Urban historians already familiar with the port cities of the Atlantic world will relish the many sparks: for example, those that show how workplace and residence, which were so often combined in what Kenneth T. Jackson called the "walking city" (a concept not utilized by Herman), were accommodated within actual dwellings; or those that reveal how the poorest artisans lacked sufficient space for sit-down meals, unless they ate in shifts. To get the full benefit of such findings, however, the reader must examine, often very closely, over seventy floor plans (better identification of room use is sometimes needed).

Herman has produced a splendid commentary but not a full accounting of what he calls "town house experiences" (p. 32). A city in any era is a complex unit. The size and scale of its businesses, its means of circulation, its sanitary arrangements, its food-marketing practices, its energy sources all influence the house layouts, lot shapes, and yard functions that shaped daily life at the personal level.

Herman's methods certainly cast light on typical kitchen-placement-in cellars, in first-floor backrooms, in back-of-the-house ells, or in detached rear-lot buildings, or tell us how a shopkeeper's wife might have presented herself to the world by serving tea in her second-floor "best room" above her husband's first-floor business. From a twenty-first-century vantage, however, we also need to know how life proceeded without electricity, without running water, without plumbing, without central heating, without window screens, without small motors. The answers to such questions require a greater consciousness of how town houses worked within the city's overall social-economic environment.

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CRAIG THOMPSON FRIEND. *Along the Maysville Road: The Early American Republic in the Trans-Appalachian West*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 378. \$42.00.

Most scholars remember the Maysville Road as a source of controversy during the administration of Andrew Jackson, as the president vetoed a bill to fund improvements of the road—the pet project of his rival, Henry Clay. Craig Thompson Friend's new book convinces us that the road was much more than that. He demonstrates that the Maysville Road offers modern readers a new path to understanding "social and cultural change in the Early American Republic" (p. 4). Among other subjects, the book explores the evolution of society in the trans-Appalachian West, the rise of the market economy and middle-class cultural dominance, and environmental change in the early republic.

The book argues that life along the Maysville Road evolved in response to the creative energies unleashed by the American Revolution. As the revolution opened up trans-Appalachian lands to American settlement in the 1770s and 1780s, an old buffalo trace—the ancient transit route of wildlife and native peoples stretching from the Ohio River into the rich lands of the Kentucky Bluegrass—became the gateway into the region for white and black pioneers arriving from Virginia, the Mid-Atlantic States, and New England. Here the pioneers successfully battled Indians for control of the land, initiating a pattern that Friend shows recurred until the 1830s. As wave after wave of diverse migrants settled along the buffalo trace—now gradually evolving into an "urban corridor," the Maysville Road—the land remained a battleground among economic, ethnic, religious, and cultural groups, each seeking to preserve itself and its values while in competition with others for dominance along the road. Newcomers—Virginia gentry in the 1790s, for instance—often posed a challenge to existing ways of life along the road. While taking advantage of the new opportunities offered by the American West, migrants also sought to recreate the values, lifestyles, and identities they had left behind. But the influence of a new environment, economic opportunities, and democratic nationalism, eroded regional, ethnic, and communal identities. From the competition of various groups along the Maysville Road, middle-class, commercial groups emerged triumphant by the 1830s. They "sought a more monolithic culture, one that discouraged diversity and celebrated the universal qualities of their peculiar brand of 'Americanism.'" These qualities included "urban development, refinement, an awakening middle class, evangelical Christianity, racial slavery, and nationalism" (p. 5).

Even the famous controversy over federally funded improvements of the road, the author argues, paralleled the struggle of values along the Maysville Road itself. Kentucky's emerging commercial class, led by Clay, believed the improved road would secure Kentucky's place in a new system of political economy in which the national government actively sought to pro-

mote national unity and economic development through an improved transportation and communications infrastructure, a protectionist trade policy, and a modern central banking system. For Kentucky's Jacksonian Democrats, however, "the toll gates of a federally sponsored turnpike exemplified the encroachment of capitalism upon local life and the dependence of local life on a market economy," and they found the idea of "the turnpike as integral to the national road system was incomprehensible; they used it for short-distance travel—it was, for most, a local road" (p. 259).

Calling his book "a biography of a road" and a "microhistory" (p. 4), Friend tells a richly textured story, with details drawn from an unusually diverse body of primary sources. The book's narrative follows several different paths simultaneously and takes up so many interpretive issues as to defy easy description. The disadvantage of the book's multiple interpretive layers is that few issues receive full discussion, and the reader often wants to know more about important subjects. The advantage of this approach is that it helps the reader understand history as it was experienced by Americans in the early republic: the product of a complex array of forces and contingencies whose patterns were not always clear to them.

One of the major themes of the book is the impact of environmental change initiated by those who lived along the road. From Native Americans, who burned underbrush to promote the proliferation of game animals, to the earliest pioneers, whose efforts to clear farmland subsequently destroyed the hunting grounds, to the rising urbanites of Lexington, whose efforts to tame an unruly creek in the center of town worsened flooding and pollution, people sought to adapt the landscape for their own purposes.

Although the book focuses on one region of one state, it would be a mistake for scholars of other regions or of the United States as a whole to ignore this important book, for as the description above suggests, the evidence presented here has broad implications for the larger history of the United States.

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ALFRED A. CAVE. *Prophets of the Great Spirit: Native American Revitalization Movements in Eastern North America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 328. \$27.95.

In late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century North America, certain Indian "nativist prophets" (p. xi) "sought to counter Euro-American cultural imperialism by borrowing Euro-American religious ideas and employing them as weapons in ideological struggles against the invaders" (pp. x–xi). Responding to the "crises" of "epidemics," "alcohol," "warfare," "disappearance of game," "loss of land" (p. xi), and "acculturation" (p. 245), these "religious innovators" were both "restorationists and revolutionaries" (p. xiii); they and

their cohorts mounted dramatic resistance to the hegemony of the expansive West.

Neolin (Delaware), Handsome Lake (Seneca), Tenskwatawa (Shawnee), and Kenekuk (Kickapoo) are the main subjects of Alfred A. Cave's study. Inspired by revelations received in visions, repulsed by Western economic individualism, and tormented by terrors of dispossession, factionalism, hell, and the Devil, they appealed to their Indian compatriots—in different ways—to get right with the Great Spirit, the God of "creation," "history," and "eternity" (p. 2), "derived from stories they heard about the Judeo-Christian Creator" (p. 3). They exhorted their adherents to practice a native way of life designed by the divine especially for them; to reject selective aspects of Christian evangelism and white culture; to eschew the evils of sorcery; and to regard their fellow Indians as relatives and allies in war and peace.

All of these prophets preached a gospel of apocalyptic expectation, which urged Indians to action. Neolin's message in the 1760s helped produce Pontiac's famous revolt against the British in 1763. From at least 1808 until his death in 1813 at the Battle of the Thames, Tenskwatawa's brother, Tecumseh, tried to rally various Indians of the Eastern Woodlands against the ascendant Americans.

Encouraged by Tecumseh, but with a theology grounded in their own traditions and propelled by their own shaman-prophets, the Red Stick Creeks in 1813 responded to factionalism within their own society and encroachment of whites upon their territory by fomenting a war against collaborators within and invaders without. Defeated by Andrew Jackson at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in 1814, the Creeks fell prey to punitive dispossession and removal.

Instead of militance, Handsome Lake's revelations in 1799 initiated an awakening of spirituality among the Iroquois, with an emphasis upon personal, moralistic redemption. His "good message" (p. 199) turned his fellows toward new concepts of familial and gender relations, adaptations to Western models of agricultural economy, sobriety, and a Longhouse Religion of Iroquois identity and solidarity—still extant today—with its oblique, ambivalent relationship to Christianity.

Just as Neolin's theology influenced that of Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee influenced Kenekuk, whose call for cultural nationalism was also steeped in Jesuit teachings. Having seen that whites had killed Jesus, Kenekuk viewed himself as the messiah of his epoch, preaching to Indian peoples who were innocent of the charge of Christ-killers. His tidings? A "divine sanction to efforts to preserve Indian identity" (p. 243).

The ramifications of these movements rippled through Indian communities of the nineteenth century, right down to the Ghost Dance of 1890. They still have some appeal to some Indians in the twenty-first century.

Cave has nicely stitched together the stories of these several prophets and their followers. But how original is the quilt he has rendered? Whereas he claims that "Native American religious leaders have generally re-

ceived only passing mention in the histories of the early frontier" (p. xi), it must also be said that there are numerous publications about these prophets, the crises that propelled them to prominence, and the movements they produced, which have been called "new religions," "crisis cults," "religions of the oppressed," "pan-Indianism," "nativistic," "syncretic," "revitalization" movements, and the like. So much has been written about the very subjects of this volume that one can rightly ask if the author has anything new to say about them.

The answer, I think, is that there is barely a patch of this book that has not already been sewn in print. The Study Centre for New Religious Movements in Primal Societies at Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England, for instance, possesses most of the sources referred to in this book, and its bibliography was published in the 1970s. The fresh comments about Handsome Lake's patriarchal tendencies are documented from the writings of Barbara Mann. Cave's representation of Tenskwatawa—outflanked by William Henry Harrison at Tippecanoe in 1811, but neither fool nor fanatic, neither inept nor discredited in the eyes of his devotees—is a revision of the prophet's popular image, but hardly startling news. All told, this is a "synthesis" (p. xv) of previously published works, worthy but derivative.

CHRISTOPHER VECSEY
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STEPHEN WARREN. *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795–1870*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 217. \$35.00.

In 1866, members of the Shawnee National Council recorded their version of Shawnee history, a narrative of unity, rupture, and reunion. According to them, the once-cohesive Shawnee tribe had been dispersed by colonization and U.S. expansion. But in recent decades, Shawnees had reassembled west of the Mississippi River and had made "the council fires complete after centuries of separation" (p. 169). Other Shawnees held a quite different view of their past. In their version, Shawnees had always been peoples of villages, led by their local hereditary chiefs and allied both with other Shawnees and with non-Shawnees. Only in recent decades, many believed, had a group of men calling themselves the Shawnee National Council tried to usurp the traditional power of village chiefs, against the will of the Shawnee people.

Stephen Warren traces Shawnee dispersals and disputes from the 1790s Ohio Valley through Indian Territory in the 1860s. Although the introduction sets up the book's argument as a counter to long-debunked nineteenth-century Turnerian views of the west, in fact this book is an important and insightful contribution to recent scholarship on changes and continuities in American Indian identities. By going several decades beyond when most histories of Ohio Valley Indians stop, Warren reveals the complicated disputes over Shawnee identity and governance and the abiding Shawnee resistance to centralization. In Warren's nar-

rative, whether Shawnees were unified before the 1600s or not, by the 1800s their internal divisions and external alliances made creating (or recreating) a single Shawnee tribe impossible.

Merely noting the powerful men who advocated Shawnee unity demonstrates how strong resistance must have been. The Shawnee brothers Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh promoted the unity of Shawnees and all other Indians. Shawnees who moved west early, beginning in the 1790s, forged their own pan-Indian alliance with other immigrant peoples including Cherokees and Delawares. Black Hoof and other leaders who stayed longer in the Ohio Valley worked to create a centralized leadership that could provide a unified response to settler pressure. United States officials, with force and funds to support their position, sought to strengthen centralized chiefs who could follow through on agreements, including selling land. Of course these men held dramatically different ideas regarding the purpose of centralization. But even more importantly, Shawnees generally were never on board. When Tecumseh was recruiting support in 1809 and 1810, Shawnees west of the Mississippi largely rejected his call to arms. His own sister married a French trader. Ten years later, when Shawnees allied to the Cherokees proposed a pan-Indian sovereign state in the west, Black Hoof and others in Ohio rejected it because they feared it would subsume Shawnee national identity.

With the creation of Indian Territory in 1825, the federal government increased its pressure on Shawnees to move to Kansas and give up both their separately-governed villages and their pan-Indian aspirations. As Warren shows, the plan did not work. Some Shawnees chose Texas, Mexico, or Oklahoma instead. The Shawnees who did come together in Kansas found that they had divergent ideas about history, governance, religion, and slavery. Chiefs who had come to power in Ohio used the annuities that flowed through them to create a centralized government structure, eventually called the National Council. Warren shows their inability to establish legitimacy in the face of general Shawnee reluctance, the opening of Kansas Territory to white settlement in 1854, the violence of "Bleeding Kansas," and the Civil War.

The postwar years brought the question of Shawnee identity to a crisis. The victorious United States government forced individual Shawnees to choose between staying in Kansas as United States citizens or moving south to Indian Territory, where the Cherokees were compelled, as compensation for assistance to the Confederacy, to give Shawnees land and full Cherokee citizenship. Some Shawnees stayed in Kansas Territory, giving up their Shawnee citizenship. Most Shawnees—both those allied with the National Council and their opposition—rejected incorporation into the United States and moved once again. Still they acted independently. The National Council led their people to join the Cherokees, but the opposition settled in bands on lands they chose along the Canadian River.

Today, there are three federally recognized Shawnee

tribes. The Absentee Shawnees descend from those who settled on the Canadian River. In 2000, those Shawnees who joined the Cherokees gained their independence and federal recognition of their own tribe, the Loyal Shawnees or Cherokee Shawnees, although several thousand Shawnee descendants chose to retain their Cherokee citizenship instead. The third tribe, the Eastern Shawnees, descend from those who moved straight to Indian Territory in 1832 and never lived in Kansas. At least one Shawnee band still lives in Ohio. By showing how Shawnees became the peoples they are today, Warren reminds us that, however much some natives and some newcomers have believed in a unified Indian identity, history has never been on their side.

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SUSAN CLAIR IMBARRATO. *Traveling Women: Narrative Visions of Early America*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 254. \$42.95.

This is a book confirming that women who were geographically mobile in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century North America were also diligent writers. The book's main contention is that travelogues written by women offer new knowledge regarding the traveling experience and its literary construction. This argument—like the book's overall narrative—is informed by a traditional feminist idiom. Statements such as "Determined and adventurous, women played a key role in culture building and were quite simply integral to the settling of early America and the New Republic" (p. 2) set the agenda for the book's archival selections as well as its interpretive framework. Of the fifty extant travel narratives for the period between 1704 and 1830, the book examines about half, supplementing the difference by looking at selected collections of personal letters. In five chapters, Susan Clair Imbarrato addresses a variety of literary forms that are associated with travel writing (the journal, the diary, the letter, the epistolary novel). The book's overarching concern is with the way in which women's travel writings emerged within travel-specific contexts. In the course of examining this nexus between text and context, Imbarrato addresses rituals of hospitality, class barriers, the mail system, and above all a variety of settings (public/private houses, coaches, roads).

What is consistent about the book is that each chapter uses a descriptive style for documenting the relationship of texts and contexts. By providing close readings of the various formats of female travel writing, the book illustrates the tedium of living on the road: regardless of the narrative's material form (the manuscript journal vs. the edited printed book), travel narratives are documents driven by repetition (weather, food, and customs), bearing the occasional addition of anecdotal stories or brief cultural criticisms. Throughout the book, it becomes apparent that a key feature of women's travel narratives is the extent to which both

the act of travel and its representation were the product of prescription. While the journey's materiality determined the everyday experience of traveling, the formulaic conventions that informed early modern travelogues prescribed much of the narrative record and content. If a narrative showed signs of variation and subtlety, it was usually the product of literary imitation. Thus we find that authors/travelers from Sarah Kemble Knight in 1704 to Abigail Adams in 1785 to Olivia Caroline Laurens in 1825 habitually called on discourses ranging from news to natural sciences to belles lettres for communicating and/or interpreting the travel experience.

But it is the descriptive method that becomes the book's Achilles' heel. Readers looking for a fresh interpretation of travel writing informed by female authorship will be unsatisfied. The book struggles for syntheses that reach beyond declarative statements: to say, without further elaboration, that travelers "find authority and interest in matters familiar" (p. 114) does not explain an instance of female class conflict (p. 113). Or, to conclude a chapter-long discussion on the intertextual nature of travel writing by stating "literary allusions enhance women's travel narratives and expand our understanding of women's intellectual lives" (p. 166) fails to explain just that. On the face of it, the book's cited evidence suggests that a traveling woman's intellectual life appears to have consisted of a lot of petty commentary on social inferiors or of composing hyperbolic reports exaggerating trivial events (muddled clothes count as adventure). While narrative patterns like these beg for more analysis, the evidence also suggests that many of the travelers' narrated lives seem to subordinate themselves to a few select literary models. Indeed—and this is an insight the book shows without telling us—traveling women's intellectual lives were astonishingly circumscribed by a domestic imagination. Many of the cited sources reveal a pattern in which women negotiate the unfamiliar through a process of domestication, of which references to gentility and hetero-normative thinking are crucial subcodes.

Overall, the book would have benefited greatly from engaging standard critical works on the genre of travel writing. Because the book seeks to balance lived experience with the art of travel writing, it would have proven very helpful to establish a more assertive critical position in relation to existing scholarship and its modes of inquiry. Without doing so, the book accidentally propagates a highly essentialized definition of gendered experience. The book discounts too quickly the fact that many aspects of women's travel writings and travel experiences are more or less identical with those recorded by men. Finally, the book's descriptive analysis of primary sources at times leads to ahistorical misreadings of female travel habits and narrative conventions; there are significant material and ideological differences that separate the imaginary and real traveling woman of 1700 from her 1830 counterpart. In the end, while the book offers a fairly comprehensive survey of narrative tropes, readers will find it does not

quite provide either a sustained history of or critical inquiry into women's travel writing.

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CATHERINE KERRISON. *Claiming the Pen: Women and Intellectual Life in the Early American South*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 265. \$45.00.

Catherine Kerrison's book has an ambitious goal: to reclaim the intellectual history of early southern women. As Kerrison observes, American intellectual history has been heavily weighted toward New England; when this longstanding trend is combined with what Catherine Clinton called the "New Englandization" of women's history in her 1982 book, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (p. xv), the result is that southern women's intellectual life often has been ignored, minimized, or assumed to be nonexistent. Most studies of southern women's education, such as Christie Anne Farnham's *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (1994), focus on the late antebellum period and devote as much attention to "informal" lessons in morals and manners as they do to the "formal" curriculum in literature and the classics. To many observers, intellectual life seemed almost "inconceivable" (p. 4) for southern women until the mid-nineteenth century. Yet Kerrison argues that it is in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that it is possible to find "the origins of an intellectual tradition of southern women" (p. 3). According to Kerrison, elite white women in the early American South drew upon both revolutionary and religious writings to articulate an ideology of "female virtue" that enabled them to achieve "a new consciousness of themselves as agents in creating their own world" (p. 5).

While similar in many respects to the "gendered republicanism" that Mary Kelley ascribes to (mostly) northern women in *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic* (2006), southern women's version of republican virtue emerged within a different context and consequently took on a different form. Constrained by the rigid hierarchies of slaveholding society and with limited access to institutions of higher learning—or even to such basic tools of literacy as books, paper, and pens—southern women read advice literature and cemented familial ties rather than attending female academies and creating literary societies. Instead of combining "female friendship and female learning" while preparing to enter public life, as northern women did (Kelley, p. 16), southern women read novels within the confines of their own homes and shared their self-authored advice primarily within family circles. Thus, while southern women laid claim to both female authorship and moral authority in the revolutionary and early national periods, they did not assert their rights as independent women. Rather, they helped to create "a

regional identity . . . in alliance with their powerful colonizers": white, slaveholding men (Kerrison, p. 184).

That regional identity drew heavily on British-authored texts by religious and moral writers who taught women "that their subordinate status was instituted by divine and natural law" (p. 19). While women in other regions of the emerging United States of America read similar literature, southern women "acquiesced to notions of female inferiority" (p. 24) more readily than other women, Kerrison suggests, because of the especially strong hold of ideas about organic hierarchy that prevailed in slave society. While women in the border regions—like Baltimore resident Anna Coale—might challenge both racial and sexual "Slavery" in the selections they copied into their commonplace books (p. 178), and while women throughout the American South delighted in novels that criticized the sexual double standard, for the most part, southern women's "resistance" (p. 109) remained safely contained within the covers of their novels and copybooks. Southern women might, like Charlestonian Eliza Wilkinson, delight in "the liberty of thought" (p. 102), but they found the only acceptable avenue for their "incipient political activism" (p. 125) in religious fervor and charitable work. Thus, while Kerrison convincingly argues that novel reading advanced women's subjectivity and that keeping commonplace books expressed their agency, southern white women's work in "claiming the self" (p. 82) was hindered by their complicity with the system of slavery that granted them class and racial privilege while upholding female inferiority.

Combining painstaking research in inventories, wills, account books, and receipts with close readings of diaries, journals, commonplace books, and letters, Kerrison has succeeded in recovering the early stages of southern white women's intellectual development. At the same time, the Herculean efforts required for this task stand as a reminder that southern women encountered significant and enduring obstacles to both intellectual improvement and political action. While both education and religion could promote "female resistance" in the early South (p. 74), "ultimately," Kerrison reminds us, southern women's "resistance was circumscribed by the cultural context of the slave society in which they read and the rigid boundaries of race and gender to which they subscribed" (p. 183). With few exceptions, therefore, "the reconstruction of white southern womanhood," as Jane Turner Censer described it in her 2003 book by that title, would have to await the enfranchisement of enslaved African Americans.

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FRANK J. BYRNE. *Becoming Bourgeois: Merchant Culture in the South, 1820–1865*. (New Directions in Southern History.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2006. Pp. ix, 297. \$50.00.

From southern exceptionalism and the nature of southern society to regional identity and the question of continuity versus change between the Old South and the New, recent scholarship on the American South has begun to add to and reinterpret longstanding historiographic debates and analytical frameworks. Within this context, scholars have brought previously marginalized or overlooked groups within the Old South—including industrialists, yeoman farmers, and artisans—to the center of historical inquiry. In doing so they have created a more nuanced and complicated picture of antebellum southern society. Frank J. Byrne contributes to this growing body of literature through an analysis of the Old South's merchant class, in which he offers valuable insight into the lives of merchant families, their shared worldview, and the role of liberal capitalism in the Old South.

Byrne's detailed study of urban merchants, village shopkeepers, and small-scale factors paints a portrait of a largely southern-born merchant class within the Old South that "embraced the South but was not of the South" (p. 2). Members shared a cosmopolitan worldview shaped by regular contact with northern business interests and buying trips outside of the South, a belief in liberal capitalism and a Whiggish political agenda, active participation in a burgeoning market economy and material culture, and lives in which daily commercial transactions rather than the acquisition of land and slaves were the primary path to upward mobility. In the predominately agrarian society of the Old South, merchants and their families constituted an "other" whose economic interests planters and small farmers often saw as distinct and opposed to their own. Byrne's probing, albeit occasionally repetitive prose is arguably at its best in his examination of the complicated love-hate relationship between merchants and farmers, a relationship shaped by distrust and grudging economic interdependencies but also by a mutual support of slavery and commitment to white supremacy.

According to Byrne, many of the dynamics that shaped the lives of southern merchants and their families, especially in relation to gender norms and the ideology of separate spheres shaped by the physical separation of home and work, closely paralleled those of northern merchant families. Fervent Christianity, companionate marriages, high education standards, household consumption habits, and a particular time-focused work ethic contributed to merchant southerners' identification with an interregional middle-class culture. Yet Byrne makes a compelling argument that it was a unique liberal-capitalist economic mindset coupled with conservative-republican social values that created a particular culture setting the southern merchant class apart from its northern counterpart. While the merchant class was not "of the South," it also was not of the North. The defense of slavery and an implicit rejection of a reformist ideology then emerging as a hallmark of northern middle-class Christianity were barriers to "the intellectual transformation" necessary for members of

the South's merchant class to become "truly bourgeois" (p. 102).

While the southern merchant class seemingly straddled a growing antebellum sectional divide, Byrne found that "cultural ties and economic pragmatism" led most to accept, if not fully embrace, the Confederacy when secession became reality (p. 53). Members of the merchant class experienced the fighting, dying, deprivations, and dislocations on the battlefield and the home front that shaped the wartime South. For some merchants the scarcity of supplies, lack of access to northern credit, and inflated prices of goods forced them to shutter their shops. For others, often at the cost of being accused of unpatriotic behavior, the war was a time for business opportunity and high profits. Although it is unclear from Byrne's analysis how many of those who closed their businesses were able to open them again or what proportion of the antebellum merchant class emerged from the war with viable businesses in tact, he concludes that merchants were the least touched by the region's economic transition from slave to free labor. In fact, they were able to quickly reestablish economic ties to creditors and mercantile houses in the North and position themselves strategically within the emerging southern and national post-war economies.

Byrne's book is a worthwhile study combining facets of antebellum southern, class, gender, and cultural history into an accessible whole. His insights about the role of antebellum southern merchants as purveyors of credit contributes to a broader understanding and possible reconsiderations of continuities between the Old and New Souths, especially in light of the central role that merchants would come to play in the cash-poor and cash crop-dependent agricultural system of the New South. Likewise, his placement of southern merchants and their families within the context of a wider national bourgeois culture adds a new dimension to discussions about antebellum regional distinctiveness, while perhaps also serving as a stepping stone for future works on the emergence of a transnational nineteenth-century bourgeois culture in the wider Atlantic world.

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PATRICIA D'ANTONIO. *Founding Friends: Families, Staff, and Patients at the Friends Asylum in Early Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*. Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press. 2006. Pp. 253. \$46.50.

Historians of psychiatry most often remember the antebellum Friends Asylum, located in Philadelphia, for its management by lay superintendents until 1850. They also may recall a notorious lawsuit filed by one of its patients, Morgan Hinchman, in 1847, if only because the Hinchman case subsequently received much publicity from critics of the coercive power of lunatic asylums. Patricia D'Antonio offers a useful corrective to

such views, reminding readers that the jury found Hinchman's family and friends guilty of fraud but acquitted the asylum staff. This outcome, she argues, appropriately refocuses our approach to early asylum history away from issues of institutional social control and toward domestic tensions. Especially but not exclusively within the Quaker community, families saw the Friends Asylum as a resource, an alternative domestic space for the care (often temporary) of troubled individuals whose problems could no longer be managed at home. Unfortunately, D'Antonio points out, lay staff's attempts to offer highly individualized and kind care to troublesome individuals (in the name of moral treatment) foundered on the same dilemmas that had driven families to use the institution. Like families, the Friends Asylum had difficulty balancing the needs of individual patients and those of the community as a whole. The ensuing frustration eventually prompted the lay staff to embrace willingly a more impersonal, medicalized institution. "At the Friends Asylum," D'Antonio argues boldly in her introduction, "physicians did not co-opt moral treatment. It was handed over to them" (p. 30). Later in the book, she makes an even stronger argument: that moral treatment was fundamentally flawed and hence doomed to failure (p. 149).

Initially interested in writing a book about asylum attendants, D'Antonio ended up broadening her research so as to uncover a larger story, one that weaves together the experiences of patients, staff, and families. Drawing on a fascinating cache of daily diaries kept by the lay superintendents of the Friends Asylum between 1814 and 1850, she offers a history of seemingly inevitable decline. Patients' negotiations with their families about issues of treatment and discharge often conflicted with and trumped the staff's prescriptions. As the size of the patient population increased, there was more emphasis on the aggregate classification of patients than on efforts to understand them as individuals. Wealthy patients got better care than did the poor. Nonetheless, regardless of class, the most frequent response to the disruptive became the threat of physical restraint or seclusion. Interestingly, much of what happened at the lay-run, private Friends Asylum before 1850 also occurred at institutions run by medical doctors during the same period, a parallel worth future exploration.

By the middle of D'Antonio's book, the importance of the religious grounding of the Friends Asylum in Quakerism largely disappears from the narrative. It is replaced by the story of therapeutic dilemmas. D'Antonio concludes by using her findings to reflect on contemporary mental health issues, in particular the continuing tensions between care and control in clinical practice. The book's most substantive contribution however, lies in its historical analysis, not in the prescriptions for today.

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RICHARD L. LAEL, BARBARA BRAZOS, and MARGOT FORD McMILLEN. *Evolution of a Missouri Asylum: Fulton State Hospital, 1851–2006*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 252. \$39.95.

Richard L. Lael, Barbara Brazos, and Margot Ford McMillen record the history of Missouri's first public mental institution. Its story closely parallels that of many other state hospitals, which began with optimistic hopes of curing mental illness and ended with greatly reduced expectations. In the 1840s the mentally ill in Missouri, as elsewhere, were housed in county jails or in some instances "let out" to the lowest private bidder for care, a system that often produced disastrous results.

Following national trends, the Missouri legislature voted to establish a lunatic asylum in 1847, acting not only from humanitarian concerns but also to protect the public from the most seriously disturbed. As the institution rapidly became overcrowded and understaffed, initial programs of moral treatment that emphasized a calm pleasant environment and a precise routine gave way to other tactics to restore sanity. These treatments included drugs, hydrotherapy, convulsive shock, and lobotomies. Milder approaches such as occupational therapy, psychodrama, recreational therapy, and token economies followed.

From its origin the Fulton institution suffered from the related problems of underfunding and politics. After the asylum accepted its first patients in the winter of 1851–1852, its heating system proved faulty and never adequately heated the building. It was not replaced until 1859, after a young patient, Theodore McGready, accidentally burned to death while trying to keep warm in the stove room.

Lack of funds also meant that the patients could not be separated into different wards by type of disorder, a procedure that proponents of moral treatment felt provided the best chance of cure. Rather quickly, the institution's overcrowding necessitated a shift in focus from cure to custodial care.

Occasionally a creative solution to lack of funding surfaced. When Fulton's first superintendent T. R. H. Smith, failed to convince the legislature of the therapeutic value of landscaping and the need for a fence to prevent escape, he resorted to planting an Osage orange hedge around the property that helped resolve both problems.

Staffing of the hospital followed a political patronage system and meant that the inauguration of every new governor might result in a complete turnover. The most dramatic example of this precipitous change occurred in 1896 when Governor Lon V. Stephens appointed a homeopathic physician, Dr. James T. Coombs, as superintendent of Fulton. The homeopathic system, unlike the more prevalent allopathic model, did not use sedative or purgative drugs, focusing instead on keeping patients employed and entertained. While moral treatment also advocated productive work for patients as a means of instilling discipline and a sense of worth, patient employment, whether in the fields, laundry

room, or kitchen had the added benefit of keeping costs low. Homeopathic control of the hospital ended in 1902 with the election of Governor Alexander Dockery, an allopathic physician, who quickly ousted the homeopaths. Patronage continued until a merit system for hiring was enacted in the 1940s. Even after that time, certain local businesses retained special relationships with the hospital. Purchasing a Ford from the local dealership often resulted in a job at the hospital.

The patient population of the hospital peaked in the 1950s at 2,565 and then steadily declined as outpatient, community-based care increased. The development of psychotropic drugs meant that many who would have been institutionalized could lead successful lives in the community. It is also fair to say that some of the mentally ill, as in 1840, once again resided in local jails or on the streets. In 2005, Fulton only had 464 beds, with the vast majority dedicated to the forensic population.

Lael Brazos, and McMillen's book is most valuable for providing a detailed administrative history of the hospital, thus adding another chapter to the history of mental health care in the United States. It provides a painstaking narrative of the political and medical influences on the treatment of mental illness as they affected one institution. However, it sometimes strays from this focus, as in chapter three, which chronicles the town of Fulton's involvement in the Civil War, and chapter eight, which offers brief biographical sketches of three famous former patients.

As with most books by multiple authors, there is some dissonance between the styles of the two halves of the book. The oral history material in the second half, especially interviews with former patients, provides valuable vivid detail that helps to recreate the experience of the institution. However, the humorous nature of many of these comments often conflicts with the somber tone of the first half of the book. Another concern is the authors' general failure to place their interesting study of Fulton State Hospital within the context of other case studies of very similar state mental institutions. Finally, any serious work of history needs to provide the reader with a bibliography of sources.

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ROBERT C. WILLIAMS. *Horace Greeley: Champion of American Freedom*. New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 413. \$34.95.

Abraham Lincoln compared Horace Greeley to "an old shoe—good for nothing new, whatever he has been." The irascible Andrew Johnson, known for neither his powers of observation nor wit, snorted he was "a sublime child . . . all heart and no head . . . like a whale ashore." Ulysses Grant thought him "a genius without common sense." His friend and fellow editor James Gilmore concluded similarly that he was "undisciplined, ill-regulated, but great." Yet Carl Schurz, taking measure of Greeley as a presidential candidate in 1872, at the end of his public life, remarked simply, he "appears

cracked as usual." Although both admirers and detractors thought Greeley eccentric and impractical ("a man of sixty ideas, and every one of the sixty an impracticable crochet," groused William Henry Seward), Robert C. Williams sees method to what others thought his madness. In this sympathetic though not uncritical biography, Williams contends that Greeley's public life "epitomized the search for American freedom" (p. xviii).

In many ways Greeley's values were an extension and reflection of antebellum America. He believed in the value of individual hard work, the transcendent virtues of Christian love and generosity, and the importance of civic virtue in the affairs of state. As an exceedingly ambitious editor who embraced the uplift of moral reforms of many stripes and thundered at corruption in politics, Greeley epitomized those beliefs in his long public career. Yet Williams argues persuasively that Greeley anticipated and was central in promoting the transformation of American politics from "the *liberty* of the American Revolution into the *freedom* of the American Civil War" (p. 1). Whereas James Madison and others of the revolutionary generation understood liberty and equality—freedom and democracy—to be antagonistic, Greeley proposed to change that equation. As Williams's biography makes clear, that oddly dressed and equally oddly acting man eschewed liberty under civil law—which sanctioned slaveholding—for the more radical concept of freedom under moral law. As such, Greeley's career functions as a bridge between Madison's *Federalist* Number 10 and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Put in other terms, he transcended the limits of the American Revolution to promote and embrace the broader freedoms inherent in the Civil War's Second American Revolution.

Ironically it was this constant in Greeley's personal and public life that made him seem unpredictable. Greeley advocated the freedom of individuals to improve their lives. To that end, he advocated a high protective tariff to protect workers from cheap foreign labor and exploitation. At the same time he opposed collective action of workers opposing exploitation for the supposed freedoms of free labor. Land reform (which would prevent one's freedom to speculate in land purchases), he concluded, was the real solution to the problems of immigration, poverty, and economic dependence in the East: "Go West!" For most of his life Greeley remained in the East.

Contemporaries sniffed that Greeley, as moral reformer, embraced every movement, however outré, in the 1840s. Williams makes clear that associationism—"the movement to build small communities . . . dedicated to human happiness and productivity"—lay at the heart of his Whiggish commitment to a variant of Fourierism: a "kind of utopian middle-class capitalism" (p. 63). Greeley believed that a moral and religious search for freedom complemented associationism. He was a Universalist and supported the reform efforts of Shakers, Moravians, Rappites, transcendentalists, and the Brook Farm experiment. Central to all, Greeley be-

lieved, were the efforts of men and women to create a community that would benefit all members and enhance their freedom individually and collectively.

Free labor, free soil, and free association gave structure and meaning to his support of and participation in antebellum reform movements. Not surprisingly, then, his commitment to antislavery both embraced and transcended these efforts to realize individual freedom and personal uplift. No abolitionist, Greeley wanted slavery (and initially freed slaves) to disappear, even if it meant the disruption of the Union. Although no advocate of disunion, Greeley, like many Americans in the North, grappled with the conflict between the freedom of states to withdraw from the Union and the freedom and equality of "all men" embraced in the Declaration of Independence (he later opposed women's suffrage). In the end Greeley supported Lincoln's efforts to preserve the Union (even if it meant curtailing Clement Vallandigham's freedom to dissent). His life-long search for an expansive definition of freedom under a universal moral code anticipated and was eloquently articulated in Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

Greeley may have been "a kind of switchboard operator of international republicanism" (p. 316). As such, he was a bundle of contradictions: gadfly and loose cannon. His support of General William Rosencrans for president in 1863 and claim that he would "go personally to Lincoln and force him to resign" makes the point exactly (p. 257). Williams makes a strong and articulate case for the consistency of Greeley's beliefs and the inconsistency of his actions. As such Greeley remains as fascinating, perplexing, and maddening—predictable in his unpredictability—to the students of antebellum history as he was to those who made it.

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FRANÇOIS FURSTENBERG. *In the Name of the Father: Washington's Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation*. (Penguin History of American Life.) New York: Penguin. 2006. Pp. 335. \$27.95.

François Furstenberg argues that early American nationalism was generated by "civic texts," with George Washington the source or subject of many of the key documents that gave successive generations of Americans their collective identity. Beginning with a discussion of the drafting and dissemination of Washington's 1796 Farewell Address, Furstenberg shows how "these civic texts brought about the domestication of Washington's memory." By combining "the public political father" with "the private, paternal father," eulogists "transcended public and private spheres" (p. 42) and extended the boundaries of the national community to include "daughters, mothers, and wives" (p. 37). Washington worship blunted the radical edge of revolutionary republican ideology, promoting instead tacit "consent to the constituted political authorities and a sense of mutual political obligation." Most significantly, Furstenberg claims, "the Washington mythology

opened a space for the incorporation of slaves into this national family, with slaves, like white Americans, united in bonds of affection and gratitude to Washington" (p. 21). Americans' confrontation with slavery—the antithesis of the liberties they sought to vindicate in the revolution—precipitated the "turn toward tacit consent" (p. 22). Nationalists depoliticized consent, jettisoning Jefferson's conception of an active, self-governing citizenry ("the earth belongs in usufruct to the living," as he wrote to James Madison on September 6, 1789) in favor of Madison's notion of tacit consent. If white patriots, risking everything, "had *earned* their liberty," slaves who did not resist "had *chosen* to live in slavery" (p. 192). "The valorization of individual autonomy," Furstenberg concludes, "grounded both citizenship and slavery in a tacit consent" (p. 220).

Furstenberg's provocative argument about slaves' "consent" helps explain how white Americans were able to reconcile what historians have seen as the "paradox" of slavery and freedom. But it is not clear that white Americans were as gripped by the problem as Furstenberg suggests. Revolutionaries may have had every reason to fear slave revolts, particularly when British armies offered effective assistance. But when the threat of revolt subsided, the institution stabilized and the price of slaves rose accordingly. As slavery was "domesticated," slave owners hardly needed Washington's example or inspiration to refashion themselves as paternalists. It might be more accurate to say that Washington's image was refashioned to reflect realities on the ground and in white Americans' minds.

Whether or not "civic texts" did the cultural work Furstenberg imputes to them, at the very least they reflect developing attitudes toward slavery that led to proslavery paternalism in the South and widespread indifference in the North. Furstenberg is less persuasive on the role slavery supposedly played in the history of American nationalism. As he acknowledges, "all nations are torn between tacit and explicit consent" and all nationalists deploy organic, familial, and transgenerational tropes in forging bonds of political obligation (p. 103). Furstenberg nonetheless believes that Americans then and now could—and should—have chosen Jefferson over Madison, explicit over tacit consent, and that doing so would have required them to solve the slavery problem. But Americans had already chosen slavery when they created their "more perfect union": without federal guarantees of the peculiar institution, states that relied on enslaved labor would have bolted. Thereafter the survival of the union, and that "nation" that it brought into existence, depended on securing slavery and suppressing divisive debates about its future.

Furstenberg asserts that fetishizing civic texts "slowly choked off the revolutionary message that the earth belongs to the living," turning "the Constitution into a dead document, fit only for veneration" (pp. 225, 229). What is most remarkable about the antebellum citizenry, however, is not its passivity, but its willingness to take to the streets, march to the polls, and finally to

make war. In fact, Americans South and North showed little patience with a Constitution that seemed to perpetuate the domination of their sectional enemies. Nationalist sentiments could not be contained by filioipietistic veneration of Washington and the fathers or by the civic texts that celebrated them. Furstenberg acknowledges that "the Civil War represents the monumental failure of civic texts to unify the nation," but he insists that they had "succeeded in attaching the nation to the affections of enough people that hundreds of thousands were willing to fight and die for its survival" (p. 225). Presumably he means northerners, for Confederates were by no means attached to the nation the Constitution had created. But even northerners' conception of union and nation ultimately required junking—or, rather, amending—a Constitution designed to perpetuate slavery.

In justifying the war for the union, Abraham Lincoln turned to Jefferson's articulation of natural rights in the Declaration, not to the revolutionary doctrine of "the earth belongs . . . to the living." He thus appealed in Burkean fashion to a "mystical, transgenerational compact" that sustained American nationhood, imagining bonds of obligation stretching back to the founders and forward to future generations (p. 230). Jefferson enabled Lincoln to cast the founders as principled opponents of slavery—a myth that Americans have cherished ever since—and so to reject the authority of a "living generation" that was at best indifferent to the fate of slaves. The Civil War thus marked a fundamental discontinuity in the history of American nationalism, with the founders now securely in their pantheon, the Constitution and other civic texts now fully sacralized, and American loyalties now firmly attached to a *single* national state.

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WALTER C. RUCKER. *The River Flows On: Black Resistance, Culture, and Identity Formation in Early America*. (Antislavery, Abolition, and the Atlantic World.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 288. \$49.95.

Since W. E. B. Du Bois affirmed, in his 1903 opus, *The Souls of Black Folk*, that before 1750 the fire of African freedom still burned in the veins of the slaves, the issues of African retentions have sharply divided scholarship on slave revolts and black American life. Among studies of early American at one extreme stands Jon Butler's contention that African religions suffered a spiritual holocaust in colonial America and, by implication, had little effect on slave rebellions. Michael Mullin and Ira Berlin created a middle ground by contending that rebellion and revolt against the slavocracy emanated largely from acculturated enslaved people. Extending Du Bois's explanation is P. Sterling Stuckey, who maintains that Africanity remained strong in African American life well after the end of the legal Atlantic slave trade. Bolstering Stuckey's findings are newer works

from John C. Thornton and Michael Gomez that link Africanisms in North American societies to a black Atlantic culture. Now comes Walter C. Rucker in a well-organized study to provide new evidence of the importance of Africanisms in black American slave revolts. His book is highly useful for interpreting slave revolts, but ultimately is unsatisfying in measuring the debate.

Rucker's method is clear. He devotes single chapters to major slave revolts in early America, from the risings in New York City in 1712 and 1741 to the Stono Revolt in South Carolina in 1739, then skips over the American Revolution to the early nineteenth-century revolts led by Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner. In each instance, Rucker has thoroughly scoured archives in New York City, Charleston, and Richmond, and he incorporates new information from the CD-ROM database on the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade* edited by David Eltis et al. (1999). On every occasion, Rucker ably synthesizes known scholarship about the African qualities of the uprisings with apposite evidence about rituals, with capsule biographies of key figures and general expertise about the after effects of the revolts.

Neglect of significant, recent interpretations of slavery mar this overall solid contribution. This is readily apparent in Rucker's discussions of the two New York revolts. In *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (1999) and *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (2003), Berlin contends that creolized Africans with experience in the language, religion, and legal systems of their European masters best negotiated their bondage in the Americas. With the substantial increase in the direct slave trade between Africa and America, the lot of the enslaved suffered drastically. Berlin indeed pays scant attention to early slave revolts, an omission that Rucker should have exploited heavily to extend the importance of his arguments. Moreover, Rucker's thesis collides directly with Berlin's foregrounding of the experience of Creoles in the making of black American society.

Rucker overlooks the American Revolution, which scholars now recognize had a major African American component. At the conclusion of the revolution, African Americans affiliated with the defeated British left by the thousands for new homes, first in Nova Scotia and the West Indies, then in a dramatic move in the 1780s and 1790s to Africa. In fairness, scholarship has not uncovered the extensive African cultures during the American Revolution as it has for the colonial era. Still, Rucker missed a nice opportunity to bring the discussion to a full circle.

Matters improve as Rucker discusses the nineteenth-century revolts. He jousts with Douglas Egerton and Mullin over the influence of skilled artisans in the Gabriel plot of 1800 by emphasizing the importance of blacksmiths in African culture, although I do not think he dislodges Egerton's class interpretation. Rucker takes on Michael Johnson's widely discussed article on Denmark Vesey and argues convincingly that Johnson is more effective in criticizing recent scholarship than

in dismantling the history of the conspiracy. Rucker's account of conjuring men in the Nat Turner revolt is illuminating and, as he indicates, runs counter to the claims of Eugene Genovese that such cunning people were prominent in North American revolts as they were in West Indian societies.

Overall, Rucker's work is a solid contribution to the history of slave resistance. There are key moments when he could have made larger historiographic claims, but still our understanding of early America is much broader because of this book.

GRAHAM RUSSELL GAO HODGES
Colgate University

MATTHEW MASON. *Slavery and Politics in the Early American Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 339. \$45.00.

Matthew Mason wants to refocus political debates during the early republic through the lens of slavery. In this book, he shows how debates over such seemingly tangential issues as the relief efforts that followed a devastating city-wide fire in Savannah, Georgia, in 1820 provoked sectional rancor, which, in turn, lead to attacks on and defenses of slavery (pp. 1–2). He also shows how the language of the antebellum debates over slavery mirrored these earlier debates, in which the participants on both sides relied on standard repertoires that had been developed during the years between the enactment of the slave-trade ban and the Missouri Compromise (p. 237). Mason would then have us look at the whole 1808–1861 period seamlessly, as a period where the fate of American slavery was continually debated, rather than disjointedly, as a series of crises over the institution that defined critical junctures between times of relative quiescence.

Mason's historical argument is a powerful one, although he probably exaggerates its novelty. He cites Donald L. Robinson's *Slavery in the Structure of American Politics, 1765–1820* (1971) several times but does not credit it for covering much of the same ground he does. He also cites Larry E. Tise's *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America* (1987) several times and does credit it for demonstrating how the antebellum defenders of slavery dipped into a repertoire developed in the early republic. These references, however, occur in notes, not in the text. The book would have been a stronger one if Mason had included a literature review where he discussed the earlier scholarship and his specific contributions to it. By reframing old issues in new ways, his study substantially strengthens the case for viewing the 1808–1820 years not as a discrete period in the history of American slavery but as part of a larger whole. Another contribution is to demonstrate how the often forgotten group in the middle also developed its own distinctive unionist language to attempt to ease sectional tensions over slavery (pp. 214–215). Yet a third contribution is to indicate how political antislavery (as opposed to abolitionism) was stronger in the lower North than in New England be-

cause slavery impinged more on the daily lives of the European Americans living in those areas (pp. 130–131). The geographical proximity of the institution meant more interaction with fugitive slaves and slave catchers, term slaves and slave traders, and sojourning slaves and slave holders, and many European Americans living in the lower North were as averse to interacting with the European Americans in those groups as with the African Americans (pp. 143–144).

This study would also have been stronger if Mason had pursued the implications of his own insights into how politicians used antislavery or proslavery languages for political effect independent of any antislavery or proslavery commitments. The primary implication is that those languages had a certain reality that existed independent of the historical actors who used them. The secondary implication is that historical actors with a variety of beliefs and motives could then use those languages. Mason expends too much effort attempting to categorize historical actors into broad antislavery and proslavery categories and subcategories, such as, on the antislavery side, immediatist or gradualist and, on the proslavery side, necessary evil or positive good. This effort oversimplifies the very complex reality that he himself describes. It also shifts the focus from the general level—the antislavery and proslavery languages—to the particular level—the beliefs and motives of individual actors. At times, it seems as if Mason forgets that his book is not really about the political thought of John Randolph or Thomas Jefferson.

Mason's study is somewhat repetitious. The same antislavery, moderate, and proslavery arguments are trotted out again and again, actor by actor, issue after issue. Again, the book would have been a better one if Mason had kept his focus on the antislavery, moderate, and proslavery languages that were developed during his period of study and turned to specific issues and specific arguments made by specific actors as illustrations of those languages.

None of these criticisms, however, should diminish the importance of Mason's book. In a revisionist vein, it shows how the 1808–1820 years were not really the lull before the antebellum storm over slavery. On a more methodological level, it shows how chronicling more localized political and social events is as much as a part of writing history as recounting great national crises. This latter point is especially true if we center, as Mason does (pp. 5–6), the experiences of the African American slaves in the history of American slavery. For them, the institution was not the object of great national crises but part of their everyday world, and their resistance to it was far from episodic (pp. 106–107).

DAVID F. ERICSON
Wichita State University

STEVEN DEYLE. *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 398. \$29.95.

Over the last decade or so there has been—at least relative to the scattered shots of the preceding eighty years—a positively rippling volley of works focused on the internal slave trade of the United States. It was about time. For in the nineteenth century, the “domestic” slave trade moved over half a million enslaved African Americans from the older South to the newer, enabling the cotton South’s growth—and that of the economy of the antebellum United States. Financing and managing it required vast quantities of cash and credit, as well as a variety of financial instruments and institutions. It shaped the politics of region and nation in ways that historians are only now discovering, and it structured the cultures of white and black Americans in ways that still affect us today. Its human costs were tremendous. Virtually every antebellum enslaved African American lost close relatives to the slave trade’s relentless hunger, and as ex-slaves’ narratives tell us over and over again, forced separation was one of the two or three most terrifying aspects of slavery.

Yet the domestic slave trade remained, for the most part, a history oddly absent from the grand histories of slavery. Try to find it in Eugene Genovese’s *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1974), for instance. At last, with Michael Tadmán, Walter Johnson, Robert Gudmestad, Ira Berlin, and the forthcoming work of Phillip Troutman, scholars have begun to tackle the many implications of this vast and complex process. Steven Deyle’s book is, in many ways, the most comprehensive in this whole salvo of excellent studies.

Deyle’s book breaks neatly between the first three chapters and the remaining five. The first three provide something of a history of the trade, detailing its emergence, role in the emergence of the cotton South (oddly, the book’s shortest and perhaps least satisfying chapter), and how—as Deyle sees it—it exacerbated upper South-lower South tensions that helped push the latter subregion toward secession.

The remaining five chapters are topical. Most contain their own chronology, and most take the reader from the beginning of the Cotton Kingdom (he capitalizes it) to the self-immolation of the planter class in the fires of war. Over their course, Deyle makes a number of different arguments. Some of them are novel, and some are synthetic of the work of other scholars. But they are all interesting, and, for the most part, persuasive. Deyle argues that the domestic slave trade was not only an everyday presence in the life of the antebellum South but also the rhetorical weak point of the proslavery argument, one to which the abolitionist movement attempted to shape charges that would blow holes in the walls of the peculiar institution. The final chapter discusses the experience of enslaved people in the trade.

Deyle’s book has two great strengths. First, his research is incredibly extensive, even comprehensive. There is really no way to overemphasize this fact, no way to overstate the vast quantity of archival, newspaper, and other sources he has examined. Specialized work on the internal slave trade will now start with Deyle’s footnotes. Second, he has considered the trade

from multiple angles and has created a series of novel lenses through which to view its effects on the history of the antebellum United States. Historians will be able to consider whether these help to bring their particular part of the picture into more revealing focus.

The text has its weaknesses, however. The structure of the book makes it difficult to understand what, if anything, is the overall argument. And like most other scholars who write about the trade, Deyle has accepted the self-interested distinction that contemporaries made between the southwestward transportation of slaves by their enslavers, and the specialized internal slave trade. It can be difficult in practice to distinguish between these two processes. They were only two points on a spectrum of methods used by white people to force enslaved African Americans to slavery’s frontier, where the profits were. Looking only at the trade, rather than at forced migration in general and all its consequences, might lead scholars to miss the full impact of the long lines of people marched south and west over the length of a long lifetime, from the 1780s to the early 1860s. Some were in chains. Some were not. They were all going south and west to make not only their enslavers but the rest of the United States and indeed the rest of the north Atlantic world richer. And ever since, American, southern, and African American history have been shaped by their journeys.

EDWARD E. BAPTIST
Cornell University

DONALD L. CANNEY. *Africa Squadron: The U.S. Navy and the Slave Trade, 1843–1861*. Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books. 2006. Pp. xiv, 277. \$27.50.

The U.S. Navy’s attempts to suppress the transatlantic slave trade is an important subject, despite the fact that the American effort was generally a failure, except in capturing a few slaving ships and releasing their captives. Naval historian Donald L. Canney has attempted to study this American initiative, drawing on his considerable expertise. The result is a book that tells us a lot about American ships, where they went, the hardships that were suffered by their crews, and even more about their white captains and the generally frustrated legal efforts to convict slavers. Canney also provides a chronological account of the ebbs and flows of U.S. policy with respect to the slave trade, especially in the crucial two decades before the Civil War. Unfortunately, the positive merits of the study in relation to technical details and policy issues in the United States are limited, while the negative dimensions of Canney’s study raise serious questions.

Canney reveals no knowledge of African history and very little of African geography (e.g., Luanda, the capital of Angola, not “Loando”; Principe, not Prince’s Island; Gabon, not “Gaboön”). Canney’s “kroomen,” who had “slightly humorous names” (p. 79), and who are sometimes referred to as “natives,” were the Kru, who were not involved in any significant way if at all in the sale of slaves but rather worked for wages on board

European ships, at least since the 1780s. Moreover the "Fishmen," whom Canney incorrectly identifies as perpetrators of the slave trade, were involved, as other Kru, in similar employment. The idea that "Liberia" was a country and actually was important in this period is a myth of U.S. historians that needs to be debunked. In this period, Liberia constituted no more than a couple thousand people, principally located at Cape Mesurado (Monrovia) and with minimal influence in West Africa. The location of the Liberian settlement on the Kru coast is only one problem of interpretation that confronts Canney whenever he attempts to describe the African coast. As his bibliography makes clear, he apparently made no effort to do the type of research that is required of any undergraduate. Canney makes no reference to the scholarship of George Brooks, David Eltis, Robin Law, or indeed any number of scholars who have studied the impact of abolition on West and West Central Africa over the last thirty to forty years. There is no use of the voyage database that is now standard research equipment, nor is there any reference to the excellent scholarship of Cuban and Brazilian scholars of the slave trade, and its suppression; hence the analysis of both Cuba and Brazil is virtually useless.

The most striking questions to be asked of the American involvement in the suppression of the slave trade are why the Americans were involved at all, and, given their participation, how it was that the results were so meager? Between 1844 and 1861, the American Navy apprehended only thirty-six slavers off the coasts of Africa, Brazil, Cuba, and the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and the American courts, whether in the North or the South, released many of these, often returning the enslaved to slavery. Given the centrality of slavery in the United States, it is perhaps not surprising that American efforts to enforce abolition were not successful, unless the real purpose was precisely to protect the continuation of the slave trade and frustrate any efforts to end slavery. Although Canney does not argue this, it seems clear that the poor results were a product of internal debate within the United States over slavery. Instead Canney attributes the real reasons to inadequate naval resources, that is "merely neglect" (p. 222). Canney makes no attempt to evaluate how many enslaved Africans were freed or kept in slavery, nor does he attempt to provide details about the specific historical contexts of the enslavement of these people. The book is little more than a list of ship movements and biographical sketches of American naval officers. Canney may be accurate in claiming that this is the first book written about the African Squadron from a naval perspective (p. xiv), but if so, it certainly will not be the last.

PAUL E. LOVEJOY
York University

BARBARA RYAN. *Love, Wages, Slavery: The Literature of Servitude in the United States*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. 246. \$40.00.

At the heart of Barbara Ryan's book is a series of crucial observations about the assumptions of the nineteenth-century world. What she reveals is the ubiquity of a sentimental ideal of servitude, even in the years when antisentimentality (and postsentimentality) were in the ascendant. This was, fundamentally, because writers never truly defined what it meant to be "family-like" even as they insisted that this was the acme of success for non-kin workers.

"Indeed," Ryan writes, "ambiguity was crucial to the widespread and long-lived appeal of the idea that non-kin service should be family-like" (p. 20).

Additionally, and perhaps even more crucially, Ryan identifies meaningful links between slavery and "free" service from the antebellum period to the Gilded Age. In her epilogue she argues that despite the vibrant new scholarship on service, "downplayed in this body of research . . . is recognition of the extent to which and the ways in which ideas about slavery shaped ideas about service of disparate kinds as well as mastery and mistress-ship as such things related to home and 'family' life" (p. 185). This book is a contribution precisely because it does just what she calls for.

One of the great strengths of this literary history of servitude in the nineteenth century is its scope: Ryan considers well-known writers like James Fenimore Cooper and Harriet Beecher Stowe, but the majority of her writers will be obscure to most readers, although they were clearly known to their contemporary audience. Proceeding largely chronologically, Ryan looks at the establishment of the sentimental ideal for family-like kin, and then how it was both resisted and reinforced (often in the same text) by writers of all different political and regional identities.

Ryan acknowledges and identifies the many uses of this ambiguous yet ubiquitous ideal in disparate texts from novels to essays to domestic advice manuals. "[T]he ideal of family-like service," she argues, "implied an orderliness and stability that were vitally attractive to 'privileged' Americans uncomfortable with the exigencies of a rank/gender status most would not have relinquished for the world" (p. 44). Still, she cautions later, "there was more to the 'servant problem' at mid-century than struggles over social status, since affect remained one of the chief criteria by which attendants were judged" (p. 102). This would prove a stumbling block for many writers, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, whose work on the question of servitude included making sense of the presence of Henry David Thoreau in his household.

One of the most fascinating chapters in the book concerned the work by—ostensibly—the servitors themselves. In "Kitchen Testimony and Servants' Tales," Ryan explores the acute tension implicit in a slave or servant coming forward with stories of the households they worked in. Even for those sensitive to issues of labor, this was a delicate question: should, as one advice book cautioned, "honor . . . forever seal your lips?" (p. 106). If sentimentality was to be abandoned, in the later nineteenth century, as the dishonesty of the "family-

like" bond was revealed, could that advice be rejected? Only, Ryan finds, if the writer already had another job.

This book was both difficult and a pleasure to read. While the stories Ryan tells—for example, elaborating on a scandalous divorce case between Shakespearean actor Edwin Forrest and his British wife, Catherine—provide a crucial historical frame for her analysis, she presumes a great deal of intimate knowledge on the part of her reader. She refers to the case, for example, and its impact on the writer N. P. Willis (who may or may not have been having an affair with Catherine), without introducing it for another eight pages. A careful reader unfamiliar with details of mid-nineteenth century cultural life will be scrambling for the index. In the midst of all this detail, however, there are humorous word usage and elegant close readings to make the reader laugh out loud, calling an aspect of Emersonian writings on servitude "goop" (p. 53), for example, or revealing the ambivalence buried in the phrase "stupid sentimentality," and the way "it leaves open the possibility that sentiment might edify if linked to waged attendance in some nonstupid way" (p. 139). Ryan pushes beyond the obvious, over and over again, identifying misconceptions and misreadings while celebrating the work of her colleagues as well.

This would be a challenging text for an undergraduate, but an enormously useful one for a scholar in the field of servitude and slavery in the nineteenth century. Ryan does not often stop and reflect on the purposes of her work, summing up what came before: her commentary moves at a swift and confident pace, remarking swiftly on dozens of texts in intricate and knowing ways that she in some sense presumes that the reader shares. The thread of an unshakable and alluring sentimentality is enormously persuasive, however, and still marks the troubled relationships between employer and employed in households today. For the historian, what this text does more than anything else, is to complicate the picture of household labor, connecting the nineteenth-century North and the South through their shared sentimental fantasies of household ease and care.

LYDE CULLEN SIZER
Sarah Lawrence College

AUSTIN ALLEN. *Origins of the Dred Scott Case: Jacksonian Jurisprudence and the Supreme Court, 1837–1857*. (Studies in the Legal History of the South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2006. Pp. x, 274. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.95.

Received wisdom about the Supreme Court's decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) runs something like this: *Dred Scott* was the judicial expression of partisan prejudice through which an overreaching Court decisively cast its lot with both slavery and the South in what had become a festering sectional struggle; the Court, moreover, got the law wrong; and the decision, therefore, reveals the danger of unbridled judicial activism. Austin Allen challenges every element of this wisdom.

Allen has read more than 1,600 of the Court's deci-

sions reported from 1837 to 1861. He concludes that *Dred Scott* emerged naturally—indeed "inescapably" (p. 6)—from doctrinal disputes with which the Court had been wrestling for at least two decades. In short, the Court in *Dred Scott* was primarily (and correctly) applying the law and not merely pursuing politics or promoting personal predilection.

Several scholars, including myself, have traced the doctrinal roots of *Dred Scott* through prior decisions involving especially the status of sojourners, transients, and fugitives. Allen argues, however, that we cannot understand the Court's motives and conclusions in *Dred Scott* without also taking into account developments in three other doctrinal areas: the expansion of the scope of diversity jurisdiction; the recognition of corporations as "quasi-citizens" for purposes of diversity; and the emergence (via *Swift v. Tyson* [1842]) of a federal common law independent from and sometimes antagonistic to the common law decisions of states' courts.

These developments presented an opportunity for antislavery lawyers, who wanted to press claims in federal forums without the constraint of states' laws that promoted the interests of slavery and of slaveholders. A "faction" of three southern justices—Peter Daniel, John Catron, and John A. Campbell—perceived that, if slaves or even free blacks had access to federal courts, the result could threaten the racial and economic order of southern society. In fact, says Allen, others on the Court had little interest in undermining slavery or southern interests; but the faction nonetheless threatened to overturn decades of decisions concerning jurisdiction, corporations, and commerce if the Court did not firmly guarantee that slaves and free blacks were outside the ambit of federal jurisdiction. *Dred Scott* was the Court's guarantee. With corporations protected and blacks excluded from federal courts, consensus on the Court was restored, and the southern faction dissolved.

This is the basic account. The particulars are more complex and interesting than space here permits. Suffice it to say that Allen conveys his story with care and crafts his argument cogently and with sensitivity to nuance and detail. Any concerns I have pertain less to the general thesis than to particulars. I shall take up three concerns.

First, Allen discusses the pivotal case of *Strader v. Graham* (1851) as if it involved solely the question of the status of sojourning slaves. Although it did involve this issue, the case arose not as a suit for freedom but as a suit brought by a slaveholder in state court for damages against the owners and captain of a steamship when slaves, who were on a sojourn from Kentucky to Ohio, fled to Canada. Thus, *Strader* involved a conflict between two economic interests: an enterpriser engaged in navigation and a slaveholder. Discussing this aspect of the case would have made sense, as the conflict relates directly to Allen's thesis.

Second, Allen claims (p. 145) that developments in the 1840s suggested "that northern policy makers were no longer willing to accept a legitimate place for slavery

within the Union." My own reading of the history, not to mention Allen's evidence, leads me to believe that this claim is dubious. There was broad acceptance, North and South, for the propositions that slavery should be protected and that states were the primary institutions for protecting it. On my reading, therefore, this "federal consensus" was not as short-lived as Allen suggests.

Finally, and most important from a thematic perspective, I am unconvinced that *Dred Scott* was inescapable. It was certainly a rational response to doctrinal uncertainty. But it was not the only rational response possible.

These concerns should not distract from the fact that Allen has written a fine book: instructive, perceptive, and well researched. It will be of interest to legal scholars for taking law seriously as a partially autonomous institution and for taking seriously the notion that judges are legal and not (merely) political actors. It will be of interest to political scientists for attending to the formation and function of coalitions on the Supreme Court. Finally, it will interest historians of antebellum law and politics, not least because it challenges so many dominant understandings of how *Dred Scott* came to be and why it took the form it did. Allen's book will not be the last word on the subject, but, from this point forward, it must be part of any intelligent discussion.

MARK E. BRANDON

Vanderbilt University Law School

JAMES F. SIMON. *Lincoln and Chief Justice Taney: Slavery, Secession, and the President's War Powers*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2006. Pp. 324. \$27.00.

In this book James F. Simon, the author of a number of legal histories and biographies, presents a concise account of the lives of President Abraham Lincoln and Chief Justice Roger B. Taney and the constitutional issues that divided them. Although it may interest lawyers and historians unfamiliar with the constitutional issues of the Civil War era, Simon aims primarily at a popular audience. He limns his protagonists' lives in sprightly prose, providing richly distilled descriptions of the political and military context in which their ideas clashed.

The book is a good read, and teachers might consider it for undergraduate classes in American constitutional history or on the Civil War. However, there are shortcomings for that purpose. Simon does not use a conventional footnote or endnote system. Eschewing superscript numbers, he follows the text with notes keyed to each page and the relevant phrase. These are very concise and mostly limited to the sources of quotations. A student would rarely be guided to further reading, and in many cases it is not clear what sources Simon drew on for his information and insights. A very brief discussion of sources preceding the notes does not provide much illumination.

The dominant trope of the first part of Simon's account is tragedy, both for the nation and for Taney. Simon stresses that Lincoln and Taney were personally

opposed to slavery (early in his life Taney manumitted his slaves and criticized the institution). Both were pragmatic moderates, he indicates, forced towards the extremes by the increasing depth of the controversy. As chief justice, Taney was highly regarded for the judiciousness and prudence of his decisions, including those involving slavery. Simon says that it was moderates, rather than proslavery extremists, who hoped that under his leadership the Supreme Court would succeed where the political branches had failed, and articulate a reasonable constitutional framework for resolving the slavery conflict. Instead, in the infamous *Dred Scott* case of 1857, Taney vented the bitterness that had been accumulating among southerners, writing an opinion that worsened the crisis and destroyed what otherwise would have been a stellar judicial reputation.

Simon credits Taney's opinion with giving Lincoln, who otherwise would have been barely remembered as a good lawyer and frustrated politician, the opportunity to achieve greatness. In his debates with Douglas and in numerous other speeches around the country, Lincoln best responded to Taney's faulty constitutional arguments, making himself the most acceptable Republican presidential candidate in 1860. The rest of the book presents the constitutional conflicts between Lincoln and Taney, whom Simon paints as an ever more bitter and forlorn secessionist sympathizer. These issues involved the nature of the war and Lincoln's conduct of it—his assumption of emergency powers as commander-in-chief, suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus and trial of civilians by military commission, suppression of speech and the press, and promulgation of the Emancipation Proclamation.

The discussions are pointed and concise, generally accurate but often oversimplifying the constitutional arguments and in the *Prize Cases* (1862) exaggerating what was at stake almost to the point of distortion. Moreover, Simon unaccountably ignores the constitutional arguments over the right of secession, nor does he provide a clear description of the constitutional doctrines of state sovereignty, state rights, and national supremacy. Thus the book provides a reasonably good introduction for lay people, made particularly accessible by Simon's skill as a writer, but a teacher would have to augment and qualify some of his statements. Knowing scholars also may be skeptical of Simon's description of Taney's pre-*Dred Scott* decisions as moderate.

Simon's concern that wartime has usually led to an erosion of civil liberties, most recently since 9/11, leads him to sympathize with Taney's criticism of Lincoln's infringements of individual rights more than most historians. He is most critical of Lincoln's infringement of free speech, condemning especially the military trial and banishment of the Ohio Copperhead Clement L. Vallandigham. Nonetheless, he concludes by pointing out how wisely Lincoln exercised the powers that he claimed, and he praises him for remaining committed to the rule of law, unlike such other wartime or quasi-wartime chief executives as John Adams, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and George W. Bush.

In summary, Simon has written an accessible and engaging constitutional history of the Civil War era, organized around the contrasting ideas of two leading protagonists. Hopefully, it will introduce a broad public to important constitutional issues, but it is less useful for scholars and students of history.

MICHAEL LES BENEDICT,
EMERITUS
Ohio State University

TIMOTHY PATRICK MCCARTHY and JOHN STAUFFER, editors. *Prophets of Protest: Reconsidering the History of American Abolitionism*. New York: New Press. 2006. Pp. xxxiii, 382. \$22.95.

For some time, the idea that privileged white men created and drove forward the effort to win freedom for black slaves has been losing credibility. But the result, as Martin Duberman observes in the afterword to this important new collection, was that American abolitionism itself lost historical interest. Of course, over the past generation, historians of women and African Americans have shown that women and nonwhites fundamentally contributed to American antislavery agitation. Abolitionism's internationalism and roots in the eighteenth century are now also clear from a wealth of studies in Atlantic history. Nevertheless, there has not yet been a new synthetic treatment of abolitionism that absorbed this new work. The field has not yet been reconceived in terms of the social history of what we now realize to have been a multiracial and broad grass-roots movement with a long chronology. This important collection of essays, edited by Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Stauffer, admirably fills the gap.

The book is organized into four parts: revisions, on historiography; origins, on the movement's multiracial, international roots; revolutions, on abolitionist militance and John Brown; and representations, on abolitionist rhetoric and aesthetics. Each essay combines original research and synthesis to reveal American abolitionism as "one of the most diverse social movements in American history," multiracial, daring, sophisticated, communal. And above all, pragmatic: abolitionists' goal was always ending slavery, not creating alternate identities or coherent traditions. Thus Patrick Rael shows that most black abolitionists' racial self-presentations were rarely meant to embody a coherent "race theory" but instead almost always constituted pragmatic attempts to build both community and activist programs out of shared suffering. Such communities and such programs, he says, were what "blackness" meant to most African Americans (and some whites) involved in antislavery struggles.

According to Robert Forbes, putting abolitionism at center stage allows black abolitionists' religious explanations for the movement to emerge as a heuristic arguably superior to historians' attempts to read through abolitionist faith to economics or psychosexual dynamics. Karl Gridley and Hannah Geffert show that John Brown worked communally with a surprisingly broad

range of black and white folk. Male abolitionists saw daguerreotypes as "true" pictures, Stauffer demonstrates, with an immediacy conveying the reality of individual character: hence photographs might prove black humanity to mass audiences as nothing else could. Black women like Sojourner Truth (Isabella van Wegenen) knew better. According to Augusta Rohrbach, van Wegenen deliberately manipulated her image, in word and picture, to downplay her experiences of slavery and hatred in the North, and her own personal force and agency, so as to conform to audience expectations about race, region, and gender.

Impressive as all this is, however, the cumulative impact of these distinguished essays is to reveal American abolitionism as disturbingly *sui generis*. Abolitionism emerged as a particular historical moment when it was uniquely possible for the powerless and despised to ally themselves with power and privilege and reshape the nation. Stauffer puts it neatly in his discussion of the fate of images of black men after Reconstruction, when whites no longer treated authentic black images as the real thing. "In one sense, you could say that slavery was a muse that inspired the power of the black image—and black art more generally—which in turn sought to vanquish slavery. As a consumer society replaced a 'slave republic,' the black image, lacking a natural referent, lost much of its prescriptive power" (p. 267). Unfortunately, American abolitionism, as analytical category or as inspiration, probably also cannot be made to bridge the gap from "slave republic" to consumer society.

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MARK A. NOLL. *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*. (The Stephen and Janice Brose Lectures in the Civil War Era.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. x, 199. \$29.95.

Mark A. Noll writes in his impressive new study that "theology in the Civil War is now riding the crest of a historiographical wave" (p. 11). From the height of that wave Noll has been able to describe its force and direction and to see far ahead. His pithy book is a summation and extension of many trends in the fields of American religious history and Civil War-era ideology. The book is bound to spark major revisionist studies and challenge young scholars to explore its provocative and convincing theses. Chief among them is Noll's blunt revelation that the most trampled topic in American historiography, the Civil War, has yet to be fully understood as a cultural rupture of the first order. The war, and the moral and theological debates about slavery central to its causes, crippled American Protestantism and altered its role in national discourse. The theological crisis of the era constituted much more than high-minded wrangling among ministers. Theological meltdowns presaged broad cultural, ideological, and institutional dissolution as the war came on and progressed.

Prior to the Civil War Christians in the United States reveled in self-aggrandizing formulas that explained the nation and the universe. Divine providence directed events and designed favorable paths for the new country. The Bible stood as a shared standard and an accessible guide to morality, both private and public. Yet the rhetoric based on these two pillars of American theology, assuming a distinctive religious culture, turned out to be bluster. The national culture was dependent on religious authority, but lacked it (p. 159). In this democratic religious setting, a multitude of "self-selected individuals" (p. 122) claimed authority to interpret both scripture and providence.

When the question of the morality of slavery brought sharp divisions about the Bible within the North as well as between the North and the South, the shrill claims of each interpretation fanned the emotions that fed the war. Many scholars have noted the religious causes of the war and the intensity of the biblical battle over slavery that motivated the combatants, but Noll highlights another lasting conflict. The irreconcilable readings of the Bible by proslavery, moderate, and antislavery Americans undermined the authority of the Bible itself and eroded the confident antebellum religious culture founded on faith in the Bible as a guide for conduct. Faith in providence and in what God was "doing" (p. 4) fared little better in the era, as shared formulas and cherished expectations dissolved. The breakdown of the country defied standard pieties of divinely driven national progress. The war itself spawned a cacophony of irreconcilable, virulent, and ultimately confused interpretations of God's purposes in the war. Readings of providence turned out to be no more clear nor nationally shared than reading of the words of scripture. An entire theological style, rooted in the world of religious identity but reaching into every aspect of national culture, disintegrated in the era. "Considered as an episode in the history of theology," Noll writes, "the Civil War occurred during a critical transition from theological certainties" (p. 92).

Noll clinches his masterful analysis of Civil War-era religion with a breakthrough in his final chapters, as he explores European commentators on the American religious scene during the slavery debate and war. They constitute a great lens through which to see America's distinct theological assumptions and national habits of mind. Catholic commentators, not surprisingly, saw the crisis over slavery and the Bible across the Atlantic as an inevitable confusion brought on by Protestant faith in the Word alone. They likewise saw the hypocrisy of America's authoritative use of Bible readings to promote regional and economic interests. The foreign Protestant commentary, however, offers Noll's most telling examples of the distinctiveness of American religion. European Protestants shared much of the religious culture of antebellum America but produced more sophisticated and coherent positions on the Bible and slavery. Foreign Protestants largely avoided the abolitionist positions that attacked slavery "per se" and were popular with radicals trying to construct a con-

sistent biblical condemnation of slavery to counter the South's proslavery interpretation. Noll argues that antislavery biblical arguments condemning the specific practices in the South gathered little headway in the United States but "exerted crushing force outside the country" (p. 121). Not just theological sophistication but clear lines of religious authority for its expression separated European Protestants from the raw individualism of biblical exegesis across the Atlantic.

The unique fervor and fragility of America's views of God and divine providence in the Civil War era did much to bring on the war. As Noll so convincingly demonstrates, the era's God was one of the casualties of the conflict. With all the verbiage historians have expended on the war's casualties, Noll shows that this one deserves even more words.

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ADAM I. P. SMITH. *No Party Now: Politics in the Civil War North*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 266. \$55.00.

Adam I. P. Smith's book revisits the question raised by Eric McKittrick's influential essay forty years ago: what role did the two-party system play in the North's Civil War? In McKittrick's view, northern wartime dissent was channeled into the party system, offering the North an advantage the South did not share. Recently, historians have challenged that assessment: in *The Union Divided: Party Conflict in the Civil War North* (2002), for example, Mark E. Neely, Jr., identifies the ways in which Civil War partisanship in fact threatened the stability of the Union. Smith takes a different tack: examining the fiery electoral battles that marked the homefront over the course of the war, he describes the emergence of a wartime political discourse whose most distinctive characteristic was an antiparty partisanship.

Antiparty feeling in the United States was not new. While the founding fathers had disapproved of parties in and of themselves, by the antebellum era most disapproval of parties was less theoretical than it was practical. Amidst corruption and patronage, antiparty language was commonplace, as party politicians "denied their own partisanship and impugned the legitimacy of their opponents" (p. 16). In part because of this ambivalence, the two-party system was never as solid as many historians would have it. As Smith ably demonstrates, throughout the years leading up to the war, party identities remained in flux. But the fluid nature of the antebellum party system did not mean that Americans were ready to abandon parties. Indeed, when the Civil War broke out, northerners found themselves in a difficult position: they could "not imagine fighting a war with party battles raging," but they "could not imagine politically except through parties" (pp. 23–24). Early in the war, northerners sought to suspend party conflict and reconfigured their political affiliations in various ways across party lines. Under pressure to

downplay their radicalism and win elections, Republicans joined with War Democrats and Conservative Unionists. In the fall of 1861, only eight of the thirty-nine Congressional races featured straight Democratic-Republican tickets. Many of these new configurations called themselves Union Parties.

But claims to bipartisanship were only feasible within the context of a war whose goal was to restore national authority. With the Emancipation Proclamation, things became more complicated. When the Democrats won elections in 1862, they did so claiming the mantle of Unionism for themselves. The lessons for Abraham Lincoln and his party were clear: the administration could only secure public support for the radical anti-slavery agenda it proposed in the context of a "nationalist political discourse that rhetorically transcended partisanship" (p. 66). New institutions contributed to this discourse: the Union Leagues and the Army reinforced the antiparty appeal with a powerful new vision of the nation-state, in the process conflating loyalty to the administration with national patriotism. The 1864 presidential election suggested the political efficacy of this anti-partisan nationalist strategy, as the now national Union Party minimized past party associations and insisted that the election was not a party contest.

Historians have often dismissed the Union Party as a cynical ploy on the part of Republicans to maximize support, but Smith argues that such a characterization misses a great deal. While never truly nonpartisan, the Union Party was nonetheless a significant and effective response to the tensions of a political democracy at war. The Union Party brought together the Unionist movement in occupied states; it worked to consolidate the soldiers' vote; and it cleared the Republican electoral path of partisan obstacles for longstanding Democrats and erstwhile Whigs. Perhaps most significantly, it presented emancipation, like the war itself, as being above party: the death of slavery was not an end in itself but was a critical nation-building device. Thus the Union Party was the embodiment of a wartime political discourse that harnessed a commitment to abolitionism to an antiparty nationalism. Indeed, Smith argues that "without the Union Party strategy, the war may not have been won." (pp. 160–161).

At times Smith claims more for his thesis than his evidence can sustain. While the assertion of non-partisanship was no doubt a factor in convincing voters to support the administration, its impact may be overstated. Many northerners viewed these claims with skepticism: avid consumers of print culture, northern voters were exposed not only to the antiparty rhetoric of Republicans and the Union Party, but to the rebuttals of Democrats as well. From the beginning, anti-administration Democrats repeatedly made it clear that they, like the historians who followed them, believed the claim to nonpartisanship to be a "sharp Republican trick to demoralize the Democratic Party" (*Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel*, June 5, 1861). Moreover, if party identities were less rigid than we have assumed, policies like emancipation may well have been viewed

less through a partisan lens than in terms of their radical content. Thus the moderate packaging of emancipation as means, not end, would have played a more meaningful role in attracting support for the administration than did accompanying claims to nonpartisanship.

These caveats aside, this is an important book that brings a fresh perspective to the study of Civil War politics. Highlighting the role that antiparty rhetoric played in the creation of a new antislavery nationalism, Smith makes a persuasive argument that this rhetoric was one of the defining features of politics during the Civil War.

MELINDA LAWSON
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GABOR BORITT. *The Gettysburg Gospel: The Lincoln Speech that Nobody Knows*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2006. Pp. ix, 415. \$25.00.

The title of this latest volume from the very productive pen of Gabor Boritt will come, as is intended, as a surprise both to the American public and to American historians, most of whom, it may safely be surmised, know the Gettysburg Address very well indeed, or think they do. That, of course, is the point. A subtitle along the lines of "the Lincoln speech you assumed you knew but in fact you don't know it as well as you thought you did" would have proved somewhat unwieldy; but that, in essence, is the thrust of this study and its contribution to Lincoln scholarship generally and to that on the Gettysburg Address specifically.

Boritt, of course, has used a version of this title before, in his edited collection, *The Gettysburg Nobody Knows* (1997), but perhaps the origins of the present volume lie in another of his many edited works, *The Historians' Lincoln: Pseudohistory, Psychohistory, and History* (1996). In the latter, Boritt mused on the popularity of Gore Vidal's *Lincoln* (1984), a novel that he described as "insidiously ahistorical" in its construction of a "cynical, amoral world . . . with a comfortable Lincoln at its center." It was a novel, he concluded, composed for a "Watergate-tempered" generation (p. xxii). The book under review may, in part, be read as a corrective, not just to Vidal's novel, but to the many myths and misconceptions that have arisen over the years regarding both Abraham Lincoln and his most famous speech. It is, in some senses, an attempt to return to the "first principles" of the Gettysburg Address insofar as these can be winnowed out of the chaff of almost a century and a half of writing, opinion, and fiction. In its author's own words, it "tries to clear away the range of meanings later generations laid upon the Gettysburg Address," yet its impulse to free Lincoln's speech from the detritus of the decades derives as much from the need to establish a modern, updated context for the Gettysburg Address as it does from the desire to isolate Lincoln's sentiment in its pure, unadulterated form (p. 3).

Where Vidal's novel assumed a "Watergate-tempered" readership, Boritt's study openly acknowledges

that it is facing a post-9/11-tempered audience, one perhaps more attuned to the need to find a future direction in the words of the past. In this context, the book's coda—which describes the memorial ceremony in New York in 2002 that included a reading of the Gettysburg Address—represents not just a reassertion of Lincoln's relevance for the twenty-first century but also highlights the links that are being made in this study among past, present, and future. The work opens with what are, in essence, stark, snapshot images from Gettysburg in the aftermath of that three-day battle in July 1863, scenes of carnage and of human misery. A Union soldier's observation that "Gettysburg cannot be called a town, but a large collection of hospitals" is reiterated by the many participants and observers marshalled here, all providing the reader with brutal reminders of what Gettysburg cost before turning her attention to what the battle came to mean (p. 8). The horrific parallels between 1863 and 2001 are not labored, nor are they hard to miss: that the former was a self-inflicted wound on the nation hardly detracts from the point being made.

Yet Boritt is not simply resurrecting a Lincoln for twenty-first-century needs: he is also engaged in the process of reconstructing the nineteenth-century context of the Gettysburg Address, a context that has—given the extraordinary attention accorded the wording of the speech—perhaps slipped from view. From the carnage of the battle itself we move to Lincoln's journey by train to Gettysburg in November, to his motivation for attending the ceremony, and the political climate in which and through which his actions were understood and judged. In this regard, the book is pursuing the direction of some of the most recent scholarship on Lincoln, including that by Richard Carwardine whose *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power* (2006) stressed the importance of placing Lincoln "firmly in the setting in which he operated" if we are seeking to understand the president's actions and, in this case, his message (p. ix).

Boritt's succinct description of Lincoln's political world goes hand in hand with his careful extraction of the Gettysburg Address from the multiple variations of it reported at the time and since to produce not simply a fresh assessment of a speech perhaps better known than fully understood but also a valuable historiographical and analytical tool for future Lincoln scholarship. Appendixes detailing the program for November 19, 1863, facsimiles of the five copies of the address penned by Lincoln, textual analysis not just of Lincoln's speech as it was—most likely—delivered, and a brief exploration of the provenance of the "genuine" Lincoln speech in a world where even fragments of Lincoln's words are "fetching seven figures" are informative and valuable (p. 292). Some of this, it must be said, will more likely be of interest to linguistic specialists rather than the general reader, but in the context of the work as a whole they serve an important purpose. "Idealized heroes inspire people to action; historically accurate ones may not," Boritt observes (p. 200). His timely, evocative, and detailed study of the most famous speech in America's

history, however, shows that idealization and accuracy, where Lincoln is concerned, need not be mutually exclusive.

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CHRISTOPHER WALDREP. *Vicksburg's Long Shadow: The Civil War Legacy of Race and Remembrance*. (The American Crisis Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. xix, 344. \$26.95.

In the tradition of the best scholarship on Civil War memory, Christopher Waldrep explores the ways that particular individuals and groups—Confederates and Unionists, white women and African Americans, former generals and soldiers, Washington bureaucrats and entrepreneurs—labored to shape the memory of the battle of Vicksburg, Mississippi, during the decades following the Civil War. In doing so, Waldrep also raises questions regarding two additional bedrock assumptions of Civil War scholarship: that late nineteenth and early twentieth-century white southerners were unstintingly devoted to the Lost Cause, and that, while the North won the war, the South won the peace. The case of Vicksburg, he suggests, reveals both weaknesses in southerners' commitment to the memory of the Confederacy and the relative success of the North—especially in the form of the federal government—in determining the aftermath and significance of the Civil War. This book, then, is both a fascinating case study that hones in on the particular memory of a critical Civil War battle and a work of scholarship that engages much broader concerns and methodologies in Civil War studies.

The book proceeds chronologically and thematically, beginning with a detailed account of the siege itself, and concluding with the establishment of national Memorial Day celebrations orchestrated by the National Park Service at the Vicksburg National Cemetery during the 1930s. Chapters on the war and Reconstruction examine the details of the siege, which included a fierce battle fought by black troops against Confederate soldiers at Milliken's Bend, the ways in which the battle for Vicksburg quickly became subsumed by developments in Gettysburg in the national press (just as it would later be overshadowed by the Pennsylvania battle in national memory), and the establishment of a National Cemetery at Vicksburg in 1866 as a memorial to Union soldiers. In these early chapters, Waldrep teases out a number of the conflicting stories that were generated out of the events of Vicksburg, and that would come to characterize contrasting histories in following decades. Into the twentieth century, local whites who were "determined to resist the permanent expansion of national power" told and retold stories of alleged violations by African American troops; these stories stood in striking contrast to the testimony of black veterans of Milliken's Bend before the examiners of the U.S. Pension Bureau, as well as to the dignified ceremonies held by the "colored" GAR post each year at the National Cemetery (p.

65). Significantly, Waldrep argues that Mississippi whites were not able to control the memory of Vicksburg—not even after the end of Reconstruction—as African Americans and the federal government, albeit in a paternalist rather than rights-defending role, continued to act in ways that generated meanings running counter to the values of the Lost Cause.

Paradoxically, white Mississippians ultimately found great allies—or even leaders—among their former foes. Successive chapters argue that generals' memoirs, in particular the published recollections of Ulysses S. Grant, played a critical role in transforming the dominant national narrative of the Civil War into one that emphasized the details of military strategy at the expense of a version "taking into account emancipation and black aspirations for freedom and justice" (p. 102). As Waldrep further tells the story of Vicksburg, Union veterans were also the force behind the establishment of a national park, which they touted as a fitting "monument to Grant's genius" and opportunity to honor the dead of both sides (and celebrate white unity), and northerners eagerly pursued the opportunity to establish monuments and hold blue-grey reunions at Vicksburg, while southerners were more reticent (p. 165). Finally, after the devastating experiences of violence during World War I and the isolationism of the 1920s, which Waldrep argues quelled Americans' enthusiasm for Civil War romanticism, the New Deal brought "moonlight and romance back with a vengeance" during the 1930s (p. 281). The Civilian Conservation Corps and then the National Park Service worked diligently to make the Vicksburg park a prime tourist destination; its crowning achievement was a museum designed as a replica of an antebellum mansion, where federal officials presented a history "the most determined Lost Cause enthusiast could admire" (p. 283). And yet, as Waldrep suggests in a compelling epilogue, white interests, whether northern or southern, were never able to exclude completely the emancipationist dreams that helped to secure Union victory at Vicksburg in the first place—and inspired a rising generation of civil rights activists in the mid-twentieth century.

In this richly textured analysis of a vital episode of Civil War history and memory, Waldrep deftly weaves together multiple strands of the Vicksburg story. African Americans and their understandings of Vicksburg do not disappear from the narrative (just as they refused to be marginalized completely from the cemetery and park), even as white interests, institutions, and resources drive much of the plot. The emphasis on generals' memoirs, and especially on the actions of the federal government, draw attention to less well-known actors in the development of Civil War memory, and the book's long chronological reach—extending beyond the fifty-year anniversary of the Civil War that has marked the end point of many leading books in the field—is particularly welcome. The challenges Waldrep raises regarding the tenacity of Lost Cause enthusiasts are also interesting, but he does not present enough evidence of white Mississippians' commemorative ac-

tivity—or inactivity—beyond the Vicksburg cemetery and park (which many white residents viewed with decided ambivalence) to make a thoroughgoing case, nor does Waldrep directly engage scholars of the Civil War in an in-depth way that would make for an even greater historiographical contribution. Nevertheless, this book is a significant accomplishment: a well-told and engaging story that has much to offer to the ongoing conversations and debates in Civil War memory studies.

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ANDREW E. TASLITZ. *Reconstructing the Fourth Amendment: A History of Search and Seizure, 1789–1868*. New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 363. \$50.00.

Andrew E. Taslitz is especially troubled by the differential application of the Fourth Amendment to racial minorities. His engaging book is both strengthened and weakened by his desire to tie such a modern Fourth Amendment concern to its historical legacy. He seeks to recapture this amendment by reconstructing the history that led to its inclusion in the Bill of Rights and by examining search and seizure issues that preceded the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, through which the Supreme Court has subsequently applied these provisions to the states.

Taslitz views the Fourth Amendment as "an attempt to tame political violence, ensuring its service to the 'security' of a free People by prohibiting unreasonable exercises of the state's use of force" (p. 4). He believes that the authors of the amendment particularly intended to protect "interests in privacy [though they did not use this specific term], property, and freedom of movement" (p. 9), and he is especially concerned about the effect that improper searches have on both individual and group perceptions. Beyond its particulars, he finds that the Fourth Amendment expresses a concern for "respect," which he connects to "status or esteem" (p. 10). He shows how the American Founders linked their protection against unreasonable searches and seizures to their antipathy to political "slavery."

Taslitz distills seven conclusions from his review of English and American experience with writs of assistance, general warrants, and searches and seizures in general. They include the ideas that "state violence . . . can stigmatize and insult individuals and groups"; that the Fourth Amendment is closely tied to the First; that the Fourth Amendment references to "the People" are important; that the amendment "binds all three branches of government"; that the "probable-cause 'requirement' embodies notions of individualized justice"; and that "there is presumptively little tension between the demands of individualized justice and of public safety" (p. 71). He is less convincing in applying such principles to modern cases like *Maryland v. Pringle*, 125 S. Ct. 795 (2003), involving an officer's search of a car in which his discovery of rolled up cash led to the discovery of drugs.

Taslitz devotes the greater portion of his book to describing in striking detail the limits on "free movement, privacy, and property" (p. 91) that slaves experienced prior to the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment and that freedmen endured between the South's imposition of Black Codes and the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. These included limits on the ownership of private property, warrantless searches of cabins, and restrictions on personal movement.

Consistent with other interpreters, Taslitz believes the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment originally intended for the privileges and immunities clause, rather than the due process clause, to apply the provisions of the Fourth Amendment and other fundamental rights to the states. He summarizes his conclusions under ten headings: Individualized Justice, Group Voices, Freedom of Movement, Property, Group Privacy, Humiliation, Shared Institutional Obligations, the Citizenry's Monitorial Role in Regulating the Police, Ensuring a High Quantity and Quality of Evidence, and the Citizenry's Safety and the Least Restrictive Alternative (pp. 258–261). Taslitz admits that some conclusions are fairly general; he thus believes that the amendment should especially safeguard homes and families, and he advocates a "federalism-aware conversation" (p. 260).

In applying postbellum principles to modern-day controversies, Taslitz argues that Judge Harold Baer's original decision in *United States v. Bayless*, 913 F. Supp. 232 (S.D.N.Y. 1996), suppressing evidence derived in part from the search of individuals who fled as police approached, was more consistent with the Fourth Amendment than Baer's subsequent decision reversing course. Taslitz ends his book with an underdeveloped paragraph that suggests that the Fourth Amendment should safeguard families "against unsubstantiated claims of child abuse."

Taslitz's narrative is engaging, and his arguments that the Fourteenth Amendment was designed to bring about fundamental change are convincing. He is less persuasive in showing that these concerns specifically focused on the Fourth Amendment; at times he relies on the words of a single member of Congress on the subject (p. 227). Taslitz's suggestion that "[f]reedman's possession of freely purchased firearms contributed to their safety and growing political independence" (p. 259) implicates the Second Amendment as much as the Fourth. Interests in property seem just as likely to implicate the takings clause of the Fifth Amendment as the search and seizure provision of the Fourth.

The violations of the rights of slaves and freedmen were so egregious and pervasive that they are rather far removed from more nuanced issues that modern courts face relative to the Fourth Amendment. Taslitz's desire for courts to constitutionalize best practices—for example, by requiring police review boards—appears further to conflate traditional understandings of wise policy and constitutional mandates.

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DEAK NABERS. *Victory of Law: The Fourteenth Amendment, the Civil War, and American Literature, 1852–1867*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 239. \$49.95.

Few topics have received so much attention from constitutional historians as the Fourteenth Amendment, whose guarantees of due process and equal protection have resisted efforts at definition for almost a century and a half. Deak Nabers comes at the problem from an intriguing new direction. He suggests that the Fourteenth Amendment was in some sense a poem (p. 198). What he seems to mean by this is that the amendment was less an effort to establish a novel mandate than to reorder and revitalize existing constitutional language. Baldly stated, the comparison with poetry may strike some readers as contrived or at least abstruse. Nabers shows that a major preoccupation of the era was in the malleability and variable efficacy of language, particularly legal language. His efforts to link that insight to John Bingham's drafting of the Fourteenth Amendment are plausible, and if nothing else, intriguing.

In Nabers's view, several streams of thought came together in the Fourteenth Amendment. We might assume that anxiety about texts and how they function is peculiarly modern, but Nabers finds important nineteenth-century precursors. Among the literary works that he considers, the best known for most readers is Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* (1850). Not only is a "sentence" passed on Hester Prynne by her judges, but the sentence is itself another text, the letter A. It turns out that the meaning of this second text (and by implication the first one) is malleable. Thus, because "their sentence must be understood in terms of what it 'means' as well as what it 'inflicts,' they can never be sure of how the sentence will be executed" (p. 165). And indeed, neighbors come to reinterpret the A to mean "Able; so strong was Hester Prynne."

Hawthorne was not alone among literary figures of the time in his fascination with law's language and its vagaries. Abolitionists made legal language problematic in a different way, by insisting on interpreting the constitutional text in accordance with what they viewed as its aspirations rather than in terms of any realistic appraisal of the intent of the Framers. Their textualism succeeded in making a proslavery text into a mandate for abolition—of course, at the expense of conventional understandings and authorial intent. As Nabers says, *The Scarlet Letter* "effectively outlines a world" in which this argument can operate, because language is available for reappropriation by the audience.

In Nabers's view, Reconstruction posed another challenge to language, for traditional concepts such as sovereignty, consent, and even war could not be applied in a straightforward way to the situation facing the Union. The South could neither be properly said to have seceded or to have remained within the Union; for various purposes, both characterizations were adopted. Linking back to literature again, Nabers invokes Herman Melville. He interprets Melville's Civil War writ-

ings as claiming that "in order to understand emancipation as part of the North's 'victory of law' one must imagine that the southern states' commitment to slavery marked their already having seceded from the Union prior to 1860, or, indeed, their never having been fully assimilated to it" (p. 131).

Nabers views the Fourteenth Amendment as Bingham's brilliant solution to these conundrums. In Bingham's view, earlier constitutional language such as the Fifth Amendment's due process clause already provided a national guarantee of basic rights. The problem was that the South had chosen not to heed this language, and the Constitution provided no way to force them to do so. Bingham's solution was to remobilize this language in order to provide affirmative protection for rights against the states. (Nabers argues that by the time of the Freeport debate, Republicans had begun to realize that government neutrality was not enough; freedom could only be assured by affirmative government action. Hence, failure to adopt slave codes would not be sufficient to exclude slavery from the territories.) Thus, according to Bingham (as interpreted by Nabers), the South had never really been a full adherent to the Constitution, and the Civil War was a way of perfecting its constitutional status.

One might well wonder whether the threads in Nabers's tapestry of intellectual history are held together as tightly as he suggests. The pattern, however, is an intriguing one. Those who tend to view cultures as tightly coherent, and who take the influence of ideas on the world seriously, may find Nabers's argument the most plausible. Even those who are skeptical of the enterprise of "law and literature," however, will find at least some suggestive insights here.

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CHARLES W. CALHOUN. *Conceiving a New Republic: The Republican Party and the Southern Question, 1869–1900*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2006. Pp. x, 347. \$39.95.

Since the publication of Eric Foner's *Free Soil, Free Labor and Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (1970) there has been a need for a similar study that would address the ideology of the Republican Party for the postbellum period. Now the need is partially met by Charles W. Calhoun's book. In this solidly researched and lucidly written work, Calhoun offers us a reexamination of Republicans' "actions and motives" toward the "Southern Question" from the Grant to Harrison administrations through the lens of ideology, "with primary regard to their beliefs about the meaning and nature of the American Republic" (p. 2). As the Civil War had transformed the nation, it had also transformed the Republicans' perceptions about the nation and the destiny of their own party. Viewing themselves as "the successors of the Founders" (p. 3), the Republicans were inspired to reapply the principles

of Declaration of Independence to reconstruct the American republic that had remained incomplete until the Civil War. The idea of a "new Republic," as conceived by the Republicans at the end of the war, actually contained a host of wide-ranging notions about society, government, and public life and included old and new values, such as liberty, free institutions, virtue, majority rule, racial equality, citizenship, and primacy of federal power. At the heart of the party's postbellum ideology, however, was the principle of "democratic republicanism" (p. 16), which meant racial equality in political representation and participation and the enjoyment of citizenship.

Based on this premise, Calhoun revisited a number of Republican projects: the making of the Fifteenth Amendment, federal enforcement by the Grant administration, the legislation of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, the controversies and settlement of the 1876 presidential election, the formulation of Rutherford B. Hayes's southern policy, the debate of the Blair education bill, and the fight over the Lodge elections bill. For students of Reconstruction, none of these issues are terribly unfamiliar, but Calhoun retells each of the stories with new details and new insight, as he places his discussion in the ideological context of "new Republic." Similarly Calhoun also sheds light on some of the less well known events, such as how President Ulysses S. Grant's non-intervention policy was connected to Rutherford B. Hayes's withdrawal policy, how Republican leaders like James A. Garfield, John Sherman, William Chandler, and leaders of the party's national committees helped fashion the articulation of the party's political language, and how the party failed to secure an internal consensus for the Lodge elections bill. None of the above, however, will make Calhoun's work more unique in the growing literature of Reconstruction than its daring reordering of the Republican Party's political outlooks in the late nineteenth century.

Calhoun treats the Republican Party's thinking about the South between 1869 and 1900 as a continuous ideological entity. In spite of the complexity and apparent contradictions involved in the Republicans' southern projects, the idea of new Republicanism consistently dominated the party's thinking and shaped its southern policies. Through his meticulous analysis, Calhoun demonstrates intimate connections between the party's motivations and actions and the idea of "new Republic," not just rhetorically but also politically. Calhoun's most direct and open challenge to the conventional understanding of the party's stance on the Southern Question is his defense of Hayes's southern policy. Hayes's decision to restore home rule in the South, according to Calhoun, should be understood not as an abandonment of federal protection of black rights but as "a change of tactics" (p. 4) in order to "achieve the larger goal of preventing the Democrats from advancing their dangerous power in the national government" (p. 106). The meeting between Hayes's handlers and southern representatives in Wormley's Hotel, an event that has long been regarded by historians as a sellout of Repub-

lican and black interests in the South, is seen in Calhoun's book as Hayes's active efforts to secure an open pledge from the Louisiana and South Carolina Democrats for abiding the Reconstruction amendments and respecting newly freed African Americans as equal citizens. Hayes's policy of conciliation, Calhoun argues, was an attempt to rescue the new republic.

Calhoun attributes the ultimate failure of the new Republicanism to a combination of reasons, including the loss of the control of Congress since 1875, the "divided" government, lacking of institutional support for enforcement, southern whites' resistance, and the Republican Party's inability to unite the party under the new republican ideology. The last point is especially important and relevant, but readers may find Calhoun's treatment of the subject rather inadequate. While Calhoun correctly finds that factional infighting led to the ultimate collapse of the party's southern projects, he fails to discuss how various factions had been organized, how the factional interests had been connected to the changing political and economic situations across the sections, and how the diverse Republican expectations for postbellum America had factored in the processes of formulating and articulating the new Republican ideology. In other words, there was a larger story about how different visions of "new Republic" had contested with each other within the Republican party and that story needs to be told with references to such important components of the "Southern Questions" as citizenship, labor relations, market transformation, and reconfiguration of regional and national economies. Without this story, readers may find it difficult to understand why other versions of "new Republic" would prevail throughout much of the period beyond 1872 over the idea of "democratic Republicanism." Readers may also wonder how consolidated or enduring was the party's new ideology as described by Calhoun. Why was it possible for the party to achieve unity under the idea of freedom before the Civil War but impossible for it to achieve unity under the idea of democratic republicanism to "fashion peace"? Was it because of the lacking of an "impending crisis," or a centralizing party machinery, or something else? It is unfair to impose these questions on Calhoun's book if it does not intend to address them. But Calhoun's study may offer us a starting point to compare the politics of Republican Party's ideologies before and after the Civil War.

XI WANG

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MICHAEL O'BRIEN. *Henry Adams and the Southern Question*. (Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures, number 47.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 201. \$34.95.

The four chapters that constitute this volume began life as the 2003 Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures. Author of *Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the American South, 1810–1860* (2004), Michael O'Brien brings formidable credentials to the task of ana-

lyzing the place of the South in the life and work of Henry Adams. If his book leans more toward an annotative than an interpretative approach (at just under 200 pages, the book's ambitions remain understandably modest), it nevertheless opens fresh perspectives on Adams's engagement of southern culture as well as the curious ways in which he occupied the South as a long-time resident of the nation's capital.

In preface and conclusion O'Brien foregrounds Adams's most famous if also most dismissive statement about the South and southern culture: "Strictly, the Southerner had no mind; he had temperament." O'Brien's investigations catalogue the ways in which this remark is much more than an expression of regional pique. Anything that Adams was ever to pronounce in the character of Massachusetts speaking to Virginia must be read against his own efforts to dissolve such binary oppositions, and accordingly, in chapter one, "The Sable Genius of the South," O'Brien provides a detailed look at the southern genealogy that Adams claimed by virtue of his paternal grandmother, Louisa Catherine Johnson Adams, whose family had genuine if tenuous Maryland connections. Given the dispositional inheritance that Adams, in *The Education of Henry Adams* (1918), traces to this figure, the paternal grandmother in Adams scholarship has always been something of a mystery woman. O'Brien's portrait of Louisa Catherine, limned by the light of her diaries and memoirs, puts Adams scholarship on solid ground to assess the extent of her influence. Chapter two, "The Little Society of Washington," follows the Adams who sojourned in Washington after the Civil War and who returned to reside there permanently after an interval teaching at Harvard. In O'Brien's portrait the historian became an established if never quite naturalized citizen of the District. Noteworthy features of this chapter include an account of Adams's warm relations with former Rebel officials and diplomats as well as a fascinating account of his ambivalence toward the African Americans who staffed his townhouse and provided a companionship that he did not always acknowledge. Chapter three, "American Types," gets down to the business of analyzing the ways in which Adams wrote about southerners—in particular, John Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison—all the while advancing the thesis that Adams, despite his efforts to write a nationalist American history, succeeded by fine Sophoclean fate in marking off a retrograde regionalist perspective. Chapter four, "The South in a Supersensual Multiverse," examines the South in the late work (*Mont Saint Michel and Chartres* and *Education*), a phase during which the South became "a wild landscape in his mind" (p. 124). This landscape was rife with associated themes: emotion, femininity, sympathy, dimensions of life that Adams pursued in his travels to the South Seas and that he read into the exquisite balance of the Gothic world celebrated in *Mont Saint Michel and Chartres* (1904). During these years, in O'Brien's view, the historian abandoned the practice of history as such. Historical facts and figures became tropes, a chief ex-

ample being William H. F. "Rooney" Lee, Adams's Harvard classmate, profiled in *Education* as a temperament without a mind. The book concludes with a brief if suggestive discussion of what Adams, the proto-modernist, meant to such figures of southern modernism as Allen Tate and Wilbur Cash.

This is a delightfully written book. Perhaps because O'Brien commands impressive dexterity in the turn of a phrase, he occasionally falls into a vein of reductive portraiture at which Adams himself excelled. On the basis of a 1892 letter in which Adams complained of discomforts experienced aboard a British Channel steamer, O'Brien represents the high-born Bostonian as attached in the manner of affluent Americans to "the womblike amenities of modern plumbing and heating," having lost touch with his "stoic transatlantic cousins, who saw nothing problematic in the cold toilet seat and the stuttering faucet" (p. 44). Fine writing, this, but surely anyone who would expose himself to the rigors of extended travel from the South Seas to the Arctic Circle did not wholly succumb to the American fondness for cushions. Likewise, to assert that Adams prior to his wife's suicide "was as yet only lightly unacquainted with life's blind cruelty" (p. 101) is to deal elegantly but inattentively with the biography of Adams's young manhood. It is easy to call Adams out on his many lifelong absurdities but the total impression, as Adams himself wrote of Jefferson, can only be figured "touch by touch, with a fine pencil." On balance O'Brien's representation of Adams proceeds with more than the requisite subtlety: his reading of Adams's *History of the United States during the Administration of Thomas Jefferson* (1889–1891) is especially nuanced and valuable. This book supplements rather than revises established readings of Adams's work, but scholars of Adams will turn to it for an enhanced understanding of the varied contexts of Adams's life and times.

WILLIAM MERRILL DECKER
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BRUCE MICHELSON. *Printer's Devil: Mark Twain and the American Publishing Revolution*. (Simpson Imprint in Humanities.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 299. \$34.95.

Nearly 100 years after the death of his creator, Mark Twain remains one of the most enduring cultural icons in American literary history. Author, storyteller, adventurer, iconoclast, and humorist, the character created by Samuel Clemens remains the subject of countless one-man stage shows and a vast scholarly literature. His best-known work, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, first published in 1884, is often described as a "great American novel."

But Twain's fame is only partly due to the writing talents of Clemens, according to Bruce Michelson. Michelson, the author of *Mark Twain on the Loose: A Comic Writer and the American Self* (1995), argues that Twain became a modern literary celebrity primarily through Clemens's determined exploitation of nine-

teenth-century changes in printing technologies that allowed him to promote Twain's works through mass produced and distributed books, magazines, and newspapers.

Clemens became fascinated with printing as a young man, beginning with an apprenticeship in 1847 to a four-page weekly newspaper produced with handset type, rough paper, and a flatbed press. The printing process at that time was fundamentally unchanged from that imported to the American colonies from Europe two hundred years before. But new inventions and industrialization already were transforming technologies of communications. Michelson points to at least seventy decisive inventions and patents directly related to printing and publishing that were granted between 1830 and 1855.

By 1853, when Clemens left his brother's newspaper in Hannibal, Missouri, newspapers in nearby St. Louis were printing tens of thousands of copies daily with revolving presses run by steam engines. Local readers already were receiving cheap books by the bundle, as well as heavily illustrated mass-market monthly papers and magazines. At Clemens's death in 1910, nearly 2,500 daily newspapers were published in the nation's largest cities with distributions of up to more than a million copies a day, slick national magazines such as the *Ladies' Home Journal* approached one million copies per edition, and thousands of original books were published in the United States each year, compared with an average of fifty books a year between 1830 and 1842.

The emergence of Mark Twain as a celebrity was a direct result of this communications revolution, Michelson argues. Clemens was not only a writer but a would-be media baron who involved himself in every phase of the technology, design, production, and sale of Twain's stories and books. Prior to 1895, for example, Twain's books were sold door-to-door as illustrated "subscription" books to readers in areas lacking access to urban bookstores or cheap postal delivery.

Although Clemens was spectacularly successful at marketing Twain's works to mass audiences with these new technologies, he was catastrophically wrong in guessing where the printing revolution was going technologically or financially. The author entered bankruptcy in 1894 after his complicated and expensive innovation, the Paige compositor, lost out to the simpler and cheaper Mergenthaler linotype as the preferred typesetter at the nation's newspapers.

The success of Twain's celebrity, Michelson suggests, shows how art, literature, and mass marketing merged in the late nineteenth century. Twain's art and his legacy were shaped by this communications context and form a prelude to pop culture celebrities of the present, whose careers are based as much on the exploitation of newer technologies such as the Internet and cable television as their artistry. The result is that the identity and meaning of text and literary art have become inextricably linked to the processes of selling and showing.

This book is constructed as a work of literary criticism, and the primary focus is on interpretations based

on Twain's publishing history. But Michelson's underlying argument about the influence of communication technologies and his research into the history of printing and publishing make the work of interest to communications scholars and historians. Marshall McLuhan is cited only briefly, but Michelson's assumptions about the transformative influence of printing changes reflect the observations of McLuhan and Harold Innis.

The book's historical research into nineteenth-century changes in publishing and printing is an impressive synthesis of secondary and original materials, especially for the period prior to the Civil War. Michelson focuses exclusively on Twain, but his approach might be applied to other literary celebrities created by the expansion of mass communication in this period, including Charles Dickens and Jules Verne, as well as celebrity journalists such as Nellie Bly and Richard Harding Davis.

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JEAN MARIE LUTES. *Front Page Girls: Women Journalists in American Culture and Fiction, 1880–1930*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 226. \$45.00.

Jean Marie Lutes has written an ambitious and provocative book about a select group of American women journalists working between 1880 and 1930. It traces how the "figure of the newspaperwoman" became a kind of emblem of modernity, carrying new expressive possibility while freighted with embodying the cultural contradictions of the era, especially those around race, sexual propriety, and the moral ambiguities of mass culture. Through this interpretative lens, Lutes also offers a corrective to the standard account of the rise literary modernism, a narrative that has presumed an exclusive masculine fraternity made up of hardboiled political journalists and realist, naturalist, and avant-garde fiction writers. Lutes interrupts and complicates this line of descent by arguing that the newspaperwoman's strategy of "embodying publicity" in journalism provides both an "alternative reporter-novelist" tradition in American letters as well as a formidable "other" against which self-conscious moderns like Henry James and Willa Cather had to define themselves.

Lutes uses the term "embodying publicity" to evoke newspaperwomen's engagement with the "spectatorial politics" of mass media in the United States. Women journalists who moved to the front page from the "women's pages" and society columns did so by making themselves, especially their bodily experiences, sensations, and emotional reactions, the defining feature of the stories they wrote. They took on the cultural work of mediating the "abstraction of literary authorship and the visceral experience of embodiment" (p. 10) demanded by readers and institutions during this period of upheaval in norms of tastes, morals, and the social order. Theirs was performative journalism, perhaps most vividly exemplified by the late nineteenth-century "stunt reporters" like Nellie Bly and her imitators, who went undercover to get at the "real" story of brothels,

insane asylums, prisons, factory work, even circus life. Girl stunt reporters and their colleagues, the press corps' "sob sisters," exploited the "woman's angle" on any story and literally turned themselves—their faces, their feelings, their bodies—into a kind of map by which readers could safely negotiate the morally confused and confusing modern city.

By publicly manipulating their womanhood, these journalists both extended the power of and tripped on a key asset: their bodies. Men could and did insert themselves into journalism in similar ways, but such moves were neither the main ground of their public authority nor a basis for trivializing or discrediting their work, as was the case for women. Gender in spectatorial politics is keenly developed by Lutes's attention to ideologies of race and especially whiteness, with its link to moral capital and sexual stereotypes in the media. Bly could safely test social boundaries because she could rely on respectability and whiteness to protect her from sexual suspicion and vulnerability. Ida B. Wells, by contrast, literally took her life in her hands when stepped out of her place in the social hierarchy to criticize lynching in the South. Lutes's chapter on Wells is perhaps her weakest, as she freezes Wells and her Gilded Age colleagues in a rather stilted heroic frame, with men and women shoulder to shoulder constructing a "black counter public" to fight for racial justice. In so doing, Lutes looks past the highly theatrical modes that Wells used, like how she cried on cue before both white and black audiences, and also misses an opportunity to comment on journalistic legends like Nettie Speedy at the *Chicago Defender*, who, in the 1920s, criss-crossed from the woman's page to the front page and mentored another generation of black women journalists to do the same.

For historians, Lutes's well-written, acutely observed book provides a theoretically sophisticated provocation to further study. Major events in the lives of her select group of women occur offstage—the first sexual revolution and major international wars, for example—and historical change over time is muted in this frankly literary approach to the topic. The epilogue suggests that today's TV character Carrie Bradshaw, with her post-feminist "Sex in the City" column (from the show with the same name), is less a break than a "culmination" of dilemmas and strategems traced out by Bly, Wells, and their colleagues Ada Patterson, Edna Ferber, and Djuna Barnes. Perhaps. In her culminating chapter, however, Lutes shows convincingly that the idea of "embodied truth" adopted as journalistic standpoint by Bly, Wells, and less well-known women journalists represents, in the hands of writers like Cather and Barnes, an alternative ethical and artistic brace against the racist, sexist, and imperialist commodifying pressures of the mass market, with its demand for producing and consuming bodies. For this fresh synthesis, scholars are in her debt.

PATRICIA A. SCHECHTER
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BRENDA K. JACKSON. *Domesticating the West: The Recreation of the Nineteenth-Century American Middle Class*. (Women in the West.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 180. \$50.00.

As indicated in the subtitle of this book, Brenda K. Jackson seeks to examine the little understood, often neglected, and tantalizingly elusive subject of the nineteenth-century American middle class. She chooses as her vehicle a husband and wife of the East, Thomas and Elizabeth Tannatt, who spent much of their married life in a variety of western locales. Jackson argues that the experiences of the Tannatts show how individuals created class structures to benefit themselves, while participating in the processes of community building in the West. Constructing a text grounded in the biographies of the central figures, the author concludes that the lived experiences of ordinary people offer the best means for illuminating the methods and goals of those who built the American middle class in their adopted communities of western regions.

This is a work that saw its first life in the form of the author's doctoral dissertation. As such, it reflects the usual assets and liabilities of that particular genre. All chapters in the book are well documented, and Jackson is cautious about making any strikingly bold or controversial assertions. Although there appear to have been limitations on the quantity of the primary material available for the Tannatts, the author broadened her sources and conducted impressive research in Washington State, the District of Columbia, and Massachusetts. She deepened the context of her subject by examining the larger forces driving American society during the lifetime of the Tannatts and gave more than sufficient acknowledgment to the current scholarship concerning these topics. Thus, Jackson weaves into the Tannatt biographies assessments of the importance of an emerging American corporate system, the torment of the Civil War, the violence of racial tensions, the revolution in transportation, the politics of reform, the growth of higher education, the rise of volunteerism and the corresponding notion of civic responsibility, as well as gender and class imperatives. That is a heavy dose of historical implication to be carried on the shoulders of one man and one woman, especially since the text only runs to about 130 pages.

In addition, there is that pesky "frontier" term used generously but not very well defined. At the moment, it is one of the most politically charged words in western history. One cadre of scholars suggests that it is a perfectly useful part of our vocabulary and conveys specific ideas about the dynamics of the West over time. Others maintain that the word evokes images of Anglo-American masculine domination and is permanently tainted by its association with imperialistic language such as "conquest," "Wild West," and "vanquished." Jackson does not make herself entirely clear on this linguistic point, and her statement that "Elizabeth Tannatt knew that the rough-edged cities and towns of the West would not become *civilized* [emphasis added] without

the active participation of organizations and individuals dedicated to benevolence and reform" (p. 129) may serve as a lightning rod for some readers. On the surface, this comment bolsters the conviction that "civilization" moved from the East into the West, rather than recognizing the well-established patterns of diverse cultures flourishing for many generations before Anglo-Europeans infiltrated western reaches and altered the existing social, economic, and political trajectories.

Although the many overarching historical themes may be stretched quite thin and the terminology of the West is a tad blurry, there are notable favorable points in this book. The discussion about the ways in which the Civil War created physical and emotional scars for the veterans and their families makes for poignant and provocative reading. The narrative of the Tannatt family members, over many years, to reclaim their lives, so egregiously disrupted by the strife, represents one of the strongest threads in this slim volume. Yet, Jackson avoids tilting the gender scale in favor of any of her characters, as they tried to sort out the future, during those difficult postwar years. As a result, the Tannatts' relationship assumes a marital authenticity too often lacking in American biography, one of the most challenging of history forms. Other familial interactions are treated with similar skill. In part, this success stems from the author's management of Elizabeth and Thomas Tannatt as historical equals, and the generally graceful writing that marks the text. The book is highly readable and the concepts are accessible.

This is a trim study that one easily recommends for students who need to think about the place of race, class, and gender in the formation of modern America, as well as the rise of the middle-class family. It is unfortunate that the visuals include only a pair of photographs of the Tannatts and one map, as the imaginative use of images might have furthered strengthened Jackson's argument that the middle class deserves greater scrutiny and deeper appreciation for its role in the transformation of the late nineteenth-century West.

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JEANNE E. ABRAMS. *Jewish Women Pioneering the Frontier Trail: A History in the American West*. New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 279. \$39.00.

Jeanne E. Abrams's enjoyable book opens with a series of biographical sketches of Jewish women who made their way west in the nineteenth century. Traveling by covered wagon, stagecoach, train, and steamer, they moved into what Abrams refers to as "the highly multicultural world of the American West" (p. 2). There they put down family roots, constructed homes, established businesses, built communities, and contributed to civic welfare, just as their non-Jewish female neighbors did. But, like their Jewish counterparts in other areas of the United States, especially the South, these women also "struggled to maintain some semblance of

Jewish tradition and build Jewish homes" (p. 3) without the supportive infrastructure available in the East Coast and Midwest centers of nineteenth-century American Jewish life.

One of the most welcome developments in American Jewish historiography is the growing interest in Jewish life outside New York City. Another emerging trend is concern with American Jewish history prior to the mass migration of primarily Eastern European Jews that started around 1880. Abrams enters both of these scholarly conversations and successfully demonstrates the importance of decentering the stereotypical narrative of American Jewish history. Once begun, this is not a difficult task; as Abrams points out, for example, San Francisco had a very high percentage of Jewish residents from its founding and served as a communal, familial, and religious center for Jews all over the region who lived in less urban settings. Denver, too, became particularly significant to American Jewry as a whole, since its altitude and climate attracted large numbers of tuberculosis patients fleeing tenements and sweatshops for the hospitals and sanatoria founded by Jewish philanthropists and communal workers. In addition to settling—and often helping build—western cities, nineteenth and early twentieth-century American Jews in large numbers experienced small-town life across the West.

This book spans the mid-1800s through the early 1900s and is organized thematically, with chapters covering immigration/migration, community settlement and development, religion, work, education, and politics. Abrams makes good use of a long list of contemporary periodicals and underused archival materials as well as a variety of published primary sources. There are a few well-chosen photographs scattered throughout the text. The book paints a vibrant picture of western Jewish life. The exploration of the inextricable links between family and business in frontier communities is particularly valuable. However, the multicultural approach of most recent western history makes few appearances here, representing a missed opportunity to contextualize the Jewish experience. The entire book, while engaging and well documented, suffers from a slight sense of isolation and seldom engages with the most up-to-date scholarship.

Abrams contends that Jewish women in the West were acutely aware of their regional differences and experienced them in both positive and negative ways. She argues that the frontier, as both place and process, offered all women, including Jewish women, unique opportunities to play important roles in their families and communities. This somewhat conventional interpretation of western women's history is not entirely borne out by Abrams's evidence, except possibly in her discussion of Jewish women's involvement in the suffrage movement, since western women were enfranchised earlier than women in other parts of the country. Since she spends a great deal of time profiling exceptional women whose experiences do not necessarily reflect the norm, it is difficult to see the more general exception-

alism Abrams claims. No doubt, women like Frances Wisebart Jacobs, known in Denver as the "Mother of Charities" (p. 41) or Mary Goldsmith Prag, initiator of California's state pension plan and the first Jewish woman to serve on San Francisco's Board of Education, were extraordinary. But it is far less clear that it was their western environment that really affected or enabled their accomplishments. Jewish women in all areas of the country could rightfully boast of similar achievements at the same time, especially in the realms of education and communal work. What may be more telling is Abrams's point that Jewish women in the West often felt themselves to be marginalized by their non-western opposite numbers, complaining, for example, that they never achieved full influence in such powerful national groups as the National Council of Jewish Women, Hadassah, or the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.

Reluctance to engage in comparative or contextual work notwithstanding, this book is a nice addition to the literature and highlights the lives and deeds of a number of fascinating women. Most importantly, Abrams helps restore national breadth to the increasingly sophisticated study of American Jewish history.

MELISSA R. KLAPPER
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DEBORAH R. WEINER. *Coalfield Jews: An Appalachian History*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 234. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.00.

This book is a very well written and engaging history of the Jewish communities that developed in the coalfields of central Appalachia during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Deborah R. Weiner skillfully works with census and naturalization materials, local newspapers, court and communal records, and dozens of oral histories to reconstruct the lives of more than two thousand Jews who played an integral role in the southern coalfields' meteoric growth and industrialization. Weiner narrates how their experiences and the Appalachian coal industry were completely intertwined: from the boomtown 1880s and 1890s, when immigrant Jewish "pioneers" worked as peddlers and saloon keepers, to the more settled and prosperous first half of the twentieth century, when Jews held respected positions as middle-class, main street retailers, to their near disappearance from the region, when the coalfields began to mechanize and dramatically decline in population in the 1950s.

Like the best community studies, Weiner's monograph informs several historical fields, including current work on consumerism, transnationalism, and racial and ethnic identity. Her main goal, however, is "to unsettle commonly held views of both Appalachia and the American Jewish experience" (pp. 1–2). By placing the coalfield Jews' story in an international context of modernization and migration and emphasizing their boomtown beginnings and status as a "middleman minority," she argues that Appalachia was not so exceptional in its

response to industrialization, and that scholarship on American Jewry, so heavily focused on the urban north-east, can learn a great deal from the region's multicultural past.

The book succeeds on both counts as it examines how immigrant Jews and their children created niches in an economy dominated by some of the most notorious mining operations in American history. To focus on the Jews' independent, middle-class perspective complicates our understanding of the mine owners' power, as manifested in company stores and the scrip system of exchange, and what it meant to live in a highly polarized society often wracked by class warfare. Jews served important roles in the development of the coalfields, as civic boosters, active in local politics and efforts to bring libraries, hospitals, and commercial districts to their towns. Most importantly, they introduced modern consumerism to the region, at first as owners of general dry good stores, later by opening cinemas, appliance stores, and specialized boutiques. Their evolving marketing methods linked the coalfields' diverse population of native-born whites, African Americans, and Southern and Eastern European immigrants to urban tastes and styles.

In critical ways, the coalfields were similar to the shtetl worlds these immigrants left behind. In both, they functioned as commercial middlemen who served a rural population experiencing rapid industrial change. But in the coalfields, the Jews' trading skills were welcomed and applauded rather than a focus of antisemitism. Weiner identifies three cultural concepts developed in Europe that especially shaped the immigrants' behavior: *tzedekah*, a powerful sense of communal and social responsibility; *takhlis*, a strong, overarching "end goal"; and *yiddishe kop*, an effective, intuitive mindset to dealing with ever-changing conditions. In addition to the Jews' historic familiarity with migration, social instability, and kin and ethnic-based networks (in which women were often the breadwinners), these traits helped them to settle ultimately in the county-seat towns of the region. Many Jewish businesses failed, but most succeeded on low profit margins that could sustain the immigrant generation and provide security and better livelihoods for their children.

Weiner is particularly insightful when describing how these families maintained a vibrant communal life in such a remote area. The timing of the immigrants' arrival and the social structure of the coal towns they encountered factored more than their specific European origins in the degree to which they remained Orthodox in observance. Weiner emphasizes the active, pragmatic, and largely consensual decisions these small congregations made to pass cultural tradition on to their children. The durability of their communities reflected their continuing ties to major Jewish centers like New York and Baltimore, the new leadership roles of women in communal life, and the ways Jews publicly asserted their presence in their towns. In interviews Jewish residents stressed a sense of belonging and nostalgia for the neighborliness of small-town life. The antisemitism

they encountered was rarely overt: the Ku Klux Klan, for example, was short lived in the area and did not focus its attention on local Jews. Their awareness of being outsiders in coalfield society stemmed mainly from the pervasiveness of Christianity in the region, and the insensitivity to non-Christians it often produced.

Weiner's analysis might have been deepened by a more extensive range of documentation; such as personal correspondence, voting behavior, coverage in the eastern big-city Yiddish and English-language Jewish press, and a greater variety of interviews, especially with African American residents. These are minor criticisms, however, and this book should be required reading for any student of Appalachian and American Jewish history.

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WALTER H. CONSER, JR. *A Coat of Many Colors: Religion and Society along the Cape Fear River of North Carolina.* (Religion in the South.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2006. Pp. xi, 372. \$50.00.

This regional history, written by Walter H. Conser, Jr., examines both "religion and society along the Cape Fear River of North Carolina." The region contains nine counties in southeastern North Carolina, with Wilmington serving as the major economic, political, and religious center for the area. Alongside the wide variety of traditional expressions of Protestantism, Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity, Judaism, and other world religions like Buddhism, Baha'ism, and Islam in or near contemporary Wilmington, one will find many other religious expressions as well, including Wicca and Messianic Judaism. This history covers them all, traditional and otherwise.

The religious heritage of the Cape Fear River region, the "coat of many colors," truly does contain some colorful threads. Major revivalist preachers including George Whitefield (1739), Sam P. Jones (1890), Dwight L. Moody (1893), and Billy Graham (1965) preached in Wilmington. Mary Baker Eddy (known at the time as Mary Baker Glover) lived there in 1844. Bishop Charles M. ("Sweet Daddy") Grace built a tabernacle, and maintained a residence, in Wilmington, even though his headquarters were located in Washington, D.C. Charlie Han Soong, later a key figure in Sun Yat-sen's revolution, was baptized in the Fifth Avenue Methodist Church in 1880. Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek each married a Soong daughter. Conser's history also uncovers an early act of interfaith benevolence when the new Jewish temple (built in 1876) hosted the local Methodist congregation for two years after the Methodist church burned to the ground in 1886.

Conser develops most of the themes found in American religion: "urban and rural, Protestant and Catholic, Christian and Jewish," various other "patterns of collective identity," and "constellations of meaning,"

and "the persistence of issues, such as the interaction of religion and race or religion and gender" (p. 3). He understands this regional history to be a microcosm of the southern American religious experience. He attends to race and religion in the Cape Fear region (an especially interesting story), and to the connection between immigration and religious diversity. He also explores the tensions brought on by a developing "modernist sensibility" in this rather traditional region. This approach yields an interesting exploration of topics like religious authority, liturgy, polity, voluntary associations, sacred spaces (including cemeteries), and contrasting styles of both religious architecture and forms of spirituality. He also briefly examines the history and religious expressions of Native Americans in the region.

Conser's book makes effective use of primary sources. He includes a critical treatment of the colonial period, particularly of Anglicanism and the problems it faced in a frontier context. He also examines the nature of religious establishment and the dissenting clergy who protested it, and the developing religious diversity that, by the 1760s, demanded greater toleration for liberty of conscience. The postrevolutionary growth of Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists is covered, as is the story of Catholic life, troubled in the antebellum period by struggles between those with a "republican" vision and those of a more conservative bent. In later sections, Conser speaks to the impact on religion of planned suburban communities, various technological innovations, and the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

The book's strength is in its breadth of coverage. Conser does a superb job with the broad strokes, and how they represent developments in American religious history. But books that cover such lengthy periods, and so much religious diversity, often miss nuances that show up in more detailed narratives. For example, Conser devotes one paragraph to the Disciples of Christ, when they show up in Wilmington in 1907. He does not connect the fact that one of the founders of this movement, Barton Stone, received his education in Guilford County during the early 1790s at the feet of David Caldwell, noted in Conser's book (p. 79) as the Presbyterian minister responsible for introducing a religious test in the state's new constitution. Stone, one should probably hasten to add, also planned and hosted the famous Cane Ridge revival of 1801 that fueled the start of the Second Great Awakening in the West. When Conser discusses briefly the role of Amos J. Battle in developing special services for black members of the Baptist church in Wilmington in 1845 (p. 134), he does not realize that Battle was among the first Baptist converts to the Disciples in North Carolina and, by 1852, pastor of the first Disciples congregation in that state, the Rountrees Meeting House, located four miles west of Ayden in Pitt County. However, Conser should not be faulted for not mentioning or noticing these kinds of nuances. The book's breadth (compared to depth) of coverage makes its own significant contribution. Conser's methodology, in fact, provides an excel-

lent model for other historians who seek to tell the story of American religion in regional locations.

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TIMOTHY MARR. *The Cultural Roots of American Islamism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 309. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.99.

UMAR F. ABD-ALLAH. *A Muslim in Victorian America: The Life of Alexander Russell Webb*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 388. \$35.00.

Timothy Marr pours an enormous amount of archival research and sympathetic energy into a double-sided task: to provide a history of early American racism toward Muslims and the cultures of Islam, and also to provide a history of those Americans engaged in a kinder, gentler counterstruggle against this prejudice. Although his sources are often textual and visual, Marr's methodology is solidly that of the historian; much of his book is built on a kind of switching back and forth between large-scale cultural history and close readings of individual moments or texts in American Islamicism, and generally the book is a model of its type—an interdisciplinary cultural history with chapters ranging from military conflicts to theology to literary criticism to popular culture and beyond.

Marr systematizes early American Islamicism into three types: domestic, comparative, and romantic, and choreographs his chapters to illustrate this system. Tracing Islamicist thought from the early days of white colonists in North America, for example, through the American Revolution and its European influences—John Smith, Thomas Jefferson, and Montesquieu all had their moments of Islamicist engagement—Marr charts the ways racist images of "Oriental despots" were critical in consolidating American self-images of republican liberty. "The recurrent cultural images of Islam circulating during the colonial period and inherited and enhanced by Americans in the early national period," Marr writes, "frequently stood in opposition to many qualities that citizens of the United States affirmed in their own bid for moral legitimacy as an emerging civilization. While Islam signified antichristian imposture, America promised Christian purity; while Islam meant barbaric despotism, America cherished enlightened democracy" (p. 10).

Marr's clearest sympathies are for white Americans who "demythologize" Islam; he presents a strain of ostensibly anti-racist texts and argues for their redemptive Islamicist qualities. Correctives against the dominant modes of American Orientalism, Marr's heroes are those who fight for more inclusive attitudes toward Muslims and the cultures of Islam. Imperialism itself, however, never really seems to be under critique by either Marr or his heroes, and this results in a rather flat history of the imbrication of colonial expansion and

white liberalism. At times, in fact, Marr offers apologetics for what he portrays as benevolent cultural imperialism as a sort of acceptable trade, analyzing what he calls "an imperialism of virtue" (p. 52) and championing figures like the missionary Horatio Southgate. While writing of large-scale historical shifts, however, using individuals as illustrations, Marr is fully engaging, readable, and fascinating. Much of chapter two, for example, is a sweeping history of images of Islam in Christian millennial eschatology. For better or for worse, in presenting this kind of cultural history, Marr's book is at its most readable and least problematic.

When Marr turns his attention to the smaller-scale complexities of nineteenth-century American racism, however, he is much more troubling. Nowhere is this more evident than in chapter three, "Antebellum Islamicism and the Transnational Crusade of Antislavery and Temperance Reform." In this chapter, Marr wants to both complicate and apologize for the Islamicist strains in abolitionist discourse, and so he invokes a framework of multiple discourses—yet he relies heavily on constructions of generalized "Americans" and "the" antebellum cultural imagination. Most worrisome, however, is how white Marr's America seems to be. Chapter three demonstrates a striking lack of attention to the roles played by African American abolitionists, and while his analysis of the appearances of and the role of Orientalist or Islamicist images in abolitionist discourse is systematic and full of archival discoveries, it is also plainly segregated. Though Marr at times is aware of the conceptual price of this choice—"[t]his book," he attempts to explain, "privileges the interdisciplinary variety of cultural sources over the diversity of American peoples, and therefore emphasizes the productions of the white Protestant elite of the eastern seaboard in formulating national culture" (p. 18)—the position is simply untenable in a chapter on antislavery activism. In Marr's hands, antislavery activists are virtually lily white, and this gives the chapter—and Marr's book—a strangely conservative and retrograde quality, as well as a serious flaw.

At the other end of the spectrum from Marr's highly polished and professionalized text, yet similarly awkward about white racism, is Umar F. Abd-Allah's study of Alexander Russell Webb. Rather than a text shaped by contemporary cultural theory, it is a relatively straightforward biography. Webb was nineteenth-century America's most famous white Christian convert to Islam; something of an icon in his day. Originally from upstate New York, Webb was born in 1846, the son of a newspaper owner, and, in 1887, through skillful networking, he acquired the position of U.S. Consul to the Philippines. Long attracted to "Oriental religions," yet having never actually met a Muslim, while in Manila Webb converted to Islam. He resigned his post, became a Muslim missionary, traveled across India raising funds for an American Muslim mission in Manhattan, returned and founded the mission, published several treatises on Islam, and, in 1893, as "the Yankee Mohammedan," reached the high point of his fame by rep-

resenting the entire global faith of Islam when speaking to the Parliament of Religions at the Chicago World's Fair. Webb is often thought of as the "first American Muslim," and although Abd-Allah is quick to point out that this is a misnomer, Webb remains a heretofore understudied figure in American cultural history.

With access to Webb's texts, diaries, and correspondence, Abd-Allah is very strong on documenting the minutiae of Webb's life, but he paints a rather blinkered picture of Webb's full personality. Though Webb seems to have been a combination of arrogant and generous, Abd-Allah's affection for his subject often whitewashes the uglier personal or larger social dynamics in play during Webb's career. Often Abd-Allah discusses Webb's life in terms of an extremely overgeneralized narrative of "Victorian American culture," and in particular seriously underplays the role racialized thinking—if not racism itself—had in shaping both Webb's own beliefs as well as Webb's America. The word "Orientalism" never really appears in Abd-Allah's text, for example—striking because of the almost formulaic, if circuitous, role that mid-century Orientalism played in leading Webb to Islam. Webb dabbled in Buddhism for a while but had as his major preconversion belief system Theosophy, that infamously Orientalist form of spiritualism that served as a form of philosophical retreat for disenchanted middle-class white Protestants like Webb for decades after the Civil War. Abd-Allah is uncritical of Webb's journey to Allah and never explores the history of Theosophy in terms of its racialized, Orientalized appeal to white Victorian identity. It is as if, for Abd-Allah, Webb's conversion to Islam and missionary work on its behalf excuses all of the thornier aspects of his history and the cultural patterns it might represent.

In particular, Webb seems to have been clearly split in his thinking about "the Orient": on one hand, he radically romanticized it, being drawn to the history of Islamic art and architecture, Persian poetry, and Islam itself; on the other, Webb was plainly disappointed and even often disgusted by the actual Muslim people he met during his travels abroad. Cranky, inflexible, constantly homesick, at frequent odds with his nonwhite traveling companions, never learning the local languages, and feeling persistently beset by the local crowds and conditions, Webb at times emerges as the very picture of Victorian intolerance. Yet Abd-Allah regularly forgives Webb for his racism and never fully critiques this side of Webb's personality, explaining it in terms of "culture shock and fatigue" or interpersonal conflicts rather than as a function of Webb's racial identity. Placing Webb in a history not of benevolent religious exchanges but of cultural clashes that produced, in the same man, both a contradictory, romanticized Orientalism and a lifelong conversion to deeply felt faith would have presented a more interesting narrative and a more accurate one as well.

SCOTT TRAFTON
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JUAN FRANCISCO MARTÍNEZ. *Sea la Luz: The Making of Mexican Protestantism in the American Southwest, 1829–1900*. (Al Filo: Mexican American Studies Series, number 4.) Denton: University of North Texas Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 196. \$24.95.

The genesis of Hispanic Protestantism among Mexican-descent residents in the U.S. Southwest is receiving growing scholarly attention. Randi Jones Walker's *Protestantism in the Sangre de Cristos, 1850–1920* (1991) and Susan M. Yohn's *A Contest of Faiths: Missionary Women and Pluralism in the American Southwest* (1995) explore the phenomenon in New Mexico and southern Colorado. More recent studies focused on Texas include Daisy L. Machado, *Of Borders and Margins: Hispanic Disciples in Texas, 1888–1945* (2003), and Paul Barton, *Hispanic Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists in Texas* (2006). Juan Francisco Martínez's impressive volume is distinguished in its comprehensive examination of Mexican Protestantism from Texas to California. The years 1829–1900 represent a foundational period after which Latino religion in the region changed dramatically due to developments like the rise of Pentecostalism through the Azusa Street Revival and accelerated immigration during and after the Mexican Revolution.

Martínez states his intention to examine the Protestant mission enterprise within the context of three forces in motion: "Protestants' view of their mission and role in America, adaptation mechanisms used by the Mexicans to survive as a conquered people, and the influence of the broader American (Protestant) society on the Mexican American population" (p. 3). In fact, his interpretive frame is even wider, encompassing Anglo-Mexican relations within the Protestant realm as well as Catholic attempts to counteract Protestant initiatives. Martínez notes the conflicts between immigrant French Catholic clergy and Hispanic laity (p. 105) but also cites instances of Catholic leaders' establishment of schools (p. 98) and recruitment of priests (p. 106), frequently in direct response to Protestant advances. He could elucidate more fully how perceived Protestant threats and the anti-Protestant attitudes of many priests shaped their apostolic endeavors and the religious dynamics of Mexican communities throughout the region after it came under U.S. control. Similarly, further exploration of how Mexican residents resisted and adapted to the U.S. takeover in areas like politics, economics, the judicial system, intermarriage, and family life—all of which have been probed in previous historical studies on the nineteenth-century Southwest—would provide helpful comparative analysis and a fuller picture of the meanings and motivations of Protestant conversion in the everyday lives of the former citizens of Mexico.

Like previous authors, Martínez faced the major challenge of relatively sparse primary documentation from Mexican Protestant sources, leading him to rely extensively on denominational records and the writings of Anglo-American Protestant missionaries. Annual reports on the Mexican efforts ranged widely from cynical

negativity to an exuberant optimism often aimed at increasing denominational funding. In the most egregious case, official Baptist records for 1893 gave two figures for the number of their Mexican adherents in Texas, one a highly exaggerated estimate of 200,000 (p. 74) and the other the more realistic figure of 271 (p. 150). Moreover, as Martínez points out, Anglo-American mission reports lauded their own initiatives but "seldom wrote about the [Mexican] converts themselves, except as case studies or 'trophies' demonstrating the missionaries' success" (p. 126). Thus it is not surprising that the first third of the book focuses on Anglo-American Protestant perspectives on the U.S. conquest of the Southwest, their condescending and racist attitudes toward Mexican Catholic residents, and their varied motives for mission work.

Martínez might have provided a more thorough exposition of the extant sources that Mexican Protestants did produce: José Ynés Perea's articles in the Presbyterian publication *La Aurora* (p. 127), the testimonials of Perea and José Policarpo Rodríguez and Gabino Rendón (p. 128), and other memoirs, sermons, writings, reports, and correspondence listed in the volume's bibliography. Still, the heart of the book on the spread of Protestantism among Mexicans in the Southwest comprises a major contribution to scholarly analysis of this subject. Martínez reveals general contours of the life experience of these converts such as their attraction to the Bible, their enthusiasm for evangelizing, their double minority status vis-à-vis Anglo-American Protestants and Mexican American Catholics, the conviction that their alienation from Catholic neighbors and family members was worthy suffering for the sake of faith in Jesus Christ, their frequent links with Mexico from where several early pastors originated, their desire for the education offered in Protestant schools, and the accompanying tendency of many Mexican Protestants to accept more readily the "American" ethos which Anglo-American missionaries vigorously promoted.

Most significantly, Martínez meticulously documents the growth of Protestantism among Mexican residents, from short-lived outreach efforts before the Civil War to the subsequently more enduring establishment of Hispanic Baptist, Congregational, Disciples of Christ, Methodist, and Presbyterian foundations by 1900. In that year a reported 5,632 adult church members formed 150 Spanish-language congregations in the Southwest, nearly ninety percent of them in either Texas or New Mexico. The thorough mapping of these congregations and their key leaders makes this book an important addition to works on Mexican Protestantism in the nineteenth-century Southwest.

TIMOTHY MATOVINA
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RICHARD HAW. *The Brooklyn Bridge: A Cultural History*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 307. \$26.95.

Richard Haw's book is a cultural history of the Brooklyn Bridge from 1883 to 2003. Opened in 1883, the bridge spans New York City's East River and connects Manhattan to Brooklyn. Haw looked beyond the physical bridge and focused instead on the "cultural bridge of the mind and imagination" (p. 7). In essence, this is a history of how the bridge was portrayed, how it was seen, and how it was used to calm and soothe and make the status quo acceptable.

The bridge is well suited for such a history. It is known throughout the world, and it is one of the few grand nineteenth-century structures that have survived in New York City. Haw examines the three different commemorations of the bridge—the 1883 opening ceremony, the 1933 fiftieth anniversary, and the 1983 centennial celebration—and describes how opening-day speeches created an image of the bridge as a triumph of American progress, technology, and commerce. This rhetoric was repeated in the other two ceremonies, and thus the legend was solidified into fact. In the end, the Brooklyn Bridge became an "American cultural memory" (p. 151), not witnessed but imagined, an unchanging and abstracted American master narrative that simplifies and obscures the historical reality.

In the intervening chapters, Haw analyzes every image and written work that has dealt with the bridge (histories, memoirs, poems, novels, plays, art, music, photography, movies, and even children's fiction) and shows how the bridge has been perceived over the decades. Haw divides these perceptions into expressions of assent, where the bridge is a soaring national symbol divorced from the human context and from which one views the city's skyline and urban landscape, and expressions of dissent, where the bridge is a communal space and a public street on which residents go to work or enjoy a Sunday stroll.

The Brooklyn Bridge was built during the Gilded Age, when there was much labor unrest, ethnic conflict, overwhelming poverty, and political corruption in New York City. When it opened in 1883, the speakers ignored that social reality and instead extolled the bridge as an image of American commerce, technology, and ideal visions of a middle-class, modern, urban environment. The workers who actually built the bridge were excluded from the ceremony and were not mentioned in the opening remarks. These same speeches were resurrected for the fiftieth anniversary ceremony in 1933, which occurred during the worst of the 1930s depression. Again the message was one of progress and achievement, while totally ignoring the joblessness and hunger which accompanied the economic collapse. The staged ceremony of 1883 had been staged anew in 1933. By re-presenting the image of progress, the 1933 celebration affirmed "a set of abstract historical values" (p. 153) that calmed the public at a time of much social distress. This idealized version depicted the past as if it were "a stable refuge" (p. 155) from the present but did not explain what had led to the current dire conditions. Fifty years later, the 1983 centennial again proclaimed the Brooklyn Bridge as a majestic American triumph.

But by then the bridge and the city had changed. Excessive automobile traffic had necessitated extensive structural renovation, and the city had lost some of its greatest architecture with misguided urban renewal programs. This 1983 retelling of the bridge's legend prompted commentator Jimmy Breslin to say that "the bridge reflects a city that has so confused glory with making money that it allows a priceless monument to rot" (p. 197). From then on, Haw notes, revisionist assessments of the bridge have balanced its image as a national symbol with historical fact. Expressions of dissent where the bridge is linked to human values have supplanted the previous unanimous expressions of assent where the bridge was revered as an object of progress unconnected to the human context.

Haw's book is more literary than historical, yet it deals with history. The best and clearest parts are the descriptions of its 1883 opening and the 1933 fiftieth anniversary, from which the main theme flows: namely, how the Brooklyn Bridge was made into a symbol of America that became bigger than the bridge itself, and was used as an instrument of dominance and control over how Americans thought of themselves and their nation. Haw's detailed analysis of everything dealing with the Brooklyn Bridge requires a careful reading, and at times rereading. Excessive detail obscures some of his very perceptive insights on the capitalist city and the changing urban environment. However, there is much that is good in Haw's work on the Brooklyn Bridge.

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CHRISTOPHER INNES. *Designing Modern America: Broadway to Main Street*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 320. \$40.00.

Christopher Innes's book charts the rise of industrial design in the United States from the unique perspective of the Broadway stage. Innes demonstrates the ways in which the theater provided a springboard for the careers of two designers, Joseph Urban and Norman Bel Geddes, whose work came to define the broad-scale practice of industrial design. Indeed, in Innes's view, Urban and Bel Geddes were so prolific, and their work so prevalent, that together they not only forged the profession of industrial design but created the predominant "look" of the United States during what would come to be called "the American Century."

If Innes's claims for these two individuals—working not necessarily in collaboration, but certainly in concert—seem grand, he is largely convincing in showing their importance through his copious research into not only their work but also the reception of it. Urban, an Austrian émigré whose first professional foray to the United States was as the designer of an exhibition of Viennese decorative arts at the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904, is perhaps the better-known figure to historians of theater, but Innes's work is particularly important in recovering the incredibly broad parameters of Urban's

design practice, from set design to an early form of comprehensive city planning. Bel Geddes, twenty-one years Urban's junior and raised in Pittsburgh, is one of a set of names familiar to scholars of American design, but Innes places him as the model of professional practice to other rising stars such as Walter Dorwin Teague, Raymond Loewy, and Henry Dreyfuss. This somewhat younger generation would also find public recognition at an American World's Fair, in this case the 1939 New York Fair, for which all of these designers received major commissions. Whether other historians of design would similarly hail Bel Geddes as the brightest star of this constellation in aesthetic terms remains an open question, but Innes certainly shows how well Bel Geddes constructed his career.

Although the book focuses on these two figures and will be useful for these case studies in design history, the larger contribution is in showing the links between the theatrical and the everyday in modern American culture. The story of the rise of American consumerism over the first half of the twentieth century has been told in a variety of ways over the past few decades—from the economic drivers of both boom and bust, to the mechanisms of purchase such as department stores, to the ideas of identity encapsulated in goods—but here Innes illustrates the process of creating environments as it is transferred from designer to consumer. In the first half of the twentieth century, Innes argues, Americans learned to dress their homes, much as the designers whose goods they used to do so had set countless scenes on the American stage. Innes suggests an increasingly conscious practice of fashioning the environments in which Americans lived, both by purchasing and arranging small-scale goods conceived by the nascent industrial design profession, and by hiring designers to create the larger-scale settings, such as the interiors of apartment blocks, or even residential street design. Because industrial designers were involved at different points on the spectrum, the different components of everyday environments fit together seamlessly, just as they would on a stage. One of my few disappointments in reading this book was the very occasional unsubstantiated sweeping statement that seemed to undercut Innes's own persuasive building of his argument. Though Innes writes of "an inherent theatricality in much of American life" (pp. 34–35) as a reason for the acceptance of the theater designers' work on a broader scale, his book in fact suggests the opposite, that theatricality was consciously developed as an American trait by these designers.

In addition to the importance of the design process to everyday life, Innes certainly considers the specific aesthetic contributions of his chosen designers. The copious illustrations betray a broad variety, not only of applications of industrial design but even of styles that were drawn together under the banner of modernism. That the "iconic" (p. 11) chrome Skyscraper cocktail shaker designed by Bel Geddes and Sleeping Beauty's Castle at Disneyland, the design of which Innes convincingly traces back two generations to Urban's sets for the opera *Hansel and Gretel*, both fall under this

umbrella might seem odd at first. But in each case, the modernity lies in the translation of design from the theater into some aspect of everyday life, covering the gamut from domestic ritual to holiday fantasy. The permeability of the boundaries between these two poles—the Main Street that many Americans lived or shopped on every day, and the nostalgically staged one they could visit at Disneyland—is at the core of Innes's book.

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LISA JACOBSON. *Raising Consumers: Children and the Mass Market in the Early Twentieth Century*. (Popular Cultures, Everyday Lives.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 299. \$24.00.

Who could forget the moment of discovering that money can buy happiness? The crisp bills inside a birthday card exchanged for a coveted toy, or a week's allowance blown all at once in an orgy of candy bars and soda pop? For some, the painful lessons of consumer disappointment also lingered: the carefully hoarded box-tops finally redeemed for a cheap plastic toy or the "sea monkeys" charmingly described on a bubblegum wrapper that turned out to be nothing more than brine shrimp. Lisa Jacobson describes allowances and box-top premiums as part of a larger children's consumer culture. This culture, she argues, stretches back to the early twentieth century and was well established by the 1920s and 1930s. Through a series of case studies, she examines children's socialization as consumers and future citizens of what Elizabeth Cohen has influentially described as a "consumer's republic."

Mass marketers were among the first to recognize the economic potential of child consumers. They reached out through the pages of magazines such as *St. Nicholas* and *American Boy* and later, through radio programs that included elaborate contests and promotions. Jacobson carefully details the ways these campaigns were gendered and also gives some attention to the role of ethnicity in shaping consumption—most vividly in novelist Joseph Heller's account of his unsuccessful childhood efforts to convince his Jewish mother to buy Wheaties. His yearning was denied because that bright orange box lacked the mark of rabbinical approval. Jacobson nicely analyzes cultural ambivalence about childhood consumption that threatened to turn the Victorian innocent into a "mercenary little wretch" (p. 3). She dedicates one of the book's most original chapters to the history of children's savings banks, showing how this movement was designed to teach children to channel and discipline their spending. Another chapter considers the role of consumption in experts' promotion of play as a way to strengthen the companionate family.

As social historians long ago discovered, finding and interpreting the voices of actual children is extraordinarily difficult. Following the lead of other cultural historians of consumption, Jacobson relies heavily on advertising and other prescriptive sources. As a consequence, most of the children she discusses were

"imagined" and "constructed" by adults. The few stories Jacobson is able to give us from memoirs and childhood reminiscences suggest that underneath the well-established paradigms of American consumption history lies a more complex and surprising set of narratives about what might be called the economic history of childhood. Take the story of Aaron Hotchner who, Jacobsen tells us, used a school savings bank to hide his meager earnings from a ne'er-do-well father who was forever "borrowing" money from his teenage son (p. 67). Like many of the children described by David Nasaw's pioneering social history, *Children of the City: At Work and at Play* (1985), Hotchner had his own agendas and his own world view. He functioned in a culture of economic unfairness and scarcity, seldom portrayed in glossy advertisements or the prescriptions of middle-class child-raising experts.

This is an admirable piece of scholarship that will likely be widely read. It is far more thoroughly researched and contextualized than previous work on the history of children and consumption. Throughout the book, Jacobson carefully responds to potential criticisms and shows her wide reading in both theory and history. The result is sometimes informative, but at other times seems too defensive—along with the prescriptive sources, adding yet another layer of scholarly apparatus between the reader and what he or she would like to understand about the past.

ARWEN P. MOHUN
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J. E. SMYTH. *Reconstructing American Historical Cinema: From Cimarron to Citizen Kane*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 447. \$50.00.

J. E. Smyth's book is a controversial, innovative, and meticulously researched text that reconfigures time-worn conceptions of what constitutes history on and in cinema. Smyth punctures the prevailing mythologies of historical films disseminated by professional historians and by popular writers and film scholars on Hollywood's fascination with American history. European theorists identified with the *Cahiers du cinéma* have also contributed to undermining the claims of films to history in their "crusade to legitimize American directors as auteurs" and mythmakers (p. 309), thus impeding long-overdue considerations of popular cinema's uses of the American past.

In order to dissipate these various positions on Hollywood's historical films, Smyth is compelled to provide a rigorous model for analyzing history on film. The discussion wisely confines itself to a critical moment in Hollywood—the decade from 1931 to 1942—a moment of social and technical reconstruction and an exemplary time for the production of historical films. This interwar moment coincided with the creative possibilities afforded by the advent of sound on film and by the questioning of American history on the part of professional historians that resulted in an anastomosis of traditional

cinematic forms and language with modern and modernist perceptions for a revision of history on film.

Smyth's book rejects conventional studies of film genres that tend to disregard their investments in portraying American history. Consequently, the work is organized around specific historical events and motifs from American history treated by the films: the frontier, the urban gangster world, the Civil War, the Great War, the Roaring Twenties, the history of Hollywood, ending with *Citizen Kane* (1941) as signaling the decline and fall of the golden age of Hollywood's history making. Through discussions of exemplary films such as *Little Caesar* (1931), *Scarface* (1932), *Stagecoach* (1939), *Sergeant York* (1941), *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *The Story of Vernon and Irene Castle* (1939), *A Star is Born* (1937), and *Citizen Kane*, Smyth introduces historical material that blunts the often denigrating or transhistorical appraisals of Hollywood history.

Smyth assembles formidable evidence to demonstrate how certain films (not all) avoid the charge of being mere entertainment, escapist texts, and a repository of factual inaccuracies. Smyth's book is not trying to redeem wholesale Hollywood's historical production, but rather to reclaim what is historical. Smyth approaches the production of these films by contextualizing the history on which the films are based through consulting Hollywood archives, the historical and novelistic written sources upon which the texts rely, the recollections of screenwriters, producers, and stars, and contemporary reviews of the films. The book does not overlook textual analysis but employs it to identify and elaborate on the character and strategies that constitute their innovative form of cinematic history.

This decade of history making, according to Smyth, was at the outset indebted to the contributions of *Cimarron* (1931), a film "based on relatively unexplored historical material" (p. 34). The film's phenomenal critical success can be attributed to its "conveying and questioning an established view of American history" that offered a window onto "a multi-ethnic, racial, and gendered west" (p. 37). In the examination of other films of the decade—*Ramona* (1936), *Gone with the Wind*, *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939), *Sergeant York*, and *A Star Is Born*—Smyth underscores the importance of written texts for these historical films in the uses of intertitles along with photographs, paintings, and drawings. Smyth also traces the development of research departments at the various studios, the emphasis on research methods, and the critical role of the screenwriter who contributed greatly to the final product. In one of a number of counterexamples, the author discusses the collaboration of Jeannie Macpherson and C. B. DeMille on *Land of Liberty* (1941) as constituting the "epitome of consensus history" (p. 315).

From the first to the last chapter, Smyth highlights the dominant role of the screenwriter to the advantage or disadvantage of the text's historicizing. Thus, whether discussing Ford's direction of *Stagecoach* or Welles's of *Citizen Kane*, Smyth demolishes the myth of the preeminence of the auteur by documenting the mul-

multiple components and the collaborative efforts involved in creating Hollywood historical films of the decade. This book reveals an engagement with forms of cinematic history that, in the author's words, make perceptible the presence of "self-conscious historical voices, their constructed manipulation of text and image, their deliberate confrontation of controversy, [that] . . . thwart the critical agendas of previous scholarly interpretations" (p. 17). But while the scholarly merits of this work of scholarship are in evidence, Smyth slights the contributions of forms of theory and criticism that address a too-religious adherence to historical "facts." In the age of the "society of the spectacle," a stronger argument may be required to justify faith in "historical reality."

MARCIA LANDY
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EDWARD BUSCOMBE. *"Injuns!" Native Americans in the Movies*. (Locations.) London: Reaktion Books. 2006. Pp. 272. \$16.00.

This is a superb book on a topic that all too often in the past has provoked texts that either merely list movies that have purported to represent Native Americans or fulminate against what they see as Hollywood's invariable recourse to stereotype, as if both Indians and Hollywood were unchanging entities. Edward Buscombe's volume engages in its fair share of listing, but it does so to locate the films in question in their appropriate historical and ideological contexts. Buscombe is also very much alert to signs of racism—whether theorized as "scientific" or apparently propelled by popular prejudice—but his fundamental effort is to dissect and understand rather than simply to castigate. The book's evasion of oversimplified essentialisms is aided by its broad, loosely comparative focus, in that it examines not only Hollywood productions but westerns made in a variety of European countries. (Indeed, by itself the treatment of allegorically inclined "pro-Indian" East German communist westerns, often as rooted in classic American texts as their capitalist counterparts—the fiction of James Fenimore Cooper, for example—warrants purchase of the book.) It treats Hollywood with due regard to the industrial changes it has undergone, from entrepreneurial outpost, through the rise of the studio and star systems, to the segmented but still powerful structure it exhibits today. The book is especially illuminating on the earlier years, offering, for example, delicately precise insights into the evolution of D. W. Griffith's increasingly strident representations of interracial sex and rich evocations of such phenomena as the Inceville Sioux.

The book's main virtues are the range of its coverage, its overall approach, and the way it is written. Let me address each of these, if too briefly. Buscombe evokes a prodigious number of fiction films (and a few documentaries), many of them long forgotten, and usually does so with sufficient specificity—he has a good eye and you know he has viewed each one—to fix both them

and the circumstances of their making for the reader. This is related to his approach: a combination of close reading with strong contextualization. We get the plot of the movie and such matters as the then-status of its stars, but we also become aware, for instance, of the effects on Native peoples, and on films, of the vicissitudes of Bureau of Indian Affairs policies. In general, the book displays an easy movement between the representation of Native Americans in film and their earlier and contemporary depictions in painting, photography, literature, and such popular cultural forms as wild-west shows, dime novels, and the themed salesmanship of the Fred Harvey Company. Buscombe knows a great deal about these hinterlands and rightly sees the western with Indians not as a sealed genre but as codifying, and as codified by (the pun on the great Buffalo Bill is only partly intentional), the interethnic and interregional tensions of American culture more broadly. He does not attempt to identify codifications anew but relies on a profound alertness to the presence of long-recognized tropes in the representation of Indians, and when such theorists as Edward Said are invoked, it is with clarity and purpose. Each of his chapters treats a major theme and proceeds in roughly chronological order. Finally, sentence by sentence, the book is judicious and scholarly but possesses an enviable accessibility.

All this is to say that Buscombe's work is authoritative. It acknowledges the best previous scholarship, whether on George Catlin, the adaptation of Zane Grey's stories, Grey Owl, or Chief Dan George. It constitutes fine film history and makes a valuable contribution to American cultural history. My only reservation, a quibble really, is that I would have appreciated just a little *more* commentary on many of the films—in particular, commentary on their formal aspects—especially when they are famous precisely for their apparently ambiguous attitudes toward Indians. Most obviously, there are the movies made by the bestriding figure of John Ford. It may be that Buscombe, who has written much on Ford, including book-length readings of *Stagecoach* and *The Searchers*, did not wish to cover what is for him old ground, but his decisions mean that the reader gets too little sense of the complexity of either Ford's aesthetic or the ambiguous legacy of his representation of Native peoples. Similarly, it would have been good to have had more detail on the recent movies made by such Indian filmmakers as Chris Eyres and Sherman Alexie. In discussing them, Buscombe implies that they might well represent a different way of seeing—an indigenous eye, so to speak—and further speculation on the part of someone this wise and knowledgeable would be appreciated.

MICK GIDLEY
University of Leeds

MICHAEL V. PISANI. *Imagining Native America in Music*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 422. \$48.00.

What has Native America sounded like over the years? In broadest terms, that is the question Michael V. Pisani sets out to answer in this marvelously ambitious study. More specifically, Pisani wants to know how Native America has been represented in the musical productions of Euro-America, and his investigations cross two continents, nearly four and a half centuries, and numerous musical genres.

All this terrain is covered roughly chronologically, beginning in seventeenth-century Europe with the musical compositions of Jean-Baptiste Lully for Louis XIV and ending in Hollywood in 1998 with the protagonist of the film *Smoke Signals* singing a song about John Wayne's teeth. This big sweep is broken up into nine chapters, grouped into four sections.

The first two chapters focus on how Native America was musically represented in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Pisani finds that depictions of noble savages and heroic warriors fascinated European audiences, and that these depictions on the popular stage, in turn, defined for Europeans "the very essence of 'American'" (p. 74).

The next two chapters move us across the Atlantic and cover much of the nineteenth century. In the antebellum years, Pisani believes, musical characterizations of Native America became "crude," centering around sensationalized versions of "war dances." As a consequence, "music fell far behind the other arts in subtlety of expression" (p. 125). Crude though they may have been, these "war dance" performances were hugely popular in a United States busy manifesting its destiny. Pisani devotes the next chapter to *Hiawatha*, and we discover that this remarkable poem had an equally remarkable musical life, having commanded the attention of composers as well known as Frederick Delius and Antonín Dvořák, and as obscure—and ill-named—as Samuel Coleridge-Taylor.

The three chapters of the third section are in some ways the richest, perhaps in part because they deal with what seems to me the richest material. Covering the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these chapters look at a real efflorescence of "Indianness" in American musical culture. Among the issues considered here are how the new ethnographic knowledge of Native Americans could be given musical expression, how musical "Indianness" might participate in larger debates over the definition of American nationalism at the turn of the century, and how modernist musical technique could be combined with ethnographic knowledge to create something more "authentic." The final two chapters trot through the twentieth century with a particular focus on vaudeville and on the scores of Hollywood movies.

Pisani begins the book with what amounts to a finger-wagging at American historians. While there is a rich literature on how Native America has been imagined in a variety of ways, Pisani points out that this literature has ignored the role of sound in these imaginings. Music has served simply as the soundtrack to studies of literature, images, and film. Instead, Pisani argues that

"music did not simply contribute to generic depictions of 'Indians' or 'Indianness,' but rather offered multiple views in which emphases shifted from century to century, from decade to decade, from work to work, and, in some cases, even within individual works" (p. 2). I am not sure Pisani has been entirely persuasive making that point, and I think most readers will find that Pisani's conclusions about music roughly mirror the analysis of scholars in other fields who have traced the representation of Indians from noble savage to anthropological subject to historical agent.

Still, these are small points. The bigger question Pisani raises for us is how American historians might incorporate music into our histories, given that many of us are, musically speaking, functionally illiterate. Much of this book will be a challenge for those with tin ears and no music theory. I struggled with concepts like modal melodies and pentatonic scales, but the fault is mine, not Pisani's.

This book also underscores the problems of books themselves when trying to wrestle with music. Pisani's analysis came alive for me when he dealt with music I already knew, but I am simply not familiar with much of the music being discussed here and so there was nothing in my head to accompany my reading. Illustrations in books serve to help us when we analyze images; does a book like this need an accompanying CD or website so that we can hear what is being discussed? I, for one, would love to hear the 1906 vaudeville hit: "You're an Indian, He's an Indian, I'm an Indian too."

Pisani has done two things of real importance. He has filled in a significant lacuna in our consideration of how Native America has been portrayed in Euro-American culture, and he has challenged historians to listen to the music that has always been a part of human experience and to take it seriously.

STEVEN CONN

Ohio State University

BETH ENGLISH. *A Common Thread: Labor, Politics, and Capital Mobility in the Textile Industry*. (Politics and Culture in the Twentieth-Century South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2006. Pp. x, 236. \$39.95.

The "common thread" in Beth English's study of the American textile industry in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the Dwight Manufacturing Company. Founded in Chicopee, Massachusetts, shortly before the Civil War, the Dwight Manufacturing Company was unusual in that, unlike so many of its regional competitors, it had established a southern subsidiary outside Gadsden, Alabama, by 1896. This "early step in the process of textile industry globalization," according to English, offers an "effective framework through which the dynamics of capital flight can be explored on local, state, and trans-regional levels simultaneously" (p. 2). A business history that includes thoughtful analysis of critical labor issues, this book seeks to do more than describe the often intricate workings of a single corporation. English maintains that the story of the Dwight

Manufacturing Company and others like it offers valuable lessons to modern Americans who face the loss of high-paying manufacturing jobs to foreign competition. The result is a solid work that illustrates admirably the reasons behind the rise and fall of the textile industry in both the North and the South. Unfortunately, however, as an historical work with implications for today, English's conclusions offer little comfort to those who support improving global labor standards in the twenty-first century.

Incorporated in 1856, the Dwight Manufacturing Company traced its origins to the consolidation of several smaller textile companies in the Connecticut River valley that existed as early as 1832. Like the more famous Merrimack Manufacturing Company in Lowell, mills in the Connecticut River valley relied on the labor of New England farm girls in the 1830s and successive waves of European immigrants in the 1840s and thereafter. The Dwight Manufacturing Company flourished in the immediate post-Civil War years, but competition from textile mills leading the economic recovery of the New South began to cut into its profits. Over several chapters English describes the various push-pull factors that led the company to open a mill near Gadsden, Alabama. Essentially, such issues as worker militancy and state labor legislation in Massachusetts, along with the siren song of boosters promoting tractable, native-born labor and a pro-business environment in the cotton South, combined to convince this Yankee business to be one of the first New England textile companies to establish a subsidiary in Dixie. A number of historians have described elements of this process before but English's analysis offers real insight into how, over several years, managers arrived at and implemented such decisions.

This work details with particular skill the great effort managers of the Dwight Company made to ensure that their Alabama mill operated in a business environment far removed from that which had developed in Massachusetts. Any state legislation that infringed upon the prerogatives of management, be it child-labor regulations, schooling provisions, or laws limiting the number of hours women could work, was uniformly opposed. Despite some modest reform legislation that passed mainly as a result of lobbying by middle-class Progressives in Alabama during the early 1900s, the company successfully defended its position. The Dwight Company resorted to a variety of tactics, including lockouts, blackballing union employees, and the creation of a company union, in order to avoid making concessions to worker demands for union recognition and improved benefits. Furthermore, a business-friendly state government and still lingering, traditional anti-union sentiment within a conservative labor force raised serious obstacles for unions that sought to organize southern mill hands. Nevertheless, the gritty efforts of the employees themselves, combined with the political leverage they began to enjoy during the New Deal and World War II, gave unions some very limited success in organizing the southern textile industry. In one of this

study's most important contributions, English argues convincingly that the refusal of New England locals to support southern organizing initiatives in a sustained way during the early twentieth century enabled management to restrict worker rights in both regions.

Despite the Dwight Company's relative success in reducing labor costs by moving production to their Alabama mill, regional and growing global competition cut deeply into profits. By 1928 management closed the original mill in Massachusetts and Cone Mills, which had purchased the Dwight Manufacturing Company, closed the increasingly antiquated Alabama mill in 1959.

By deftly weaving together business, political, and labor history, English offers an historical case study of how one U.S. company struggled to remain profitable in the face of interregional competition. Today many U.S.-based companies follow a similar strategy by relocating production overseas. American workers hoping to protect their crumbling position in this global economy, English writes, must embrace an "international outlook" and, unlike New England textile unionists a century ago, must fully commit to organizing co-workers, in this case overseas, who share their cause. Her fine study makes it clear why this goal is at once necessary and, regrettably, so difficult to achieve when culture, politics, and economic self-interest divide a labor movement confronting ever-moving capital.

FRANK J. BYRNE

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RICHARD HUDELSON and CARL ROSS. *By the Ore Docks: A Working People's History of Duluth*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 336. \$18.95.

Duluth, Minnesota, was no Lake Wobegon. Richard Hudelson and the late Carl Ross present a story of the working people of this gritty city filled with ethnic and racial diversity, radicalism, and reaction, from the Civil War to 1948. Their book is clearly a labor of love, and they have written a very satisfying and helpful case study.

While researching the influence of the left on Duluth's working class, Hudelson and Ross discovered that ethnicity was crucial to their story. In the late nineteenth century, explosive growth in logging, mining, and infrastructure building brought immigrants from Sweden and Finland, along with British, Canadian, and American-born laborers. The Knights of Labor was active in Duluth, but the militancy of the workers grew not only from the miserable conditions exacerbated by economic downturns but also from simmering ethnic tensions. The 1889 "Bloody War" of Duluth's day laborers working on streets and sewers was not only the most violent labor conflict in Duluth's history, but also "an ethnic conflict, pitting foreign immigrants against a largely Irish police force and a predominantly "American" elite in charge of the construction companies, the city government, the press, and the militia" (p. 21). The

communists, socialists, the Farmer-Labor Party, and the International Laborers of the World all established significant organizations and activities, along with a number of American Federation of Labor unions. Southern and Eastern European immigrants, including a community of Russian Jews and a small African American community, joined the Scandinavian immigrants to work in the factories, mines, and docks of Duluth. By the late 1910s and 1920s, employers organized to further undermine workers' unity, which was already weak from internal divisions of religion and ideology.

One of the book's strongest chapters is on "Americanization." In a period that brought into existence the Citizens' Alliance, open-shop drives, and Americanization programs, the working class remained divided by "pro-temperance and anti-Catholic sentiments" (p. 128). Ethnocentrism took both virulent and benign forms. On the one hand, the authors provide poignant accounts of Scandinavian mothers who "allowed their children to play with the Italian children, but forbade them to go into the Italian grocery stores where the smells of garlic and oil seemed menacing" (p. 96). On the other hand, this period also saw the appearance of the revived Ku Klux Klan in Duluth and, in what seems to be unrelated to the Klan, the lynching of three black circus workers in 1920 by a mob comprised of World War I veterans. The Klan was no radical fringe organization in the 1920s; it had insinuated itself into the working class. "The victory of Pat Brown, a KKK-endorsed candidate for St. Louis County Attorney, in the Farmer-Labor primary election in June 1926 lent credence to the suspicions about the presence of religious bigotry in the Farmer-Labor movement" (p. 159).

The Depression energized those radicals and progressive forces besieged during the 1920s. The authors describe the creation of a Popular Front during the 1930s. Communists and other leftists and progressives provided important human power and intellectual energy (Paul Robeson even visited Duluth) while the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and Farmer-Labor Party organized workers and their families behind a vision of a multi-ethnic, multiracial working class whose members were all guaranteed basic American rights and freedoms. While an important development, this Popular Front was not completely hegemonic in Duluth. In the middle of the 1930s, "opposition to the Popular Front came largely from the SWOC [Steel Workers Organizing Committee] locals" (p. 247). After World War II, the contests between pro and anti-Popular Front forces played out in the CIO unions and the Democratic Party in Duluth. The authors end the book with the demise of the Popular Front coalition in Duluth and Minnesota in general; to them the end came with the election of cold warrior Hubert H. Humphrey to the U.S. Senate. "The anti-Popular Front Duluth CIO PAC [Political Action Committee] made the election of Hubert Humphrey to the U.S. Senate its top priority" (pp. 261–262).

The epilogue that follows is not as satisfying as it might be, since it attempts to compress Duluth's history

since 1948 into a few brief pages. This rich, readable book has a number of interesting lessons for the present, and I think that a few might have been drawn out even more. Each chronological section discusses the larger economic context, including features of the industries in Duluth, but there is no consideration of the relationship between the nature of business organization and labor unrest. Did those industries with remote ownership experience more unrest than those based in Duluth itself? Did different businesses employ different types of management styles/techniques on their workers? The book has wonderful pictures, but maps of the city and tables and charts on the demography of the working class would have helped as well.

LISA M. FINE

Michigan State University

SCOTT REYNOLDS NELSON. *Steel Drivin' Man: John Henry, the Untold Story of an American Legend*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. 199. \$25.00.

One cannot envy the author investigating anew "the most researched folk song in the United States, and perhaps the world" (p. 2). Yet the discovery of new documentation combined with Scott Reynolds Nelson's rapid and engaging tour through a broad landscape of American history and culture allows us more fully to grasp the political, racial, and technological context in which John Henry lived and his legend grew, and lets us "hear 'John Henry' as a terrible and a beautiful song both" (p. 36).

Nelson's discovery of the "real" John Henry rests upon a Virginia Penitentiary document describing a nineteen-year-old, New Jersey-born inmate named John William Henry, whose fortunes took a dive in the heady days of Reconstruction-era Virginia after his arrest for burglary. Henry was launched into the chaotic world of the Commonwealth's courts as they struggled to reorganize their jurisprudence to include the newly freed. For Henry, however, the court's judgment betrayed none of its disarray: he was sentenced to ten years in prison. The voracious needs for labor on the Chesapeake and Ohio and the reigning belief that convict labor would benefit prisoners and the state alike meant that Henry spent little time sitting in solemn silence in a dull, dark dock. Instead, he and hundreds of others blasted and drilled their way through the Appalachians, dying from overwork and lung disease with shocking regularity as the railroad ate them alive. The hulking steam drills brought in to replace them proved finicky and unreliable, and so the brutal hand labor went on. Conditions were so hard that Henry served less than half his prison term before he died, and by the time researchers began tracking down his legend not a single one of his contemporaries remained who could tell the tale of man, machine, and mountain.

After documenting what he can of Henry's life, Nelson follows the legend as it rode the rails into the lives of countless miners, prisoners, railroad men, labor crews, and the down-and-out of southern society, each

of them sure that somewhere in the story was a “utopian possibility” that “laborers, whom no machine could imitate, stood outside the undemocratic, Jim Crow South” (p. 114). By the early years of the twentieth century, the legend had reached beyond its origins in the southern working class, convincing left-leaning Americans that Henry symbolized and might energize an American proletariat. The song also traveled the route of the Great Migration, found itself transformed by a new breed of folksong professionals like Carl Sandburg and Alan Lomax, and was recorded on wax cylinders by Fiddlin’ John Carson to comment on the speed-ups in southern cotton mills. In short, John Henry’s legend and its meaning proved much more malleable than the drills, hammers, and mountains that formed its bedrock.

Both Nelson and his publisher hope to entice the “general reader,” a figure nearly as fabled as John Henry himself. For readers acquainted even briefly with the historiography of the South, of the working class, or of black culture, the subtitle’s claim of being “the untold story” is a case of *caveat emptor*. Indeed, one of Nelson’s greatest contributions is synthesizing a large range of secondary scholarship. By centering his narrative on the steel drivin’ prisoner, he provides a sympathetic guide through this material, but at the same time this forces Nelson into some interpretive corners. The first is largely overlooking Polly Ann, who “drove steel like a man” when her beau took ill. Certainly any narrative as sensitive as Nelson’s to the oppressive world of Jim Crow labor cannot overlook the central role black and white women played in the region’s industrialization. An additional snag is that for all his gargantuan strength John Henry is not mighty enough to hold together Nelson’s narrative. The immediate relevance of a Union officer’s medical history, the leisurely path by which the author’s ideas formed into a conference paper, the technological transformations of European warfare, the origin of comic books—all of these are interesting spurs, but except for their textual proximity it is often difficult to see how Henry brings them into coherence, or how he can shoulder the brawny claim that he “would use his hammer to rewrite the history of the South” (p. 59). At some point it seems necessary to recognize how intolerably small Henry was in the face of all that we—including Nelson—have put on him. If Nelson has indeed found the man (a feat worthy of the steel drivin’ man himself), Henry was just a nineteen-year-old kid sucked into the vortex of southern justice and racism, extinguished with but one phosphorous moment to mark a life that deserved a larger measure of simpler, more mundane pleasures.

GAVIN JAMES CAMPBELL
Doshisha University

GEORG LEIDENBERGER. *Chicago’s Progressive Alliance: Labor and the Bid for Public Streetcars*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 202. \$35.00.

Georg Leidenberger rejects the largely pessimistic attitudes of labor historians toward Progressive-era politics. He argues that political fragmentation was neither foreordained nor a natural product of urban growth. In Chicago, during the debate over municipal ownership of streetcar franchises, organized labor and middle-class reformers formed an alliance that challenged corporate interests and promoted the common good.

The potential for this alliance originated during the 1890s when the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) increased solidarity among its membership. This united front allowed the CFL to claim a greater role in public affairs. Its strength became evident once the teamsters revived the sympathy strike as a tool in labor disputes. During ensuing conflicts with traction companies, the teamsters gained control of the streets because they received support from entire working-class communities. The widespread support resulted from the union’s success portraying traction companies as exploiters of consumers and workers. Having adopted this policy, they gained additional middle-class support from the teachers union, whose members objected to the corruption resulting from the streetcar franchise because it siphoned money away from the schools and teachers’ salaries. Allied with middle-class reformers, Chicago’s labor movement transcended narrow trade-based interests and supported a metropolitan-wide social vision that championed the role of workers as citizens.

According to Leidenberger, the controversies over new modes of public transportation became the catalyst for political change because the policies adopted toward streetcar service affected Chicagoans of various social categories. Many citizens simply objected to the quality of service, especially the crowding of cars. However, others recognized the importance of public transportation to the social development of Chicago. Reformers insisted that streetcar service provided a tool that could improve life for all citizens. Given the broad based concern over issues of transportation, the politics of streetcar service led great numbers of citizens to recognize that business corrupts politics. Reformers developed two approaches to remedying the corruption brought about by streetcar franchises. Populists such as Henry Demarest Lloyd desired a broadly based civic alliance that challenged the system itself, assuming that corporations could not promote the public good effectively. The more conservative Municipal Voters League sought managerial reforms that maintained private ownership but allowed for regulation by experts. The debate between these two groups birthed a new era of mass politics, more democratic than its predecessor. Specifically, the popular sentiment for reform encouraged a grassroots movement that united in support of Edward F. Dunne for mayor of Chicago. A Roman Catholic and Democrat, Dunne supported labor and campaigned for the public acquisition of the streetcar system.

Following Dunne’s election, the teamsters forced a confrontation with one of Chicago’s largest employers, Montgomery Ward. With the outbreak of a sympathy

strike, merchants throughout the city united in an employers' association that recruited strikebreakers and formed a non-union teaming company to undermine the strength and the popularity of the teamsters in Chicago. Leidenberger even suggests that the association financed construction of an elaborate underground tunnel system to remove the delivery of freight from the public streets, where local support for the teamsters often frustrated employers' efforts to employ non-union workers. The strike became a violent affair, with 21 deaths and 400 injured. Faced with such violence, Mayor Dunne chose to protect property and to maintain order. Newspapers also excoriated the workers and exaggerated accounts of violence. Not surprisingly, labor lost public support. Increasingly, middle-class reformers associated the union with corruption and saw class-based organizations as divisive and a threat to the public good.

Following the strike, conservatives captured the reform movement and defeated the proposal for municipal ownership of the streetcar franchise because the debate over the franchise narrowed to the simple question of better service. While reformers accepted the importance of citizens as a social force, they envisioned the public as consumers. By doing so, elite interests stripped the transportation issue of a larger ideological framework and eliminated the potential for fundamental reform. They associated more ambitious plans with long-haired, academic radicals. Leidenberger views this moment as decisive, the point in time when citizens accepted their role as passive consumers of urban services rather than as active agents in the decision-making process. Without broad support, the forces for fundamental social change were marginalized, ending the search for public policies that sought to transcend individual interests and achieve the common good.

Concise and clearly articulated, this argument successfully defends the notion that labor organizations had both power and public support, albeit briefly, for a broader vision of public policy. It deserves reading. However, it places extraordinary weight on the streetcar issue. The streetcar was only one of many municipal provisions that aroused the interests of citizens. In many instances, working-class citizens resisted more unified public policies, as was the case when Roman Catholics opted out of the public schools and created a separate parochial system of education. In addition, middle-class and working-class property owners often preferred a haphazard system of public services since the absence of amenities reduced the cost of purchasing a house. In both instances, fragmented policies offered citizens freedom and choice. Under such circumstances, it seems unlikely that a single issue, even as important as transportation, had the power to overcome the factionalism that limited Progressive reform.

JOSEPH C. BIGOTT
Purdue University Calumet

MELISSA WALKER. *Southern Farmers and Their Stories: Memory and Meaning in Oral History*. (New Directions

in Southern History.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2006. Pp. xiv, 324. \$45.00.

Oral history interviews have become essential sources in the writing of inclusive modern history. The most significant precedence was, arguably, the labor of Federal Writers Project (FWP) collectors of ordinary folks' "life histories" during the 1930s, especially in the American South. At least 1,400 southern life histories survive in various universities and archives, from Kentucky and North Carolina to Florida and Arkansas; and since the 1960s, especially, they have been mined for readable, stand-alone collections and for reinterpretations of rural life during the tumultuous decades between ca. 1910 and 1960 or so. By the 1970s, new oral history projects proliferated and the endeavor became a formal subdiscipline with protocols, a growing theoretical literature, and a specialized journal.

Melissa Walker's new analysis of mostly post-World War II southern rural experience represents a second generation of oral history's post-FWP history. During the 1970s Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, Lu Ann Jones, Robert Korstad, Mary Frederickson, Allen Tullos, James Leloudis, Cliff Kuhn, and others constituted the core revivalists, and many persist in collecting interviews today. Since, they have been joined by Thomas Carlton, Rebecca Sharpless, and others, including Melissa Walker, whose agriculture/rural life sources usually represent the generations succeeding the subjects of the "life histories" and the first projects of Hall and company. Walker's new work extends the grass-roots record of the depopulation of the southern countryside.

Mechanized and chemicalized agricultural production, enlarged global marketing, market dominance by mega-corporations, and mounting indebtedness and uncertainty were the future for "life history" subjects ca. 1939, but these were the present and recent past for many interviewees beginning with the 1970s. Now gone, retired to reminiscence, or removed to town, city, or suburb, the latest cohorts of testimony-givers demand at least the critical appraisal the first generation has endured. Walker, like practitioners before her, presents a mostly declensionist rural/agricultural narrative, enriching her story with the words of her 531 subjects. Her larger purpose, however, is to characterize testimony.

First come mostly mellow commonalities. Despite differing experiences of the same larger economic and social developments, rural southerners shared much: a notion that farming was a version of "class" characterized by self-reliance and hard work, and a sense of blessedness (if not superiority) derived from their proximity with nature. Too, farming folk built and sustained nurturing communities. Yet (and predictably), Walker documents elemental differences in memory expressed by members of different social classes and skin-color groups. African American farmers, owners and tenants alike, testify that agencies of the United States Department of Agriculture discriminated against them relentlessly over the decades. A white landowner, representing the fourth generation of his

family on the same land, complained that he lost his farm during the 1980s because the Farmers Home Administration lent him too much production money!

Walker's final chapter, both analytical and descriptive, considers elderly farm (usually ex-farm) people's versions of the past. Naturally (and hardly unique to rural folk) her subjects' memories are paradoxical: end-of-the-twentieth-century life was less strenuous, more productive for farmers, cleaner (owing to electricity and household appliances), more convenient. Here female testimony tends more toward satisfaction than male. Men, especially if former landowners, acknowledge the blessings of mechanization but decry declining commodity prices and rising indebtedness from production costs. Nearly all, irrespective of class, gender, and color, bemoan the dissolution of rural communities and their institutions, plus the aimless sloth of youth (often their own grandchildren), attributable to affluence and the alleged breakdown of familial discipline. The present, readers are reminded, colors the past, rendering it—all evidence to the contrary notwithstanding—sepia.

JACK TEMPLE KIRBY,
EMERITUS
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MOON-KIE JUNG. *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawaii's Interracial Labor Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 292. \$45.00.

In the aftermath of the 1949 Hawaii longshoremen's strike, a union president proudly stated that unlike previous failed efforts this labor victory was attributed to "all the Japanese, Filipinos, Portuguese and all other nationalities working together in one union and calling each other brothers and sisters" (p. 183). How and why this interracial union solidarity developed in postwar Hawaii is the central focus of Moon-Kie Jung's book. Jung makes a convincing case for the study of "inter-racialism" in American labor history.

Jung challenges orthodox Marxist explanations that attributed the success of Hawaii's working-class movement of the late 1930s and 1940s to increased "class consciousness" and declining significance of race or "deracialization." Instead of race disappearing from workers' discourses and practices, workers adopted new racial ideologies and practices that allowed them to discard a long history of failed strikes and racially exclusive movements to "imagine a new interracial political community" (p. 189). This new political community was constructed through a series of actions: printing materials and holding meetings in multiple languages (English, Japanese, Filipino dialects, and Hawaiian "pidgin"); organizing race-conscious elections to achieve racial equality in leadership positions (a proto-affirmative action program); reinterpreting the past by linking employer divide and rule policies to haole racism in order to construct a "narrative identity" among nonhaole workers. Fighting for racial equality became key to the workers' ultimate victory in the 1946

sugar strike, which resulted in a nondiscrimination clause in the union contract.

Drawing from the theoretical insights of Antonio Gramsci, Stuart Hall, Michael Omi, Howard Winant, and Marshall Sahlins, the author pays close attention to language, visual images, historical memory, and racialized discourses using a wide range of primary sources such as newspapers, pamphlets, picket signs, leaflets, strike bulletins, oral history transcripts, and union archives. Despite the focus on racial discourse, however, Jung does not dismiss political economic factors that contributed toward building an interracial worker movement. The passage of the 1935 Wagner Act and the 1945 Hawaii Employment Relations Act ("Little Wagner Act") and a friendly labor relations board created a political opening for industrial unions to organize agricultural workers in sugar and pineapple plantations. During World War II the dislocation of the wartime economy and the military takeover of the islands produced such worker discontent over repressive conditions and wage disparities that after martial law was lifted "workers flocked into unions . . . like wildfire" (p. 140).

Jung effectively rescues the concept of "interracialism" from scholars whose exclusive focus on its negative dimensions overlook its "affirmative transformation of race" (p. 190) and its implications for future antiracist progressive politics. However, the lack of discussion of women and gender within Hawaii's labor movement makes one wonder whether female workers in the canneries and plantations really benefited from this interracial movement. The book's photos reveal women were present in the picket lines, Labor Day parades, and union conventions but remain absent from the narrative. How progressive was this interracial union movement when the "sisters" were left out of leadership positions? Less understood also was whether Japanese, Filipinos, Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, and other nationalities called each other brothers and sisters outside of work, union halls, and picket lines. Did the concept of interracialism extend into the ethnic neighborhoods, dance halls, billiard parlors, baseball diamonds, and other leisure places?

These omissions aside, this book helps us understand how an interracial labor movement helped make Hawaii into one of the most progressive states in the country. Through its sound research, crisp narrative, and innovative reworking of the concept of "interracialism," it makes an important contribution to Hawaiian and U.S. labor history, the sociology of race, and ethnic studies.

JOSÉ M. ALAMILLO
Washington State University

JOSIAH BARLETT LAMBERT. *"If the Workers Took a Notion": The Right to Strike and American Political Development*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 259. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

This book roots the shift in modern labor policy and the declining position of labor in American life within liberalism's inability to embrace collective rights, such as the right to strike. Josiah Bartlett Lambert traces legal, political, and philosophical assumptions about the right to strike to develop a compelling model for a renewed social citizenship that connects communities and workplaces.

Lambert starts with a compelling question: "How did one of the most militant labor movements become cowed, with a strike rate today a mere one-tenth of what it was a generation ago?" (p. 4). The answer to this question is found in modern liberalism, which "transformed the right to strike from what had been a stalwart citizenship right, focused on civic republican principles, into a tentative and conditional commercial right" (p. 5).

Lambert traces the shrinking right to strike and the growing conservative actions of unions in American history. American liberal elites ignored or rejected connections to protest, civic engagement, and political activism and instead choose to see strikes as commercial acts—thereby defining them as individual acts rather than collective, community struggles giving unions little room to navigate. Breaking with critical legal scholars and historians who explain this shift in the nineteenth century through a legal framework (courts and injunctions), Lambert instead sees violence as the root cause. The ability of employers to use private police coupled with the state's readiness to use National Guard units and federal troops was justified, as Lambert suggests, by the emergence of modern understandings of sovereignty that led the state to suppress widespread industrial violence. "The neglect of congress, the limited capabilities of administrative agencies, and the tenuous alliances between the labor movement and national political parties mean that the responsibility for dealing with widespread industrial conflict fell, by default, on the executive branch," which resorted to troops (pp. 50–51). In the process, strikes became civic disorders. Many labor leaders stopped justifying strikes as citizens' rights and started defining them solely as economic weapons. Slowly, reformers began to see strikes and industrial conflicts as merely technical issues. The solution was mediation for legitimate conflicts and repression of outliers such as the International Workers of the World.

Lambert sees an evolution of labor policy since the Civil War. By categorizing labor conflict as a technical economic problem that could be solved, liberals positioned unions as interest groups and the state as neutral arbitrator. In the process, the right to strike was defined as a commercial right and not a citizenship right. The National Labor Relations Act and resulting National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), along with the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, according to Lambert, restricted workers' ability to connect workplace and community issues such as plant closings, investment, and produce pricing.

Lambert places the right to strike at the center of worker rights' struggles. A robust right to strike, based

on citizenships rights, would have possibly allowed workers to have an active voice in the deindustrialization struggles and civil rights efforts of recent history. Instead, the main right of workers was constricted and their voices were limited. As a neutral party, the state allowed replacement workers, chilling even the limited commercial rights workers had. Today the right to strike has "degenerated into the right to quit" (p. 151). The larger social struggles of the past thirty years have been defined as community struggles and mostly removed from unions. Two notable exceptions are the Memphis Sanitation Workers' Strike of 1968 and the Grape Boycott of the 1970s. I would have liked to see Lambert discuss these strikes/community actions in more than a few paragraphs.

Lambert's book is an ambitious effort to explain the decline of the right to strike. Rather than simply blame employers, although there is much to blame them for, he finds fault with labor's allies: liberals. As such, he joins a growing number of scholars that have questioned the marriage between liberals and labor. As a historian I would have liked to see Lambert connect the research on policy to communities. There are a number of interesting studies pointing out that community-labor coalitions did not disappear. Yes, Taft-Hartley and the NLRB made it difficult for unions to engage in community struggles. Yet workers were also residents. I am interested in learning how workers in communities tried to surmount the liberal divide. But that is asking for another book. Lambert has give historians much to ponder in this finely argued study, and scholars of labor and the state will find much value in it.

RICHARD A. GREENWALD
Drew University

ANDREW E. KERSTEN. *Labor's Home Front: The American Federation of Labor during World War II*. Edited by HARVEY J. KAYE. New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 274. \$42.00.

During the years of their supposedly intense rivalry, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) consistently boasted at least twice the membership of its competitor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Yet the historiography—perhaps reflecting the militant sympathies of labor historians—has been decidedly lopsided in favor of treatments of the CIO. If Andrew E. Kersten's insightful study of the AFL during World War II is an indication, we are seeing at last a correction to this unfortunate imbalance.

The war, Kersten argues, brought fundamental change to the stodgy, conservative federation previously wedded to volunteerism, pure and simple unionism, and exclusivity. Working alongside the Roosevelt administration, the AFL mobilized and motivated millions of essential defense sector workers. Demanding "equality of sacrifice," federation leaders challenged lingering conservative elements in government, industry, and labor. By the end of the war, the labor organization had transformed into a vital component of the

New Deal coalition. This transformation is perhaps most manifest in the federation's promotion of an "American 'Beveridge Plan'" prescribing full-employment, expanded social security, and massive housing and public works projects for the postwar years.

Yet despite these seismic shifts, the AFL's wartime story remains one largely of frustrating setbacks and opportunities missed. Equality of sacrifice remained an unrealized ideal, as corporate profits and inflation outpaced wages. Employers, reeling from labor's gains under the New Deal, harnessed the national emergency to launch an "open shop" drive that later culminated with the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1946. The AFL, heroically led by its aggressive General Counsel Joseph Padway, mounted a counterattack, but employers maintained the upper hand.

Elsewhere the AFL proved significantly less proactive. Key affiliates, such as the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, remained bastions of "racial conservatism and discrimination" (p. 71). On rare occasions, such as in the case of black shipbuilders in Providence, Rhode Island, African Americans successfully challenged discrimination. Still, racist exclusion remained generally the rule.

Likewise, the women who flooded into defense industry jobs hardly found a warm welcome in the AFL, an organization with a long history of sexism. Accepting women "under the stress of necessity," the federation endorsed equal pay for equal work, and key "labor feminists" pressed reform from within the federation. But affiliated unions—partly the result of the decentralized nature of the AFL—generally treated newly organized women as distinctly second-class citizens. In some cases, unions actively resisted the hiring of women, while elsewhere unions adopted policies explicitly limiting female union memberships to the duration of the war. As the war wound down, AFL staffer Agnes Nester argued that some eighty percent of women workers wanted to keep their jobs and urged the federation to accommodate their ambitions. But labor's largest organization would "sacrifice its gender mores and traditions . . . for the duration only," and Nester found little support for her cause (p. 138).

Perhaps Kersten's richest chapter deals with the horrific state of wartime industrial safety. At one point, well into the war, factory casualties actually outnumbered those on the battlefield (p. 177). Despite this epidemic, the federation never seized the initiative on the issue, viewing workplace safety as an employer and government concern rather than one to be addressed by unions. As in the case of gender and race, the federation talked a good game but proved unwilling to challenge longstanding attitudes and approaches; thus it "ensured that many of its members would continue to sacrifice more than they should have on the home front" (p. 188).

As defense mobilization began in earnest, President Franklin D. Roosevelt urged an end to the bitter divide between AFL and CIO, bluntly telling leaders of both organizations that as "experienced negotiators" the job

of making peace "ought to be easy for you" (p. 153). In fact, the labor wars had sapped significant energies from both organizations, and a unified labor movement might have been better situated to meet wartime challenges. But no peace could be brokered even after John L. Lewis, who had personally upended previous unity negotiations, stepped down from the CIO presidency. Kersten supplements this larger story with an examination of the rivalry's impact on the west coast mining corporation Phelps Dodge, where CIO and AFL unions bitterly fought each other, leaving no real winners.

Kersten, in contrast to many of his fellow labor historians, knows how to tell a good story. He serves up well-drawn pen portraits of both key AFL leaders and ordinary working persons, such as Thomas Doram, an African American who struggled to gain some footing as a member of the virulently racist Brotherhood of Boilermakers. Kersten is also to be commended for walking a difficult line between too harshly judging the shortcomings of federation leaders (as have most labor historians) and dismissing their failings as the result of the constraining environment over which they supposedly had little control. One often hears that labor history's halcyon days have passed, but Kersten's balanced and readable study provides a potent example for how the field might be revitalized.

EDMUND F. WEHRLE
Eastern Illinois University

ELIZABETH EDWARDS SPALDING. *The First Cold Warrior: Harry Truman, Containment, and the Remaking of Liberal Internationalism*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2005. Pp. ix, 323. \$40.00.

In this book, Elizabeth Edwards Spalding argues that Harry S. Truman was the key architect of United States policy in the early Cold War, characterizing George F. Kennan as a moral relativist who failed to understand "the fundamental essence of the Cold War as Truman understood it" (p. 105). The Truman who emerges from these pages "grasped the meaning of the war of nerves" with the Soviet Union and "not only remade liberal internationalism but also constructed a corresponding grand strategy of containment" (p. 231).

Spalding's argument is strong at points, as in her explication of where the differences lay between Kennan's essentially pragmatic, balance-of-power approach and Truman's more ideological stance, reinforced by his faith and his understanding of history. (There is a faintly anti-intellectual quality to the distinctions she draws between Truman's reliance on "knowledge, experience, and convictions" and dependence on what can be gleaned from "foreign policy textbooks or State Department manuals" [p. 197].) In the end, however, the book does not succeed entirely in refuting the widely held view of how "containment" emerged as grand strategy in the years after World War II. This mainstream view, as Spalding concedes, has perhaps been given best expression by John Lewis Gaddis, who recognizes Truman's significant role as the

“decider” (to use modern parlance) but nonetheless attributes to Kennan the role of chief theorist. For all of the attention Spalding gives to the sources of Truman’s thinking and the specific nature of Kennan’s differences from the president’s purportedly more ideological approach, it seems an overstatement to conclude that Truman, in supplying “what was missing from the narrow, negative version of containment that was preferred by his realist critics . . . created and implemented a different strategy entirely” (p. 218). In fact, as most post-revisionist historians of the early Cold War—including Gaddis, Melvyn Leffler, and others—have argued, Kennan’s and Truman’s reasoning about the necessary response to the Soviet Union’s aggressive tendencies represented only variations on a theme.

Moreover, Spalding does not pay much attention to the domestic political context that largely shaped the nature of Truman’s containment strategy. It is true that Truman had been no fan of communism from the time he had entered the Senate, as reflected in his much-quoted “pox on both your houses” statement following Adolf Hitler’s attack on the Soviet Union in 1941. Nonetheless, as president he was clearly pushed further to the anticommunist right by the Republican majority in the Eightieth Congress. Spalding comes close to acknowledging this at one point, suggesting that had the Democrats controlled Congress in 1947 and 1948, they might have supported a more “Wilsonian” approach by Truman; but with the Republicans in control of the legislative branch, the president’s approach had to gibe with the preferences of those “who were first and foremost anti-Communist” (p. 79). It seems arguable that at least some of the reason for Truman’s public arguments being more grounded in ideological anticommunism than in the kind of power politics rhetoric that underlay Kennan’s “containment doctrine” may have resided in his need to work with Republican leaders in Congress to shape the collective security approach that culminated in the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization by 1949.

Spalding’s strong emphasis on Truman’s ideological commitment to what she describes as a modernized version of Wilsonian liberal internationalism seems to derive from the essentially presentist theme underlying her analysis. To her credit, whether one agrees or disagrees, she is up front in suggesting the connections between Truman-style containment, as she sees it, and the way in which the United States should respond to the threats posed by terrorism in our own time. Spalding’s objection to an overemphasis on Kennan’s moral relativism as the underlying strength of the eventually successful containment strategy is that it could lead the United States to draw the wrong conclusions about what might work best against terrorism in today’s world. By suggesting that Truman’s version of liberal internationalism provides the best model for current American policy makers to follow against the threat of international terrorism, she is essentially advocating a “nation-building” strategy. “The Truman era,” she concludes in her introduction, demonstrates how “the correct blend

of political, moral, military, and economic strength” can “promote the principles of the liberal democratic regime; discourage the spread of despotism . . . and encourage the establishment and maintenance of healthy, democratic, constitutional states” (p. 8). With all due respect for the novel complexities of world politics that confronted Truman, Kennan, Averell Harriman, and other architects of post-World War II American foreign policy, such unqualified comparison of the Soviet threat of that era and the terrorism born of religious fundamentalism and specifically anti-American animus in our own day seems simplistic.

GARY W. REICHARD
California State University

ROBERT DAVID JOHNSON. *Congress and the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xxxii, 346. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$29.95.

Interpretations of American foreign policy since 1945 have tended to underestimate the impact of Congress upon policy making: in contrast to the period before Pearl Harbor, the era of the Cold War appeared to demonstrate the power of the executive, qualified by the repercussions of McCarthyism in the 1950s and the consequences of Watergate in the 1970s. Robert David Johnson has produced a carefully argued and thorough reassessment of the role played by Congress: he shows that the executive had to devote more time and energy to coping with the assertiveness of certain committee chairmen and individual legislators than has been recognized previously.

Johnson has researched a large number of collections of private papers, with the help of those acknowledged, supplemented with the *Congressional Record* and newspapers. He focuses mainly on the Senate but also brings out the importance of the House of Representatives at particular times. Johnson underlines the constructive contributions of Republicans Arthur H. Vandenberg, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and H. Alexander Smith in the later 1940s; they were more prominent than Democrats Tom Connally and Walter George, provoking the jealousy of the latter (pp. 22–23). The Korean War accentuated anxiety and tension, and the author emphasizes the malign influence of Pat McCarran, the maverick Democrat, rather than Joseph McCarthy (p. 53). Much of the geographical concentration in Congress shifted from Europe to Asia, as the menace of “Red China” loomed large. William F. Knowland succeeded Robert A. Taft, Sr., as Republican leader in the Senate; Knowland was obsessed with support of Chiang Kai-shek’s regime, and the “Senator for Formosa” was a veritable thorn in the side of the Eisenhower administration. However, passage of the “Formosa resolution” (1955) was followed by a weakening in the power of Congress in criticizing the executive. Democratic Senators Mike Mansfield and John F. Kennedy were well to the fore in condemning incompetent French rule in Indochina, but the challenges of constructing viable governments, combining nationalism with anticommunism, were

more difficult than they anticipated, as both came to appreciate in the 1960s.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was less important in the 1950s than it had been earlier: this was illustrated when eighty-nine-year-old Theodore Francis Green (Democrat) succeeded Walter George as chairman. Lyndon B. Johnson engineered the tactics for persuading Green to stand down, although the generous tributes paid to him, arranged by LBJ, almost convinced the venerable senator to stay after all (p. 86). The revitalization of the committee was the achievement of William J. Fulbright (Democrat), particularly when he emerged as a vehement critic of policy in Vietnam. As Johnson shows, a congressional revolt over foreign aid preceded the congressional revolt over Vietnam. This included surprising alliances, illustrated in the cooperation between Wayne Morse (liberal Democrat and a former Republican) and Bourke Hickenlooper (right-wing Republican) over policy toward Latin America in the later 1950s (pp. 84–85). The autocratic conservative Democrat, Otto Passman (Louisiana), inspired fear or hatred in many of those who encountered him during his chairmanship of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, which dealt with the foreign aid program. Having just become president, LBJ thought he had squared Passman only to discover that the latter refused to comply, leaving LBJ to denounce Passman (in private) as a “caveman” from the “swamps” of Louisiana (pp. 102–103). Johnson confirms how powerful obdurate individuals of both parties could be when challenging executive authority, especially when combined with holding important chairmanships: Stuart Symington (Democrat) is a good example in his later career as a scourge of the Pentagon (pp. 163–164).

The climax to congressional challenge to the executive was the product of disaster in Vietnam, Watergate, and the personality of Richard M. Nixon. Critics in both major parties had become increasingly uneasy over Vietnam from 1966, and this was accentuated by Fulbright’s tenacious direction of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. By contrast, the House Foreign Affairs Committee was said by the *Washington Post* (July 20, 1970) to have “been a rubber stamp for the executive branch for so long that not many people are aware that it exists” (pp. 179–180). The emergence of certain strident advocates of liberalism in Congress was counterbalanced by the decline of moderates in the Republican Party and the adhesion to the Republicans of disgruntled neoconservatives who had previously supported the Democrats (p. 226). These trends were confirmed in the midterm elections in 1978 with the defeat of Senators Joseph Clark and Thomas McIntyre (Democrats) and the refusal of New Jersey Republicans to renominate Clifford Case (p. 240). The victory of Ronald Reagan in 1980 saw the Republicans securing control of the Senate. The Senate Armed Services Committee, chaired by John Tower, was more powerful than the Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by Charles Percy. Indeed, the House Foreign Affairs Committee

was more prominent than its Senate counterpart in the early 1980s (p. 265).

This is a fascinating volume: it throws considerable light on the workings of the Constitution. A British historian must express respect for the ability of Congress to open matters that the executive would prefer to remain hidden. The only weaknesses are the absence of a reflective conclusion (the volume ends abruptly) and the omission of a bibliography, other than a list of archives consulted.

PETER LOWE

University of Manchester

KIRSTEN FERMAGLICH. *American Dreams and Nazi Nightmares: Early Holocaust Consciousness and Liberal America, 1957–1965*. (Brandeis Series in American Jewish History, Culture, and Life.) Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 252. \$29.95.

There was a time in our national life, less constricted by pressures to conform to the civic religion of American “exceptionalism,” and before the orthodoxies of identity politics gained predominance, when social critics felt free to plumb the meaning of Adolf Hitler’s destruction of the Jews during World War II for its universal lessons. Kirsten Fermaglich argues that there was a moment of relative openness and liberal reform optimism, a period she identifies as “the turn of the 60s,” catalyzed in its beginnings by Little Rock and Sputnik, when Cold War rigidity relaxed and it was considered legitimate to use the (still recent) experience of Nazi mass murder to investigate the pathologies of American “mass” society.

Fermaglich deftly, methodically engages on a cohort of four social scientists (loosely defined) whose work, begun and widely influential in this period of openness, experimented with Nazi analogies, with greater or lesser success, to examine American culture in a way that would be attacked as bad taste or worse in our more pinched, impoverished climate of debate. For Stanley Elkins, Betty Friedan, Stanley Milgram, and Robert J. Lifton, the focus transcended the historical context, the holocaust was more than a specifically, exclusively Jewish narrative or event. They foregrounded broader issues of bureaucratic dehumanization and obedience, personal responsibility and psychological submission, alienation and fragmentation—concerns of urgency to liberals in the age of civil rights and doomsday nuclear brinkmanship. To be sure, all four writers were from secular Jewish backgrounds, struggling in their own ways with the ambiguities and “existential unease” of “insider status and outsider memory” in drawing connections between what made the Nazi genocide possible and troubling patterns of postwar American life. But this search for identity did not circumscribe their analyses.

Elkins’s sense that he was “one of the lucky ones” impelled him to write his landmark 1959 study of American slavery, in which (influenced by Bruno Bettelheim) he examined the ways southern slaves, like concentra-

tion camp internees, underwent a process of “personality disintegration” that reduced them to dependent children, passive participants in their own victimization. Condemned with the emergence of late-1960s black and Jewish nationalism, with their celebration of narratives of “resistance,” Elkins’s line of inquiry nonetheless left a legacy. It provided support for the kind of “damage liberalism” ascendant in the Great Society years, with its “affirmative action” initiatives that have since raised such controversy. Friedan’s (in)famous characterization in *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) of the suburban home as a “comfortable concentration camp” similarly explored ways in which middle-class women internalized a sense of dependency, powerlessness, aggression, and inferiority that paralleled the experience of the camp inmate. Although later repudiated by the author herself as fatally exaggerated, most early readers did not dismiss Friedan’s thesis as taboo.

Milgram’s much-publicized experiments at Yale University, in which subjects administered apparently painful electric shocks to others on command, raised disturbing issues of blind bureaucratic obedience like those surrounding Hannah Arendt’s 1963 study of a chief Nazi functionary, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. Haunted by the realization that he was alive only due to “an accident of geography,” Milgram chillingly concluded that, as in Hitler’s Germany, enough personnel to run a death camp could be found “in any medium-sized American town” (p. 114). His assertions about “destructive obedience” fed into New Left rhetoric from the Berkeley Free Speech Movement to Nazi analogies about Vietnam and My Lai. Finally, Lifton’s pioneering comparisons of the psychic damage suffered by death camp inmates and Hiroshima victims laid the groundwork for the notion of the “survivor” so familiar in twenty-first century American culture. A political activist, like the others in this study, Lifton’s advocacy for Vietnam veterans in the 1970s played a crucial role in the adoption of “post-traumatic stress syndrome” (PTSD) as a category of mental illness. His invocation of the “Nuremberg obligation” of “bystanders” to act to prevent war crimes, Fermaglich notes, still resonates in the age of Abu Ghraib and the Iraq War, which Lifton recently characterized as a classic “atrocities-producing situation” (p. 172).

Fermaglich laments that, by the latter 1960s, as the New Left splintered into angry ethnic and ideological particularisms, the space for such analogies and experiments closed dramatically. In the wake of the bitter *Eichmann* debate and the Six Day War of 1967, holocaust consciousness ossified the event into “the Holocaust with a capital H,” simultaneously sacred, “unique, incomparable and incomprehensible,” and exploited as a political football by right-wing Jewish/Israeli nationalists. This cogent and brave book reminds us of a more fertile time in American intellectual history, and should be read by anyone interested in Jewish studies and in the complexities of American culture and politics in the 1960s. Its recovery of an alternative postwar discourse about the Nazi period warns us today that “the more

fragmented and bureaucratic our lives become the less responsible we feel for our actions” (p. 117).

GREGORY SUMNER

University of Detroit Mercy

STEPHEN E. KERCHER. *Revel with a Cause: Liberal Satire in Postwar America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 575. \$35.00.

Remember the early 1960s joke about the black Detroit minister whom God entreats to do His work in Mississippi? With much trepidation the minister agrees to go if God goes too. Then comes the word from on high: “I’ll take you as far as Memphis.” In grim times, laughter was hard to come by, though it could offer relief, consolation, even a kind of inspiration. Turned outward, laughter provided a political weapon, as satire, parody, or travesty mocked power and order. A few books such as comic writer Tony Hendra’s memoir *Going Too Far* (1987) and Gerald Nachman’s *Seriously Funny* (2003) have recalled the protest and conflict of the 1960s as the incubator of new styles of humor—“sick,” vulgar, acidic in its assault on hypocrisy, bigotry, injustice, and political deceit. Stephen E. Kercher’s is the first thoroughly researched history of the comedy with a social and political edge that emerged after World War II and crept into the mainstream by the mid-1960s. Focused on “liberal satire,” Kercher’s richly informed and insightful account describes the writers (excepting novelists), cartoonists, actors, theater producers, and film directors who provoked political laughter, and the ways they interacted with audiences, media companies, and government.

After the postwar red scare had helped to silence or chasten the Popular Front cartooning of Bill Mauldin, Theodore Geisel, Al Capp, and Walt Kelly, liberal satire revived in the mid-1950s as Jules Feiffer’s cartoons appeared in the new *Village Voice*, Mike Nichols and Elaine May performed in Chicago’s improvisational theater ensembles (prefiguring the famous Second City cabaret), and stand-up comic Mort Sahl broke through to national attention in 1957. At first, the target lay as much in the social and cultural side of 1950s Americanism—consumerism, the mendacity of advertising, sexual prudery and hypocrisy, the cheap pieties of church and family—as in politics per se. This humor clearly had its limits. Driven by “modernist passions for truth and authenticity” (p. 3), it often conveyed, Kercher points out, a masculinist resentment and mockery of women as well as an “aesthetic snobbery and condescension” (p. 220) toward the unenlightened masses. Sahl, who for his part skewered residual McCarthyism, racial bigots, and Eisenhower’s stand-pat-ism, a stance firmly within the orbit of a measured liberalism identified with Adlai Stevenson and later John F. Kennedy, whom Sahl embraced as a champion of wit.

By the early 1960s, the mounting civil rights movement and distaste for Cold War militarism helped give liberal satire a sharper political edge, while newspaper and magazine critics hailed the “sauce and sass” (p.

361) this new irreverence brought to American life. TV networks, however, remained skittish about even the mildest political humor, and when liberal satire came of age with the American version of Britain's cheeky news review, *That Was the Week That Was* (TW3 for short), it lasted less than two seasons.

The wave of liberal satire crested with the raucously funny and chilling *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964) and afterward receded as the Kennedy assassination, Freedom Summer killings, and Vietnam escalation helped wither the comic spirit. Political controls also had an effect: Sahl and his friends claimed that Kennedy influence killed his career after he started poking fun at the president whose campaign he had ardently supported; later, the Johnson White House reportedly sent word to NBC to keep tight reins on its TW3 writers. Dick Gregory, who along with Godfrey Cambridge represented the key "cross-over" talents in a previously all-white comedy mainstream, for all intents and purposes quit stand-up as his militant commitment to civil rights grew. The most edgy of the stand-up artists, Lenny Bruce, whose impromptu, confrontational style (with a strong dose of misogyny thrown in) was intended to make his audiences squirm, was saddled with obscenity charges and a death-dealing drug addiction.

Kercher concedes that the mid-1960s obituary of political humor proved premature in some respects. Film satires such as Brian De Palma's *Greetings* (1968), *Putney Swope* (1969), *M*A*S*H* (1970), and *Little Murders* (1971) perpetuated the tradition, albeit in some cases with a more countercultural style. He suggests, in any case, that the main drift of political satire from 1955 to 1965 thrived as an in-house organ of a "liberal consensus," and when this milieu shattered, so did the "saucy" yet self-confirming humor its denizens found pleasing. In that case, a contrast with the more outré demeanor evident in such varied alternatives as R. Crumb's cartoons, women's liberation's bitter spoof of Miss America, or the parodic fury of Melvin van Peebles's *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971), might have clarified the relevant boundaries to this story. Within the limits of the more or less loyal opposition to Cold War liberalism, however, Kercher's book offers an indispensable account of what it meant to be funny about unfunny things in postwar American life.

HOWARD BRICK

Washington University in St. Louis

JAMES GILBERT. *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. x, 269. \$39.00.

James Gilbert argues that middle-class men of the 1950s "had a rich and often contradictory range of images and personality aspirations available to them in public culture . . . models to emulate that were not just cowboys, war heroes, Marlboro men, or athletes" (p. 33). To illustrate, he focuses on six individuals, starting with David Riesman, who critiqued conformity and

consumerism in the 1950s. He notes that in popular discourse, such critiques often took the form of an attack on the supposed "feminization" of American culture. But there was considerable disagreement about what a masculinized culture should look like.

Gilbert suggests that each of his remaining subjects had an alternative vision of masculinity. Alfred Kinsey's sexual surveys challenged the idea that "normal" men were exclusively heterosexual. Billy Graham presented a model of masculinity that involved submission to Christ. Ozzie Nelson produced light-hearted comedies about husbands adjusting to new middle-class ideals of domesticity. Tennessee Williams tore away the "lies and self-deceptions that surround the expectations of masculinity" (p. 13). Finally, August Comte Spector, managing editor of *Playboy*, trumpeted a masculinity that melded Hugh Hefner's celebration of unfettered male sexuality with a high-brow critique of conformism and an especially vituperative misogyny.

The chapter that inspired this book originated when a close textual analysis of *The Ozzie and Harriet Show* convinced Gilbert that the scripts contained more complex messages about gender roles than is commonly realized. Gilbert's exploration of this immensely popular television series is the book's highlight. As Jessica Weiss and others have shown, the 1950s was a time when men were being recruited into domesticity. Ozzie furthered this goal by gently mocking traditional patriarchal ideas and showing how families could create a more flexible division of labor without fatally undermining men's status. Gilbert argues that Ozzie continuously "explored the same paradox of masculinity: a man espousing ideas he thinks he believes in while struggling to fit into a new world of women and children, youth culture, togetherness, mass media, and consumer values" (pp. 162–163). And he reveals what few other commentators have noticed: Ozzie's recognition of his wife's wisdom and his willingness to compromise with her approach to this new world.

Each week, Ozzie worked through the contradiction between his character's old-fashioned patriarchal values and the reality of his wife's greater expertise in their domestic world. Some episodes even suggested that women could be better at home repair and business details than men, although they invariably concluded with Harriet voluntarily re-assuming her housewifely role.

The idea of the bumbling dad was central to the comedy. In this series, father did not know best. Instead, Ozzie's wife and children rewarded his compromises by pretending to accept a division of labor and authority that Ozzie could not claim as a right. When Ozzie asserts that "a man's home is his castle" and "I'm the boss around here," for example, little Ricky promptly agrees: "Mom said you were the boss . . . and what mom says, goes" (p. 135).

The rest of the book is less tightly focused. It is not entirely clear what paradoxes of masculinity Gilbert's other subjects were exploring or what models of manhood they offered. Kinsey had little to say about masculinity per se, and Gilbert presents no evidence that

Kinsey's emphasis on sexual variety threw preexisting ideas about masculinity into question. Gilbert argues that Billy Graham tried "to transform the process of conversion itself into an appealing male experience" (p. 12) but recognizes that, for the most part, he failed. And Tennessee Williams's tortured characters were certainly not role models that American men—straight or gay—sought to emulate.

Taken as a whole, then, the book lacks an overarching argument, aside from the by now widely accepted observation that the 1950s was a more complex time than older images of the 1950s suggest. The chapters on Riesman and SPECTORSKY are confusing because, as Gilbert's discussion of James Thurber, Ayn Rand, and Philip Wylie demonstrates, the most vitriolic attacks on women originated a full decade before the 1950s. Riesman's book, which appeared in 1950, was influenced by themes laid out by Wylie's 1942 book *Generation of Victims* and Ayn Rand's 1943 novel *The Fountainhead*. Thus, although Gilbert argues that fears about masculinity were exceptionally acute in the 1950s, the evidence he presents suggests that the 1940s might have been the formative years for the postwar sense of crisis about masculinity.

This book is best read as a collection of essays about several aspects of 1950s gender culture rather than a thesis-driven argument about the origins or influence of alternative role models for 1950s men. Taking each essay on its own terms, however, there is much to appreciate here, including a thoughtful analysis of the literature on the "crisis" of masculinity in American history and some rich details about the debates over postwar conformity and mass culture.

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CHRIS TUDDA. *The Truth Is Our Weapon: The Rhetorical Diplomacy of Dwight D. Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 224. \$39.95.

Do words matter? United States presidents have often used rhetoric to move and influence the domestic public, allies, and adversaries, but we lack knowledge about what types of appeals are effective in achieving particular goals. In this book, Chris Tudda continues a recent trend among scholars to study the use of propaganda, psychological warfare, and public diplomacy during the Cold War. The Cold War was a struggle for people's minds and hearts in which the superpowers employed words and symbols as well as material power. Tudda analyzes "rhetorical diplomacy" by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and its impact on allies and the Soviet Union.

President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles wanted to maintain domestic public support for an internationalist foreign policy, rearm West Germany, and reduce tensions with the Soviet Union. But Eisenhower and Dulles frequently undermined their own goals by their belligerent, antagonistic statements. During the 1952

presidential campaign, Eisenhower and Dulles had attacked the Harry S. Truman administration for its "passive" policy of containment and pledged to conduct a more "dynamic" policy toward the Soviet Union. One way to pursue a more dynamic policy in a context of military stalemate was to conduct public diplomacy. Eisenhower and Dulles believed that the public needed to be educated about the dangers of communism so that they would be prepared for a long struggle. They also believed that tough talk would convey resolve to the Soviets, reassure allies, and galvanize the U.S. public. Instead, their use of threats and moralism alarmed U.S. allies and escalated Soviet rhetoric. Ironically, the ideological positions taken by Eisenhower and Dulles in public were often at odds with their more moderate and realistic private positions.

This argument is built and elaborated in three case studies: the debate over ratification of the European Defense Community (EDC) Treaty, the liberation policy toward Eastern Europe, and the 1958–1959 Berlin crisis.

Eisenhower and Dulles supported the EDC, which would have rearmed West Germany as part of a supranational army. Eisenhower and Dulles recognized privately that Western Europeans feared West German rearmament, but instead of providing assurances that the United States would maintain a permanent military presence, Dulles repeatedly threatened to withdraw U.S. troops from Western Europe. France was particularly concerned about reviving German military power since its troops were tied down in the Indochina war. But Eisenhower continued to urge that the French remain fighting in Indochina, even though he had private doubts about whether the French could win this type of war. Eisenhower's emphasis on the need to stop the spread of communism to Southeast Asia enabled the French to blackmail the United States into funding their war despite their refusal to ratify EDC.

During the presidential campaign, Eisenhower and Dulles had pledged to work for the liberation of Eastern Europe. Once in office, Eisenhower and Dulles recognized that any U.S. attempt to challenge the Soviet sphere of influence would lead to war. Instead of confronting the Soviets, Washington would use radio broadcasts and covert action to undermine the Soviet empire from within. Yet the message that liberation must be "peaceful" was not clearly understood by a variety of audiences, including Eastern European émigrés, resistance fighters, conservative Republicans, and Soviet leaders. The Eisenhower administration's rhetoric was belied by its refusal to get involved during the 1953 East German uprising and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. But Washington also did not curb radio broadcasts that seemed to encourage armed struggle against Soviet rule.

Similarly, Eisenhower and Dulles repeatedly reaffirmed their support for reunification of Germany through free elections, although they acknowledged privately that the Soviet Union would not give up East Germany. Eisenhower and Dulles were moving toward

acceptance of some form of recognition of East Germany. As a practical matter, they were willing to deal with East German representatives on administrative matters, but Eisenhower would not admit this publicly. Washington's refusal to grant greater recognition to East Germany and its efforts to give West Germany access to nuclear weapons provoked Soviet leader Nikita S. Khrushchev into issuing threats against West Berlin.

Tudda alludes to Soviet reactions without discussing the goals and intentions of Soviet foreign policy, so that it is difficult to determine to what extent U.S. language altered Soviet behavior. But Tudda does provide substantial evidence of a pattern in which Eisenhower and Dulles assumed tough, uncompromising positions in public while showing willingness to compromise in private. More research needs to be done to explain the contradictions between public and private personae. Tudda's book helps to fill the gap in our understanding of the uses and limitations of rhetoric as an instrument of diplomacy. Words can create a reality to which others respond, although that response may be unintended.

DEBORAH WELCH LARSON
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DAVID F. KRUGLER. *This Is Only a Test: How Washington, D.C., Prepared for Nuclear War*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. xii, 248. \$35.00.

Ongoing concerns about terrorism provide timely context for David F. Krugler's evaluation of civil defense plans in Washington, D.C., during the early years of the Cold War. Krugler's detailed account of these preparations reinforces the work of previous scholarship on civil defense.

Krugler briefly surveys the sporadic civil defense efforts prior to the Cold War. He includes an interesting, succinct account of the construction of the Pentagon. The successful test of an atomic bomb by the Soviet Union in 1949 renewed interest in civil defense.

Overall, Krugler maintains brevity and focus in telling this story. Distracting minutiae occasionally creep into the text, as when Krugler abruptly mentions that Harry S. Truman recently completed twelve visits to the dentist. The elaborate accounts of particular civil defense drills in Washington, D.C., sometimes overwhelm Krugler's broader points.

Krugler's book covers territory studied in previous works such as Guy Oakes's *The Imaginary War: Civil Defense and American Cold War Culture* (1994), Laura McEnaney's *Civil Defense Begins at Home: Mobilization Meets Everyday Life in the Fifties* (2000), and Kenneth D. Rose's *One Nation Under Ground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture* (2001). These books presented a picture of civil defense plans hampered by budgetary issues, conceptual disagreements, and poor implementation. These obstacles, and President Dwight D. Eisenhower's fiscal prudence, increasingly moved civil defense plans toward heavy reliance on individual

preparedness—an idea exemplified by the family bomb shelter.

The concept of defending the general population gave way to educating the public about self-defense in the event of nuclear attack. Increasingly, attention focused on preserving a functioning government—with plans that emphasized protecting the members of the executive branch. In examining this transition, Krugler studies the construction of underground facilities for the president and top advisers.

Krugler acknowledges Eisenhower's growing realization that preventing nuclear war offered the best civil defense plan. Still, in contrast to other scholars of this topic, Krugler appears to regard the civil defense plans he details as fairly plausible. He seldom comments upon their blatant impracticality. At times, he seems to believe that the problem lay more in implementation and execution rather than the dysfunctional nature of the plans themselves.

Krugler eventually faults the public—specifically public disinterest—for the failure of civil defense. But various studies of the 1950s have demonstrated that by the end of that decade growing numbers of Americans agreed that prevention of nuclear war offered a more practical form of civil defense. Moreover, many Americans regarded the more drastic civil defense plans as too disruptive to their lifestyle, while offering no guarantee of survival.

In sum, Krugler's book revisits familiar arguments while providing new focus on Washington, D.C. He concludes by contrasting previous civil defense plans with ongoing efforts by the Department of Homeland Security. The botched response of the federal government to Hurricane Katrina engendered skepticism of homeland security efforts. Perhaps the generally ineffective government civil defense plans of the early Cold War period gradually encouraged similar incredulity—rather than apathy—from the American public.

JOHN CHAPPELL
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ZACHARY M. SCHRAG. *The Great Society Subway: A History of the Washington Metro*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 355. \$30.00.

Zachary M. Schrag's book is a comprehensive account of the history of the capital region's metropolitan rail system from the 1950s until the 1990s. It follows a combined topical and chronological narrative. Chapters one, two, four, and five focus on the political process that laid the way for the project; chapter three discusses the architectural and engineering features of the subway stations; the building and financing of the system is treated in chapters six and seven, respectively; chapters eight and nine investigate the impact the Metro held on urban renewal and suburban development; and the final chapter focuses on subway passengers and riding culture. This multitiered approach is united by the author's attention to the political nature of the

Metro's inception, operation, and impact and his view of it as a success story of Great Society liberalism and democracy.

The priorities of metropolitan transportation policy radically changed from the early 1950s, when mass transit functioned as an appendix to highway-centered planning, toward a policy where metropolitan planning centered on mass transit, in general, and on rail and subway systems in particular. This change reflected the influence of many actors and institutions, including enlightened planners such as Darwin Stolzenbach, activist citizens and residents' groups, especially those from middle-class Cleveland Park, and liberal presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. At the same time, state-based politicians managed to combine their respective constituents (from Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia) into a region-wide planning and regulatory body, the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority (WMATA), which was founded in 1967 and would oversee the construction of a ninety-eight-mile-long light rail and subway system. The author hails both the defeat of a highway-centered policy and the conception of The Metro through a regional compact (as opposed to a federally centered one) as a victory of democracy and of a new liberal ideology.

Planners and politicians conceived of The Metro in a variety of ways. Clearly, the system was designed to maximize returns from operations. This meant, for example, creating routes that catered to the large and relatively affluent population of suburban commuters. Yet ultimately The Metro became a system designed to serve a broad (social and racial) spectrum of both the city and the suburbs. Its democratic nature resulted from continuous lobbying efforts on behalf of inner-city residents and was rendered possible by massive federal subsidies, which continued to flow long after construction had terminated, and which formed an integral part of an operation that left to market forces alone would be plagued by a constant deficit. But Metro, as the subway of the "Free World's" capital city, also was a product of the need for prestige and power. For example, Schrag demonstrates how cost factors proved entirely secondary when it came to designing subway stations in an ample vault-based and modernist style promoted by President Kennedy in an effort to bring Washington's monumental image up-to-date.

This is a relatively traditional political history, in that it centers on key planners, legislators, and formal state institutions; social actors, whether they be neighborhood groups, organized labor, civil rights advocates, or the handicapped, occupy second stage. We learn of their existence, but relatively little about their posture and political weight. For example, Schrag suggests that transport workers' strikes, including one by streetcar workers in 1955 and another by bus workers in the 1970s, played a role in shifting policies, but he offers few explanations. A key issue of transportation history has been whether to run these services privately or publicly. Apparently, the region's transit authority placed the operation of the service in private hands partly be-

cause of pressure exerted by the AFL-CIO. Yet again Schrag does not pay much attention to trade unionists' logic, nor does he explore the debate of public versus private ownership, an issue that has permeated transportation history.

The author compensates for these limitations with a fascinating narrative of the politics involved in the realization of a project with capital costs estimated at \$6.8 billion. He reveals its institutional complexities as well as its personal dynamics, which he brings to life by drawing on interviews with the story's protagonists. An outstanding episode, in this regard, is Kentucky congressman and chair of the House's appropriations committee William Natcher's refusal to release Metro's funds unless the city proceeded with highway construction. Thus "an entire metropolitan area," Schrag dramatizes, was placed "at the mercy of one man" (p. 141) from 1966 to 1971.

Extensively researched, cleverly structured, and finely written, this book stands out for the way it provides an integral, comprehensive account of a key urban service. This is a history that sheds light on planners, politicians, and passengers while also paying attention to material and cultural aspects of the subject: the aesthetics and technology of its stations, as well as the values passengers associate with "their" subway. And it places mass transit in the broader context of urban and metropolitan design.

GEORG LEIDENBERGER

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JENNIFER S. LIGHT. *From Warfare to Welfare: Defense Intellectuals and Urban Problems in Cold War America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 287. \$42.00.

Among the many social creations of America's Cold War perhaps none was so archetypically American as the "defense intellectual." Lured from their economics and physics departments by the promise of power and fame, American thinkers like Thomas Schelling, Herman Kahn, and Henry Kissinger set to their initial task in the 1950s of using social science to figure out how the United States could contend with the Soviet Union in the emerging thermonuclear age. The main outcome of these efforts was the development of elaborate strategies for waging winnable nuclear war, and when this Strangeloveian solution was finally rejected by sensible American leaders, they and other social scientists turned their attention toward the ensuing problem of winning hearts and minds in the Third World, since direct confrontation with the USSR was no longer acceptable. The result of that was Vietnam.

Jennifer S. Light's fine monograph provides an interesting account of another project many of these intellectuals, along with a myriad of technicians and lower-level defense planners, embraced during the Cold War: that of attacking the blight and disorder of American cities. Such a task fit within the domain of Cold

War defense, as a major ostensible objective of these analysts was to develop infrastructural and social engineering plans to keep cities alive and working after a nuclear strike, and to make cities assets, rather than hindrances, to American defense policy. It also appealed to the optimistic logic of social science behavioralists, who believed that the top-down imposition of intelligent planning and incentives could solve any social problem. Finally, and as the author shows perhaps most importantly, the Johnson administration's vast Great Society program, together with the Pentagon's desire to reconfigure American cities for a nuclear world, meant that there was a sea of money available for analysts who could promise to solve both problems. Historians eager to find an example of the American military-industrial complex operating at full steam should read Light's amazing account of the attempt to make New York City a Cold War metropolis under its mayor John Lindsay. He saw to it that the most spectacular amounts of money were spent not on subway systems and cable networks, but rather on a small library of social planning studies, and logistical blueprints, and a proliferation of agencies whose main business appears to have been finding ways to attract even more funding.

Light takes us from the early days of defense-oriented urban planning in the 1930s, when mapmaking and aerial surveying represented the technological frontier, to atomic civil defense planning and urban intelligence gathering in the 1950s and 1960s, to the increasing focus on cybernetics and plans to prepare cities for the space age in the 1970s. By this time, however, the money began to run out, and so also the pre-Vietnam belief that social science could fix everything. In my view, the author could have discussed this evolution more precisely. Indeed, the most compelling parts of the book focus on the height of the Cold War, between about 1955 and 1970, when the novel threat of nuclear war and the emergence of post-industrial urban blight combined to present an inviting challenge to confident social scientists affiliated with the Rand foundation and other think tanks. Unfortunately, Light chose to divide the book into topical chapters, so that most of them extend roughly from the 1940s through the 1970s. A chronological history would have provided a better flavor of the dynamics of the Cold War and of the rise and fall of the defense intellectuals. A late chapter on the politics of cable television stretches the author's thesis, as the story appears more to be about the triumph of privatization over regulation than a serious attempt to link cable TV to the struggle against the USSR.

The United States has risen to unprecedented global power by throwing tremendous amounts of money and new ideas at the problems that come its way. Light's thorough analysis demonstrates how this technique shifted from foreign policy and war to domestic problems, and how these "new ideas" turned out to be intellectually similar whether the problem was civil defense or supplying cable links to housing projects. The book's prose is often dry and technical and, as men-

tioned, its thematic presentation is awkward and lacks historical flow. Nevertheless, it is a strong and useful contribution to American Cold War history, and perhaps even more to an understanding of the nature of American power after the Cold War.

CAMPBELL CRAIG

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JULIA MICKENBERG. *Learning from the Left: Children's Literature, the Cold War, and Radical Politics in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 389. \$74.00.

This beautifully written and well-argued book addresses a fascinating question: why did leftist authors of children's books escape censorship and blacklisting during the first fifteen years of the Cold War? The easy accessibility of such books in schools, public libraries, and bookstores is all the more surprising in light of the intense scrutiny given to comic books and other forms of children's popular culture amid rising concerns about juvenile delinquency.

Julia Mickenberg argues that red-baiters overlooked such books because the literary establishment devalued children's literature and women's control of children's books (a field dominated by women librarians, booksellers, and writers) made the genre seem unthreatening. Additionally, while school boards and legislators could closely monitor children's textbooks, they could not subject thousands of children's books published annually to the same scrutiny. Ironically, the Cold War itself produced conditions under which some leftist cultural work flourished. In the wake of Sputnik, educational policies promoting patriotism, anticommunism, and defense-related subjects widened markets for the kinds of children's books leftists were writing: books about history, science, and technology that illuminated truths about the world in which children lived.

The first three chapters trace the increasing reach and radicalism of leftist children's literature from the 1920s through World War II. In the mid-1930s and early 1940s, the Popular Front, Mickenberg argues, battled racial prejudice with more vigor and less concern for offending southern whites than lyrical leftists had in the 1920s and 1930s. The Popular Front also reached beyond the working-class readers of proletarian children's books to urge middle-class children to join the struggle against racism, fascism, and economic injustice—a move that coincided with the increasing interest of teachers, librarians, and publishers in children's books that addressed contemporary problems. The remaining four chapters examine the radical viewpoints in Cold War-era children's literature, which employed many blacklisted and greylisted cultural workers. By today's standards, many of the left-authored children's books hardly seem "revolutionary, or even political," Mickenberg concedes, but that is "in part because these books . . . helped to change the basic assumptions about what children ought to read" (p. 276). Building on key themes in Popular Front children's literature, leftist au-

thors encouraged children to question authority, seek social justice and a more equitable distribution of power and resources, reject racism, and respect diversity and individual rights.

Mickenberg is not the first to show how dissenting voices in popular culture broke with the Cold War consensus, but most treatments to date have focused on dissent concealed within science fiction, Hollywood westerns, and other ambiguous texts. Mickenberg, however, offers compelling evidence of “counterhegemonic impulses” that thrived openly in the midst of McCarthyism (p. 282). By foregrounding the contributions of African Americans, women, the working class, and other minorities, for example, children’s history books countered sanitized histories that marginalized such groups and championed the superiority of the American Way. Imaginative biographers, maximizing their creative license to invent dialogue and assign undocumented motives and thoughts, transformed a traditional hero like Davy Crockett into “an anticapitalist, antiracist, feminist friend of the Indians” (p. 248). Mickenberg contends that biographies and histories of African Americans actually served Cold War propaganda needs by affirming official commitment to racial equality and civil rights in the face of communist charges to the contrary.

Leftist-authored science books also challenged the Cold War consensus. Leftists confidently assumed that children trained to think scientifically would eventually recognize the virtues of socialism over capitalism, the importance of sharing scientific discoveries for the benefit of all, and the power of humans to change their world. Censors and government officials remained strikingly oblivious to the radical politics of children’s science books. The FBI took note of Harry Granick’s *Underneath New York* (1947)—not because it decried nuclear weapons and called for urban planning to eliminate slums and segregation but because it included a detailed diagram of Grand Central Station that saboteurs could use.

The epilogue cautiously advances Mickenberg’s most provocative argument: that leftist-authored children’s books had some bearing on the youth rebellions of the 1960s. Although careful not to assert a causal link between childhood reading and 1960s activism, Mickenberg provides suggestive evidence that at least some activists recognized the radical messages in children’s books and drew inspiration from them. Greater attention to issues of reception would have strengthened Mickenberg’s argument that Cold War-era children’s books served as a bridge between the Old Left and the New Left. One wonders, for example, how many New Left social historians in the 1970s were inspired by their childhood reading to search for a usable past. In other respects, Mickenberg sometimes overstates the radicalism of leftist-authored children’s books, many of which seem to have advanced ideas that fit comfortably within mainstream liberalism.

Mickenberg’s meticulous research—she interviewed thirty-three authors and mined scores of archives and

special collections—and perceptive analysis of children’s book texts and images are impressive. This book is a major contribution to Cold War studies and the history of American culture, American childhood, and the American left in the twentieth century.

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H. MICHAEL GELFAND. *Sea Change at Annapolis: The United States Naval Academy, 1949–2000*. Foreword by JOHN MCCAIN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xxix, 382. \$34.95.

In his 1979 book *Neither Athens Nor Sparta? The American Service Academies in Transition*, sociologist John Lovell used an ancient Greek rivalry to help readers understand where the nation’s military schools fit into the larger culture. H. Michael Gelfand takes a similarly metaphorical approach in this volume, whose title suggests shifting tides and, when spoken aloud, an invitation to bear witness.

The author applies anthropological and historical techniques of research. Gelfand spent two years conducting “participatory observation” at the U.S. Naval Academy. He attended classes, ceremonies, administrative meetings, reunions, and football games. He read official records and student newspapers. He took advantage of the region’s rich archives. He traveled to Wisconsin to watch the 1950s television series *Men of Annapolis*. He networked among graduates, faculty, and staff to gain access to personal papers and conduct more than three hundred interviews.

The perspective Gelfand gained shines especially in the introductory chapter. He displays mastery not only of the Academy’s history, traditions, and architecture but also of the evolution of its bureaucracy and curriculum. Throughout the rest of the book, he explores ways in which the institution responded when its traditions were challenged.

Gelfand focuses heavily on the ability of the federal government to effect change. In early chapters he discusses racial integration of the Academy, first in light of President Harry S. Truman’s 1948 executive order and after 1965 when President Lyndon B. Johnson wrote a memorandum to the navy secretary expressing concern about the lack of black midshipmen. Gelfand then examines how court action ended mandatory chapel attendance and how legislation opened the service academies to women. Later, he movingly traces the journey of the first female midshipmen from their 1976 plebe year to their 1980 graduation. His last substantive chapter details pranks, development of an honor code, and struggles over regulations governing student behavior.

Gelfand argues that, contrary to popular stereotypes about military rigidity, the institution adjusted to reflect the trend in the post–World War II United States toward greater democratization. His conclusions reinforce the notion that culture is a process of maintaining

continuity while reconciling past practices and policies with present realities. Borrowing an Annapolis adage, he notes that "time, tide, and formation wait for no one."

Several subsidiary themes also emerge. Gelfand emphasizes how the Academy kept pace with the evolving field of public relations to maintain a positive image and recruit midshipmen. His narrative hints that creation of an honor code had a connection to the end of compulsory chapel and the decline of religion as an ethical guide. He shows how pranks pulled by midshipmen could demonstrate playfulness and creativity as well as thoughtlessness and cruelty. Although the Navy's swimming test becomes an issue at several places in the book, Gelfand never explains those requirements, which is odd given his careful attention to detail regarding other aspects of life.

A more serious flaw lies in the author's interpretation of racial integration. Gelfand perpetuates the myth that presidents have dictated social change in the military by fiat. "Any officer or enlisted person who desired to remain in good standing with the armed services had no choice but to follow the order of his or her Commander in Chief," he says (pp. xvi-xvii). The three books on the subject he correctly cites as the standard works present a more complex picture (see Richard Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939-1953* [1969]; Morris J. MacGregor, Jr., *Integration of the Armed Forces, 1940-1965* [1981]; and Bernard Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* [1986]). Moreover, by concentrating on Lyndon Johnson's 1965 letter, Gelfand overlooks the efforts made a year earlier by Assistant Secretary of Defense for Civil Rights Albert Fitt, who secured appointments to the Naval Academy for ten African Americans.

Another shortcoming is the author's dismissive treatment of James Webb, who aroused controversy with his 1979 article "Women Can't Fight." Webb attended Annapolis during the 1960s, taught there during the 1970s, and served as navy secretary during the 1980s. He wrote a novel based on his Academy experiences and was a central character in another book frequently cited by Gelfand, Robert Timberg's *The Nightingale's Song* (1995). Gelfand would not have needed to conduct an interview to have taken better advantage of Webb as a primary source. He instead picks out the most inflammatory statements from "Women Can't Fight" and counters only that Webb's article had the effect of demoralizing female midshipmen. Few people would disagree with that assessment. Gelfand, however, does not directly address any of Webb's more incisive points about peer evaluations, fraternization, or public relations. He views continued interest in Webb's writings not as an indicator of possible relevance but as a gauge of persistent sexism.

Writing about military institutions within the context of domestic society requires synthesizing discussions of race, class, and gender with those of national security. The mix is politically explosive. Gelfand's decision to

frame his work within a gentle metaphor speaks as much about the state of this field of history as it does his book.

ANDREW H. MYERS

University of South Carolina Upstate

ANDREW H. MYERS. *Black, White and Olive Drab: Racial Integration at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, and the Civil Rights Movement*. (The American South Series.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 287. \$39.95.

Reports of attacks on African American veterans of World War II by racist whites in the South disgusted President Harry S. Truman, who integrated the United States military by executive order in July 1948. Andrew H. Myers provides an account of how that directive played out at Fort Jackson in Columbia, South Carolina, among the first military bases to eliminate segregation. With a continually critical eye on his source materials, many of which the defense department has only recently declassified, Myers ably demonstrates that determined, activist individuals, like the military itself, brought definite progress in the dismantling of Jim Crow.

The author presents remarkable, moving stories including the blinded Isaac Woodard, who became the subject of a Woody Guthrie song; the daring Judge J. W. Waring, who with his wife studied and found himself changed by Gunnar Myrdal's pathbreaking *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1948); the soldiers whom police arrested for expressing their disagreement with a segregated bus policy after being confronted by a racist passenger; the bold Billy Graham, who led an integrated prayer service at the base; and the nonconformist Howard Levy, whose refusal to train Green Berets as a protest against the Vietnam War raised the ire of the fort's commanders. Readers also learn of James Hinton, a civil rights leader in Columbia who persistently identified problems at Fort Jackson to military officials in Washington, D.C., and will marvel at Modjeska Simkins, a community activist who worked for social justice in Columbia for decades.

Myers has a keen understanding of the power of newspapers in local communities and of the editors who choose to cover or ignore events to serve particular agendas. Another strength Myers displays is his extensive coverage of the interplay between national and local politicians, although he incorrectly describes Congressman Carl Vinson as representing Mississippi, not Georgia, whose citizens Vinson served from 1914 to 1965. Myers included in his research over fifty interviews with people who were stationed at the base or were prominent in Columbia. These interviews add rich detail to the book and help to dramatize many of the stories Myers tells. Conspicuously absent from the oral history component of his work, however, is any member of the notable Bolden family of South Carolina, whose

story is one of the most solid that bridges the gap between the Columbia community and Fort Jackson.

What will strike readers familiar with the history of South Carolina is the absence of context for this study, which would have strengthened the value of this largely unrecognized chapter in the movement towards racial equality in America and made Myers's points even more worthy of attention. As the site of the renegade state's decision to secede from the Union after the election of Abraham Lincoln, and later the victim of William Sherman's torches, Columbia holds a notable spot in the history of the Civil War. These points would have helped to set up Myers's discussions of race. Similarly, the state's decision to remove the emotion-stirring Confederate battle flag from its capitol dome's flagpole but not from the State House grounds in Columbia has landed South Carolina in the midst of current boycotts by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which attempts to discourage economic spending in the state, and the National Collegiate Athletic Association, which since 2001 has refused to allow postseason athletic events to be held in venues in South Carolina. Because Myers ends his discussion in the 1970s, there is no contemplation or analysis of how these recent actions, with the goal of helping to bring about a more complete conclusion to the civil rights movement, sit in the minds of these Columbia residents who fought to end Jim Crow in the city and at Fort Jackson in previous decades. One is left wondering about the legacy of those accomplishments, about the presence or lack of racism and racist actions at Fort Jackson since the 1970s, and about what, if anything, the base has done to commemorate or memorialize its own accomplishments in integration and role in civil rights history.

The book is, however, a tightly focused case study that illuminates the many dimensions of the relationship between national and local politicians, the brass in the Pentagon and commanders at bases, and leaders in local communities and on neighboring military installations. Myers has created a solid study of leadership among the possessors of power, the common citizens, officers, and enlisted personnel. Students of the military, local history, civil rights, and community activism will find this a worthwhile, readable, well-researched volume from which they will gain great insight into the democratizing capacities of both the military and common citizens.

H. MICHAEL GELFAND
James Madison University

CHRISTOPHER S. DEROSA. *Political Indoctrination in the U.S. Army from World War II to the Vietnam War*. (Studies in War, Society, and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 328. \$49.95.

Christopher S. DeRosa has written an excellent book on a rather unyielding subject. After all, he announces at the start, the World War II "indoctrination campaign" of the United States Army usually "was mild in

scope" (p. xii). So, too, were its effects on soldiers. The study of a "mild" campaign with minimal effects offers few surprises, though rich analysis.

World War II troop information elicited unsurprising reactions from soldiers that "ranged from hearty approval to curt dismissal," DeRosa notes at one point (p. 38). It perhaps could not have been otherwise given the soldiers' enormous numbers and diversity and the many sources of information within and beyond the army; no single message was received because none was sent. And formal indoctrination was but a drop in the large bucket of influences, lifelong and immediate, on soldiers. As sophisticated army social scientists found, "making any sort of valid generalization about how to indoctrinate soldiers was frustratingly difficult" (p. 46). Even Frank Capra's famous *Why We Fight* films changed attitudes among some but "demonstrated no ability whatsoever to change behavior" (p. 48). Soldiers' reactions most converged, it seems, in their applause for anti-VD films. "If the Army had put half the effort into political indoctrination that it put into keeping the soldiers celibate," one veteran recalled, "we would have defeated the Japanese a year earlier" (p. 40). Hanging over army efforts was an ideological caution among both senders and receivers of its messages. World War I "helped condition Americans to regard cynically any grand claim that the war would create a better world" (p. 48). Flagged in many earlier studies, resistance to "any grand claim" comes through again here. Some soldiers were keenly political, but the common denominator of diverse beliefs was a soft, spongy Americanism. They "fought not to make a better world but to preserve a status quo that promised them the good life" (p. 56).

In the Cold War "political indoctrination gained permanency," but still "fell short of legitimacy" (p. 51). Despite a hard-edged anticommunism and Americanism—and an awkward avoidance of race—it was often "like muzak played in public spaces, tolerable to all but embraced by few," reflecting America's "apparent political consensus" (p. 134). Joint Chiefs of Staff chair Admiral Arthur W. Radford tried to impose a right-wing Christian agenda, but its claims were derided as "ideological Little Liver Pills" (p. 150). Besides, since "the value of anti-communist propaganda was self-evident," the army hardly had to prove that it was effective. "It served as a badge of right-thinking citizenship" (p. 169). The United States "cannot be imperialistic; cannot embark upon wars of conquest and aggression; [and] cannot enslave peoples" (p. 171), one pamphlet asserted, but many never saw it, already believed its claims, or found them unconvincing. Indoctrination did serve other purposes: "troops expect," officials calculated, "some form of political direction from 'authority'" regardless of its content, because they needed to think "that someone, if not they themselves, believed the government's justifications for the hazards they faced" (p. 52). Indoctrination's value, DeRosa paraphrases John Lynn, "was not in the content conveyed but in the act of conveyance" (p. 52).

Indoctrination is more interesting for its sources than

for its effects, and on that score DeRosa's account is rewarding. He carefully probes the ideological and political forces at work, neither dismissing nor overreading them. He shows how troop information variously was shrilly ideological and strikingly mushy. He keenly understands how military institutions and politics work. He integrates scholarship, memoirs, and other materials deftly into his richly researched account. And he writes in the right professional tone and style.

DeRosa's story climaxes with a fine chapter—it could stand alone—about the fracas in 1961 over efforts by Major General Edwin A. Walker in West Germany to sell his John Birch Society–tinged agenda to soldiers and to American and German civilians (Walker “denounced former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and former President Harry S. Truman as communist sympathizers” [p. 181]). Recalled, Walker resigned, entered politics, and met arrest in 1962 for trying “to incite violence” (p. 205) against James Meredith, who sought admission to the all-white University of Mississippi. Senate hearings broadcast Senator Strom Thurmond's charges of army incompetence and softness on communism, and the fracas influenced films like *Seven Days in May* (1964), which showed tough liberals staring down crazed right-wingers. But in response, the army only became more cautious. “Ideological extremism had peaked. Indifference rather than fervor characterized” indoctrination in the Vietnam War (p. 208). As one Marine recalled, “The only thing they told us about the Viet Cong was that they were gooks” (p. 227). “Political indoctrination weakened civilian control of the military by offering the armed forces a voice of political advocacy” (p. 262), DeRosa concludes. But indoctrination often succumbed to bureaucratic inertia, the army's low priority for it, the political resistance it elicited, and the soldiers' indifference to it.

MICHAEL SHERRY
Northwestern University

GARETH PORTER. *Perils of Dominance: Imbalance of Power and the Road to War in Vietnam*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 403. \$27.50.

Most scholars of the Vietnam War ascribe American involvement to Cold War ideology. U.S. policy makers believed that to lose Vietnam to communism would mean the strategic erosion of the free world, the loss of critical raw materials throughout Southeast Asia (for the loss of Vietnam would surely mean also the loss of neighboring countries dispirited by communist success), a shock to American credibility everywhere, and the sacrifice of freedom to the forces of totalitarianism. The United States thus committed itself to halting the spread of communism by intervening militarily in Vietnam, first sending aid and advisers to the fabricated government of South Vietnam and then, in 1965, raising the stakes with bombing and the introduction of combat troops. The result of this we know.

Gareth Porter means to sweep away the pilings on

which the Cold War thesis rests. He argues here that the United States held preponderant power in the world after 1945, and that everyone knew it. Intervention in Vietnam was not, therefore, caused by a felt need to oppose dangerous communist aggression, but was the result of a perceived opportunity to win an easy victory against Vietnamese communism: the United States was “invited” to “pursue a more aggressive policy in Vietnam” by the weakness of the communist states (p. 32). Given the preponderance of American power, there was no reason *not* to intervene. Especially convinced of this was what Porter calls the “national security bureaucracy,” those who instructed presidents in the conduct of foreign policy. It was this bureaucracy, not U.S. presidents from 1952 to 1965, whose members grasped the imbalance of power in the world and sought to exploit it by pursuing military victory in Vietnam.

In a subfield marked by imaginative scholarship, Porter's book stands out for the novelty and boldness of its claims. The argument that the United States held preponderant power in the post-1945 period is not new, but Porter makes the case more persuasively than anyone else, and he links it in revealing ways to the Vietnam War. More controversial, and arresting, is Porter's contention that presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson were skeptical about fighting a war in Southeast Asia and thus resisted troop commitments. Eisenhower refused to intervene to rescue the French besieged at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. Kennedy had grave reservations about engagement and worked subtly against his bureaucracy to set a timetable for withdrawal of U.S. advisers. Johnson, wrongly construed for these many years as a war hawk, had to be pushed and prodded and even lied to before he reluctantly agreed to escalate U.S. intervention in early 1965. Porter backs his argument with evidence drawn from archives and especially from published sources. He is current with the latest scholarship on policy making in the Soviet Union, China, and North Vietnam. If he chooses his documents selectively he nevertheless reads them with care; his analysis of Robert S. McNamara's manipulation of information concerning the alleged attack on an American destroyer in the Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964 should change the way historians think about that episode. And Porter deserves credit simply for saying something new and provocative about the war.

But his case is flawed. The claim that the United States intervened in Vietnam because it had the power to do so is dubious. It lacks parsimony—if the United States was so powerful, it could have intervened with force anywhere, including Cuba or Berlin—and it goes to context rather than cause. Indeed, predominant American power might have inspired in U.S. policy makers the confidence to refrain from armed intervention: given its overwhelming power, why should the nation bother to involve itself in a skirmish in a far off place? Porter's rendering of U.S. presidents as captives of the “national security bureaucracy” is at odds with previous studies of the Kennedy and Johnson admin-

istrations. In Porter's account, Kennedy must resort to subterfuge to stay out of war, misleading the public with bellicose public statements while quietly resisting efforts by McNamara and others to plunge ahead. Johnson seems, bizarrely, to cower when his advisers demand that he send troops to Vietnam. In his attempt to discredit the domino theory, and the Cold War generally, as motivations for U.S. policy toward Vietnam, Porter draws too fine a distinction between closely related phenomena: the concern that the fall of the South would mean the actual collapse of neighboring nations, and policy makers' more general worry that an American defeat would precipitate a crisis of credibility across the globe.

The adverb "clearly" appears frequently throughout this book. Its presence suggests either conviction or, more likely, a strenuous desire to prove a case that Porter suspects is not as strong as he might hope. His argument has vigor, insight, and the power to change conventional thinking about several aspects of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. But it lacks subtlety, missing the nuance, ambivalence, and contradiction that marked presidential thinking and American policy making. Porter has fashioned a new analytical frame within which to place America's longest war. But the war was a three-dimensional object, and it bursts through Porter's frame, as it would burst through any, to the front and back and every side.

ANDREW J. ROTTER
Colgate University

ANDREW PRESTON. *The War Council: McGeorge Bundy, the NSC, and Vietnam*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 320. \$49.95.

President George W. Bush repeats that he will not be baited into a "blame game" over who should be held responsible for failed Iraq policies, but he seems not to understand that variations on said game will go on without him for decades to come. If the continuing stream of historical research on the Vietnam War is any indication, not only will the president's role in making war in Iraq come under intense scrutiny but so, too, will the roles of every member of his national security team. As Andrew Preston's book makes clear, Condoleezza Rice should be worried.

Walking the trail first blazed by Fredrik Logevall, Preston examines in painstaking detail the role played by McGeorge Bundy and the National Security Council (NSC) in pushing for an escalation of the American war in Vietnam. As Logevall examined the "long 1964" and spread the blame for escalation across both policy makers (for "choosing war" when alternatives existed) and critics (for being too timid), Preston examines the longer, winding government career of Bundy and concludes that "without his efforts, the war would not have unfolded as it did; indeed, it may not have unfolded at all" (p. 248). This is not an entirely startling revelation, but the way that Preston gets to it is novel. By focusing on Bundy's transformation of the NSC, Preston offers

important insights on other NSC staff and reveals the fiercely intelligent and confident Bundy to have been, at times, surprisingly uncertain.

Under President John F. Kennedy, Bundy at first proved uncompromising in pushing the containment of communism in places like Berlin and Cuba (he approved the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion and later pushed for air strikes). By 1963, however, when nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union seemed a real possibility, Bundy moved to develop a more nuanced foreign policy in which "the key was to ease tensions with Moscow while not appearing weak to communists around the world" (p. 71). In time, Vietnam became central in this formula.

Under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, Bundy transformed the NSC into a "little State Department" (p. 7), and members enjoyed unprecedented access to the Oval Office. Preston does well to show how the NSC, regardless of internal disagreements between hawks and "soft hawks," repeatedly outmaneuvered State Department doves such as Averell Harriman, John Kenneth Galbraith, and George Ball (all of whom favored negotiations over military escalation). Countering Ball, Bundy said "we do not want a big war out there, and neither do we intend to back down on a 10 year-long commitment" (p. 160). As a result, as late as November 1964, he favored counterinsurgency.

But the February 1965 attack on American forces at Pleiku led Bundy to advocate for a policy of "sustained reprisal," the daily bombing of North Vietnam, also known as Operation Rolling Thunder. When it became clear within a couple of weeks that sustained reprisal was not working, and that Hanoi remained as determined as ever, Bundy, less sure, became a softer hawk. As early as April 1965, he indicated that he would be open to negotiations (though only with the guarantee of an independent South Vietnam).

Consequently, Robert S. McNamara's July 1965 proposal for a massive commitment of American ground forces stunned Bundy. The proposed escalation was "rash to the point of folly," Bundy wrote; he then warned of an unending commitment growing out of the "internal momentum" that McNamara's plan would create (p. 204). Although Bundy's sustained reprisal plan made him the original architect of internal momentum, he now favored a limited escalation. President Lyndon B. Johnson went with McNamara's plan, however, and escalated the war.

McNamara's appearance as dark villain at the end of Preston's narrative reveals one of the study's main shortcomings. Preston focuses on Bundy largely in isolation from other non-NSC advisers also pushing escalation; for example, although McNamara drifts in and out, it is difficult to weigh Bundy's and McNamara's comparative influence and responsibility. Similarly, although Preston is very good at showing the extent of opposition to escalation coming from within the government, he overstates the opposition from the outside as emerging "in full force" in spring 1965 (p. 196). True, there were teach-ins, and Students for a Democratic

Society mobilized about 20,000 protesters in Washington, but it was a far cry from the “full force” of opposition that came two years later. Finally, some will find unsatisfying Preston’s conclusion that Bundy “functioned as an able, respected, and successful National Security Adviser” despite his record being “irrevocably tarnished by his role in causing and continuing the Vietnam War” (p. 248). It seems hard to judge someone as successful who has just lost at the “blame game.”

These criticisms notwithstanding, Preston takes us further away from myth of the Vietnam War’s inevitability and, instead, shows how Bundy and the NSC consistently chose escalation despite internal and external opposition. It is an important contribution.

MICHAEL S. FOLEY
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MICHAEL W. FLAMM. *Law and Order: Street Crime, Civil Unrest, and the Crisis of Liberalism in the 1960s*. (Columbia Studies in Contemporary American History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 294. \$34.50.

If you live long enough, you will eventually discover that what still seem like current events to you have somehow become grist for the historian’s mill. Michael W. Flamm’s excellent book provided an uncomfortable reminder of that certainty to this reviewer, who as a young military officer in the late 1960s did civil disturbance intelligence analysis for the Army. It is a little disconcerting to read Flamm’s account of events one witnessed while they were unfolding, as if it were a narrative of some Civil War battle. But it is also quite informative. For Flamm has done an excellent job, not only of describing the tumult of those years but also of explaining, in a way that is most enlightening even to a minor participant in some of the events he discusses, how law and order became the dominant political issue of the day.

This book is, as Flamm explains, “a work of political culture. By weaving an analytical narrative around selected events, campaigns and legislation of the 1960s,” he “examines the impact that law and order had on an ideological watershed in American history” (p. 5). That watershed is the 1960s. Rather than another disillusioned liberal lament over what went wrong during that pivotal decade, Flamm endeavors to provide his readers with a conservative perspective on the 1960s. In order to do that, he has made heavy use of Barry Goldwater’s papers at the University of Arizona and has also consulted Ronald Reagan’s papers at the Hoover Institution and Richard M. Nixon’s at the Nixon Library. Flamm also seeks to amplify the voice of those Nixon called the “silent majority.” Because of his heavy utilization of collections at the Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library, his book inevitably provides the liberal viewpoint on the events of the 1960s as well. But it competes with the outlook of those who used the law and order issue to capture the White House in 1968.

Flamm does an excellent job of explaining how urban whites transmitted their growing antipathy toward the integration of their neighborhoods and their mounting fear of racial violence from the municipal level up to the realm of presidential politics and how they made “law and order” a galvanizing slogan that helped Nixon capture the presidency. He ably explicates how Goldwater and George Wallace were able to propel to the forefront of national politics the idea that Nixon eventually would exploit so effectively, and how Johnson’s 1965 declaration of a war on crime backfired on liberals when the Watts riots erupted later that year. Flamm’s accounts of the 1967 Detroit and Newark riots are excellent, and his perceptive treatment of the 1968 civil disturbance in Washington, D.C., precipitated by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., especially impressed one who marveled, while wandering around among the rioters at the time, at what he aptly characterizes as “the carnival air” (p. 146) that surrounded this urban uprising.

Having played a small role in making the history Flamm chronicles also enabled this reviewer to spot small flaws in his work that would pass unnoticed by almost any other reader. For example, Flamm reports that the Federal Bureau of Investigation jealously resisted any encroachment on its turf by the army’s domestic intelligence apparatus. That is doubtless the way it looked to his source, Joseph Califano, at the White House, but on the streets agents from the Bureau and Military Intelligence were dividing up responsibility for covering demonstrations and passing back and forth the information that they gathered.

From the perspective of a scholar rather than an aging participant in the story that it tells, the book suffers from a couple of more serious flaws. One is Flamm’s annoying habit of lumping together discussions of quite different phenomena that have little in common but when they happened. This produces several fragmented chapters lacking any real organizing theme. The book’s other significant flaw is Flamm’s failure to deal at all with the South. During the late 1960s concerns about law and order were effecting a major change in that region, inspiring whites to crack down at last on the uncontrolled racist violence that had terrorized the region’s African American population for a century. Yet readers of Flamm’s book will learn nothing about any of that.

It is perhaps unfair to fault him for a title that promises more than his book delivers. After all, its subtitle is *Street Crime, Civil Unrest, and the Crisis of Liberalism in the 1960s*. On those subjects it does an outstanding job. For anyone with a serious interest in street crime, urban civil disturbances, and how the reaction against them transformed American politics, this is must reading.

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REBECCA E. ZIETLOW. *Enforcing Equality: Congress, the Constitution, and the Protection of Individual Rights*. New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 265. \$45.00.

Rebecca E. Zietlow's purpose in writing this book is to challenge the widely held view that individual rights are better protected by federal courts than by Congress. In undertaking such a task, Zietlow builds on the work of several political scientists and legal scholars who have begun to question and revise this conventional understanding. Keith Whittington, Louis Fisher, and Neal Devins, among others, have shown that Congress has been more active in protecting rights than is assumed by most court-centered accounts. Gerald Rosenberg has argued that the Supreme Court has been less effective in securing rights than is generally understood. Meanwhile, Mark Tushnet and others have argued that Congress may be institutionally better suited than the Supreme Court to protect rights.

Zietlow's helpful contribution to this emerging literature on "constitutional interpretation outside of the courts" is to "explore in detail the congressional debates over legislation protecting rights of belonging" at three key moments: enactment of "the Reconstruction Amendments and Reconstruction Era civil rights legislation," the "New Deal Congress's protection of workers," and passage of "the 1964 Civil Rights Act and numerous other pieces of civil rights legislation" in the second half of the twentieth century (p. 9). She contends that although rights of belonging (equality-based rights as opposed to liberty-based rights) might "appear at first glance to be precisely the type of individual rights best enforced by non-majoritarian courts," it turns out that "Congress, and not the Court, often took on the role of the branch that is *more* protective of individual rights" in these eras (p. 7). She therefore concludes, primarily from this historical analysis but also from an examination of "the institutional strengths and weaknesses of courts and Congress as protectors of rights of belonging," that "Congress should be allowed to have the leading role as protectors of those rights" (p. 145).

Zietlow is particularly effective in detailing the different roles assumed by Congress and the Supreme Court regarding rights protection in these three eras. During Reconstruction, Congress took the lead role in securing the rights of freed slaves through passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and Fourteenth Amendment, as well as other civil rights statutes. Moreover, as Zietlow makes clear through an analysis of the relevant congressional debates, Congress members in this era "did not believe the Supreme Court would be trusted to protect the freed slaves who were the objects of their legislation" (p. 52). These suspicions turned out to be well grounded, in that Court rulings such as in the *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873) and *Civil Rights Cases* (1883) limited congressional power to secure equal rights.

Similarly, in the New Deal era, Congress was primar-

ily responsible for securing the rights of workers, most notably through passage of the Wagner Act, with its protection of the right to unionize and bargain collectively. Once again, members of Congress viewed the Supreme Court as a major obstacle to the securing of these rights, especially in light of numerous restrictive Court rulings handed down in the Progressive Era and early New Deal period. Although the Court ended up sustaining the Wagner Act (1935), Zietlow's analysis of the relevant debates shows that in drafting the law Congress members were "sensitive to the power of courts to undo the rights that they were trying to create" (p. 81), and the resulting statute was framed in a less ambitious fashion than it would have been in the absence of the Court's prior rulings.

The outlawing of racial discrimination and protection of minority rights during the civil rights era is different from the other two case studies, in that "this time, the Court was an important ally for those members of Congress who wished to expand those rights" (p. 100) and "both the Court and Congress acted to expand rights of belonging" (p. 124). Nevertheless, as Zietlow reminds us through her analysis of the debates over the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Congress was still operating in the shadow of restrictive Supreme Court precedents such as the *Civil Rights Cases*, and the consciousness of these prior Court rulings shaped and constrained the drafting of the statute in several ways.

Other scholars have examined these three eras and taken note of Congress's rights-expanding acts and the Court's rights-restrictive rulings. But Zietlow's close reading of the key congressional debates yields new insights into differences in the Court-Congress relationship in each era. Moreover, by bringing together in one volume an analysis of the Reconstruction, New Deal, and civil rights eras, she makes a convincing case for why constitutional scholars in the contemporary era should "reexamine their views on the role of legislators and courts as protectors of rights of belonging," and also why advocates of equal rights should "reconsider their reliance on courts instead of political bodies as the principal enforcers of those rights" (p. 11).

JOHN DINAN

Wake Forest University

WINSTON A. GRADY-WILLIS. *Challenging U.S. Apartheid: Atlanta and Black Struggles for Human Rights, 1960-1977*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. xxiv, 288. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

Atlanta, Georgia, was a center of black capitalism and black voting in the first decades of the twentieth century. The hometown of Martin Luther King, Jr., and headquarters of the civil rights organization he led, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, it has long been perceived as the capital of the American civil rights movement. Atlanta was also a hotbed of student organizing and on-the-ground activism from the late 1950s through the decade of the 1970s; it played host to hundreds of sit-in protests and became the home

base of another prominent organization, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the city suffered from race-driven urban riots that gave the lie to its Chamber-of-Commerce-manufactured slogan, "The City Too Busy to Hate." Thousands of Atlantans identified with the ideology of black power, and many joined local chapters of the Black Panther Party. Throughout, Atlanta was also hospitable to black cultural and intellectual movements and institutions, the most significant of which was the Atlanta University Center's Institute of the Black World. Winston A. Grady-Willis is not the first historian to consider Atlanta's importance in the story of the modern black freedom movement, but he is the first to evince such a nuanced understanding of how all of these facets and phases of the freedom movement in Atlanta interrelated.

Atlanta, Grady-Willis writes, "provides a fluid baseline for studying the transition from the nonviolent direct action phase [of the early 1960s] to the Black Power phase of the larger Black human rights struggle" (p. xvi). So fluid, in fact, that Grady-Willis finds a "Black Power" element to nearly every phase of the movement he identifies in Atlanta. These phases may overlap even more than the author admits.

Grady-Willis's analysis of Atlanta movements and their interaction with "national" organizations and personalities makes a major contribution to the study of modern American civil and human rights movements. Most importantly, his narrative of grass-roots activism after the supposed downfall of SNCC in 1966 extends the chronology of activism in Atlanta forward into the 1970s. Grady-Willis finds SNCC members at the center of Atlanta's antiwar movement as early as 1966, and organizing predominantly black neighborhoods along black power and black nationalist lines well into the 1970s, if not later. By the 1970s in Atlanta, moreover, "Black activist politics had become more complicated . . . as groups and individuals attempted to realize the full meaning of self-determination in four contexts: grassroots neighborhood activism, radical Black nationalism, progressive Black electoral political activism, and explicitly women-centered activism." As he makes clear, "These forms of activism were different and yet inextricably linked to one another by the force and fiber of the larger Black struggle for human rights" (p. 169).

As another Georgian recently learned, placing the word "Apartheid" on the cover of a book may well distract attention from the ideas within its pages. Not all readers will agree with Grady-Willis's decision to apply the term here. The author does define his terms explicitly and carefully, however, differentiating among "petty," "full," and "grand" apartheid structures (p. xv) that he sees characterizing various regimes to which Atlanta's can be compared, so he cannot be accused of exploiting "apartheid" for shock value. In any case, Grady-Willis's use of the concept is most convincing when employed in the context of self-determination; to the degree that state and social institutions systematically denied black Atlantans the right to determine

their own destinies in this period, "apartheid" seems an appropriate descriptive term.

Specialists will enjoy grappling with these ideas, but Grady-Willis's narrative writing style is accessible enough to sustain the attention of undergraduates. His book joins a growing body of community studies of the modern black freedom struggle and is among the very best examples of this new generation of civil rights scholarship. It not only adds to what scholars have already written about movements in Atlanta and other communities but also problematizes and reframes the questions scholars should be asking about the civil rights movement in all of its manifestations.

J. TODD MOYE

University of North Texas

JONATHAN ROSENBERG. *How Far the Promised Land? World Affairs and the American Civil Rights Movement from the First World War to Vietnam*. New York: Princeton University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 316. \$35.00.

This book examines the perspectives of liberal civil rights activists on international affairs. The focus is on "race reformers" such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Charles S. Johnson, Joel Spingarn, Walter White, Mary M. Bethune, Roy Wilkins, Ralph Bunche, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Jonathan Rosenberg describes them as a "cosmopolitan group of men and women" who were in the "mainstream" of the racial justice struggle in the United States. The primary questions are why world affairs engaged these leaders, how they incorporated world affairs into domestic campaigns, and how they perceived U.S. actions on the global stage between 1920 and 1970. The main focus is on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and its executive leadership from its founding in 1910 to the late 1960s when its influence began to wane. The National Urban League, Congress on Racial Equality, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Southern Christian Leadership Conference are also mentioned.

Rosenberg argues that the race reformers were internationalists who shared the values of other U.S. internationalists in the twentieth century. These key values are that the United Nations has a critical role to play in the world; the United States has a special mission in the world; and that world cooperation is desirable. In addition to reflecting these general internationalist values, however, the race reformers infused them with a racial consciousness, what Rosenberg calls "color-conscious internationalism." He uses *The Crisis* to show how these leaders used international crises to draw attention to civil rights violations at home. Thus they used Woodrow Wilson's rhetoric on rights and justice to demand desegregation at home; tried to link 1930s European fascism to Jim Crow segregation; equated the U.S. racial struggle with decolonization; and pointed out the contradiction of fighting tyranny abroad but not at home during the Cold War.

The author argues that he focused on "top level re-

formers" because the momentum for reform came from above (p. 3). This confusion may be due to the limited scope of the sources used in the study, which relies on *The Crisis* and other liberal newspapers to reconstruct the history of the Jim Crow era. The campaign against Jim Crow, however, involved all segments of the African American community. There were black workers' associations, sharecroppers' unions, and organizations such as the Civil Rights Congress and National Negro Congress that organized strikes, boycotts, and other mass actions against segregation and U.S. interventionism abroad. Secondly, these "race reformers" did not have a monopoly on black internationalism. Black radicals and nationalists also framed their message in internationalist terms. The difference is that the radicals claimed solidarity with the colonized while the race reformers supported the U.S. and its allies, the European colonial powers. The race reformers articulated an officially sanctioned State Department perspective on internationalism. They did not criticize U.S. interventionism abroad. Instead, they argued that intervention would be more effective if the United States were seen as a model of democracy and racial harmony at home. Their position was that "racial oppression was tarnishing the nation's reputation on the international stage" (p. 174). Race reformers muted their criticism of U.S. imperialism abroad in the hope that a grateful government would enact civil rights reforms at home. They were bitterly disappointed, as demonstrated by King's belated opposition to the Vietnam War. Nevertheless, many race reformers were co-opted by the U.S. State Department, which sent them on all-expenses-paid junkets around the world to counter reports of racial discrimination in the United States. They served as unofficial Cold War ambassadors in Africa and elsewhere. This is epitomized by Walter White, who, faced with local newspaper reports of horrific lynching in the U.S., tells skeptical Pakistanis that blacks were making progress and "graduated from some of the country's finest institutions—Harvard, Yale and Smith" (p. 173). In 1955 Harlem Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., went to the Bandung Conference "to tell anyone who would listen about the many freedoms black Americans enjoyed. Upon his arrival Powell reported that 'to be a Negro is no longer a stigma. It is a mark of distinction'" (p. 206). Rosenberg quotes these remarkable statements without critical analysis. He attributes this reticence to White's "irrepressible optimism" (p. 173). According to Rosenberg, White was "persuaded that his trip enabled him to enlighten the world's peoples about the strides black America was making" (p. 174). The fact is, however, that these race reformers were being paid by the State Department to refute reports of racial discrimination in the United States. Thus Rosenberg provides us with an official air-brushed history of "color-conscious internationalism" worthy of White, Powell, Roy Wilkins, and other State Department propagandists.

FRANCIS NJUBI NESBITT
San Diego State University

BENJAMIN HUFBAUER. *Presidential Temples: How Memorials and Libraries Shape Public Memory*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2006. \$35.00.

This excellent book argues that the commemoration of U.S. presidents has undergone a crucial shift since World War II, thanks to the invention and multiplication of the "unusual hybrid commemorative institution" of the presidential library or library-museum. As a type, the marble presidential monument in Washington reached its apogee in the Lincoln Memorial (built 1911–1922), Benjamin Hufbauer argues, and was shortly thereafter supplanted by the presidential library, a type Franklin D. Roosevelt inaugurated while still in office in 1941. The new institution corresponds to the emergence of what Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., called the imperial presidency; some examples illustrate not just the startling growth of the scope of the presidential office but the inflated egos of some who have held it, Lyndon B. Johnson, in particular. From humble beginnings in FDR's rather homey shrine, burial site, and document archive on the Hudson, presidential libraries have swollen to gargantuan proportions, some drawing hundreds of thousands of visitors annually and, in tandem with philanthropic or thematic study centers (like the libraries themselves, often associated with major universities), having the power to distort whole regional economies and to occupy their subjects in lengthy "imperial ex-presidencies" (think Jimmy Carter). Hufbauer argues convincingly that the presidential library, at its best, has the potential to educate visitors, especially young ones, in political history and management, but has too often degenerated into defensive, propagandistic, high-tech schlock—as at the Nixon, Reagan, and, in a measure, Johnson Libraries.

Edited with commendable concision, the text presents its arguments through economical case studies. We watch FDR, a student of history, as early as 1937 sketch a Dutch Colonial Revival house-museum to contain his relics and documents. It was he who pioneered the legislative and institutional means to build his *lieu de mémoire* privately (and put his stamp on it), then to turn it over—with more restrictions desired than he achieved—to the National Archives, which had only just occupied its own new home in the Federal Triangle. Not to be outdone, President Harry S. Truman commissioned a library and museum at Independence, Missouri. Here, Hufbauer concentrates on two displays: a mural by the midwestern regionalist painter Thomas Hart Benton that projects an ideology of Manifest Destiny—with implications for its own Cold War day—and an Oval Office replica (at 94 percent scale), haunted by memories of the mounting global nuclear threat. The Johnson Library at Austin, built in the shadow of the one in Boston for his popular predecessor and rival, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, was the first to open that was associated with a university. Its massive, closed exterior, clad in travertine, and colorful, apparently translucent interior hall set a new bar for the type, as befitted

LBJ's legendary ego. A chapter on the Smithsonian's display on First Ladies follows. With gowns worn at inaugural balls at its center—still, despite recent efforts at reform—the First Ladies exhibit has undergone ideological transformation since it began in 1912, to emphasize the inherently political content of the role. Chapter five, "Reinventing the Presidential Library," deals with changes made since 1995 in the displays at the Truman Library. This study illustrates the challenges presented by a "mature" presidential library whose founder-subject has more or less fallen from living memory. New director Larry Hackman was unwilling to see the Truman Library continue uncritically to celebrate an administration now viewed in retrospect as profoundly complex and morally laden. Hackman wins kudos from Hufbauer and most visitors for coordinating an effort to create a well-interpreted site that reflects critically on history and contextualizes controversial presidential decisions such as the dropping of the atom bomb, involvement in the Korean War, and the racial integration of the armed forces. Visitors are invited, through simulation exercises, to reflect on how morally ambiguous decisions are arrived at under pressure. The new Truman is Hufbauer's exemplar of the good museum, and this chapter is especially persuasive.

Besides its worthwhile content, the book is a pleasure to hold and read, a tribute to sound production values. With the rarest of lapses, the writing is clean, effectively blending fact and theoretical reflection. The reference material is also good: notes are substantial and worth reading in themselves, as one expects of a book that began life as a doctoral dissertation; and the bibliography is impressive. I suspect a good deal of unused material lies on the cutting-room floor (awaiting future talks and articles?). A few more illustrations might have been welcome, but, to echo Hackman when challenged on the authenticity of many items displayed in the new Truman Library, this is a book about ideas, not pretty pictures. Read it!

CHRISTOPHER A. THOMAS
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MARIAN MOLLIN. *Radical Pacifism in Modern America: Egalitarianism and Protest*. (Politics and Culture in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 255. \$49.95.

War's dependence on masculine imagery—the proud warrior going forth to protect home and kin while his female helpmate keeps the home fires burning—is well known. What is perhaps surprising is that radical opponents of war have also depended on such imagery. Or perhaps it is not so surprising: as Marian Mollin shows, pacifists in World War II were frequently attacked as being not only treasonous but also unmanly and effeminate. Small wonder that they sought to prove their virility in daring acts of nonviolent resistance accompanied by a stance of tough machismo.

The question, then, is how pacifists squared this self-image, which persisted through thirty years of nonvio-

lent protest, with their ardent commitment to radical egalitarianism. Not very well, Mollin argues. In a movement founded on the principle that, as A. J. Muste put it, "all human beings were children of God . . . brothers and sisters" (p. 41), women's leadership skills went largely untapped and their acts of courageous militancy were demeaned. For women to be anything more than quiet supporters threatened pacifists' view of themselves as manly warriors for peace. When women pacifists swam through icy water to climb aboard a nuclear submarine and sustained a hunger strike in jail longer than did their male comrades, one male pacifist recounted privately that they had "left us men in the shadows" (p. 121), but the movement newspaper still referred to them as "our pretty girls" (p. 122).

Yet, as this example shows, women never accepted roles of mere helpmates. They walked picket lines, counseled draft resisters, and courted arrest and imprisonment in dramatic acts of nonviolent resistance. At times, male pacifists supported women's leadership and, indeed, experimented with new gender roles themselves. For example, pacifists Marion and Ernest Bromley and Wally and Juanita Nelson lived in an interracial cooperative in Cincinnati in the 1950s. When Marion Bromley was jailed for blocking traffic at a segregated amusement park, Ernest cared for the couple's young children.

Certainly, some phases of the thirty-year movement were more auspicious for women's leadership than others. When pacifists targeted conscription, for example, women were keenly sensitive to the greater risks that draft-age men faced. By contrast, when the focus turned to nuclear weapons in the late 1950s, pacifists framed their challenge in terms of mothers' worry for their children. When Marj Swann was asked at her sentencing why she left four young children to protest at a missile test site, she explained, "The pain at leaving my husband and children is nothing compared to the guilt and pain I will feel—if I am still alive—at seeing my children blasted to death by an H-bomb" (p. 91). That stance exploited rather than challenged conventional gender roles, but it did put women in the spotlight. In general, pacifism underpinned by Quaker beliefs was more open to women's initiative than was Catholic pacifism. Catholic Worker Dorothy Day was revered in the movement, but Mollin sees the experience of Mary Moylan as more revealing. Moylan was one of the Catonsville Nine who broke into a Selective Service office and napalmed thousands of draft files in 1968. With priests Daniel and Philip Berrigan and several others, she went underground rather than serve her prison sentence. While the Berrigans became media darlings and activist celebrities after their arrests, Moylan spent eight years on the run, virtually forgotten by the movement.

Mollin also traces pacifists' efforts to live out their egalitarian commitments in their relations with civil rights activists. Here, lofty ideals of brotherhood ran aground on the hard realities of conflicting aspirations. The book is fascinating in depicting pacifists' awkward efforts to join the southern freedom struggle, insisting,

for example, on protesting at an air force base in Albany, Georgia, which happened to be one of the few integrated workplaces in town.

The book is based largely on archival material from the Swarthmore College Peace Collection: reports of demonstrations and meetings, movement articles, news releases, and correspondence among pacifist leaders. Such sources provide rich insight into pacifist strategizing and ironic examples of the clash between abstract principles and everyday assumptions. But women sometimes seem as shadowy in the book as they must have done in the archives. Readers will want to know more about what motivated pacifist women to engage in activism; how they made sense of their behind-the-scenes roles; whether their internal dissent too relied on networks of support; how they viewed pacifists' egalitarianism against their own experiences of exclusion.

Another gap: Mollin repeatedly asserts that pacifists forewent strategic opportunities by not challenging dominant cultural assumptions about masculinity and militancy. But a more thoroughgoing refusal of such norms would not have guaranteed widespread public support. To the contrary, as Mollin herself shows, pacifists were at their most effective when they exploited the dominant ideology of maternalism to protest nuclear testing. Successful protest, it seems fair to say, requires both appealing to dominant values and subverting them. This book challenges us to explore that tension further.

FRANCESCA POLLETTA
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DAVID L. HOSTETTER. *Movement Matters: American Antiapartheid Activism and the Rise of Multicultural Politics*. (Studies in African American History and Culture.) New York: Routledge. 2006. Pp. x, 214. \$70.00.

Amid the warm remembrances and fond eulogies after President Ronald Reagan's death in June 2004, one was hard pressed to find any mention that it was Reagan who strongly supported the apartheid regime in South Africa, and who forced Congress to override his presidential veto in order to impose sanctions. In his new book, David L. Hostetter provides a clear and articulate understanding of the history behind efforts in the United States to fight against apartheid and white minority rule in South Africa, and how far those forces had to come to be in a situation to override a presidential veto.

The book presents much close work on antiapartheid efforts from the early 1950s to the early 1990s, particularly in regard to three main organizations: the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), and TransAfrica. Hostetter's chapter on ACOA is particularly valuable, bringing worthwhile attention to one of the longstanding yet surprisingly underappreciated organizations that for decades supported African freedom movements. Hostetter details the commitments and activities

of ACOA while drawing out some of the tensions at play in the 1960s and 1970s between those advocating a more gradual approach in the effort to end apartheid and those calling for an immediate total disengagement.

The chapter on the AFSC, somewhat thinner because the AFSC work never appears to match the significance of either ACOA or TransAfrica, draws out more tensions in the efforts against apartheid. Questions over how to support liberation movements while maintaining the historical commitment to nonviolence pulsed throughout the AFSC efforts, ultimately leading to some advocating an active "liberation pacifism" (p. 63). These efforts helped build transatlantic links and supported men such as Desmond Tutu, yet it seems clear that the work of TransAfrica generated much more force for change. The rise of TransAfrica makes clear that a significant African American voice had become critical in defining and promoting the antiapartheid movement in the United States. With Executive Director Randall Robinson at its head, TransAfrica was able to combine direct action protest with the growing political power of elected African American officials, particularly via the Congressional Black Caucus, into an effective advocacy force for the antiapartheid movement.

The strength of Hostetter's book is in his discussion of these organizations, the people involved with them, the links that they created with individuals and groups in South Africa, and their crucial role in nurturing and advancing the swelling antiapartheid thinking in America. Somewhat less valuable is his chapter on popular culture and South Africa. Seeking to cover novels, sports, music, and movies, Hostetter provides a recounting of, in his words, an "eclectic" array of examples (p. 96). Eclectic might appear to be "random," but a different issue arises and with more consequences as a result of Hostetter's organizational approach. Each chapter stands as a discrete part of the whole, with little communication among the parts. Thus, we see little development of how specific popular culture events helped build and reinforce the case that TransAfrica was making in the streets of Washington, D.C., and on the grounds of Capitol Hill. Popular culture and organizational initiatives remain divorced, in different worlds, with little sense that the former reinforced, and at times led, the latter.

In time, the fight against apartheid offered a clear path that could unify black Americans from all walks of life. Hostetter quotes Arthur Ashe as saying that while he found some of the politics of 1960s and 1970s black America difficult to negotiate, "South Africa was a clearer issue, and I turned to it almost with relief" (p. 104). Notably, with the fight against apartheid helping to achieve the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and the dismantling of apartheid, that unity became harder to sustain. Since South Africa became a majority-ruled nation in 1994, organizations such as TransAfrica have had to address multiple actors and voices there and elsewhere, and to some degree there has been

an attendant difficulty in maintaining unity and support for causes.

Finally, Hostetter seeks to tie U.S. antiapartheid activism to the development of multicultural politics in the 1980s, and argues that this activism helped integrate "American civil religion" in the 1990s and beyond (p. 145). His ideas here are considered and interesting. Yet in the end it is the legwork that he does on the organizations behind antiapartheid activism that deepens our understanding of the national and transnational links that helped build one of the striking examples in our time of a global movement that brought about peaceful, transformative change.

JAMES H. MERIWETHER
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STUART L. GOOSMAN. *Group Harmony: The Black Urban Roots of Rhythm and Blues*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 291. \$34.95.

As American historians grapple with the immense importance of the cultural contributions of the twentieth century, few things will command more attention than the growth of popular music. Varied and rich in social commentary, music from jazz to country to rock 'n' roll informed generations both as a transfer of culture and as a snapshot of a specific historical time. Especially intriguing is the place of rhythm and blues, born and nurtured in the heart of the nation's black communities. Stuart L. Goosman's book provides commentary, critique, and oral history reflection from those whose thought and action inspired the commercial success of the genre during the decades immediately before and after World War II.

With a focus on groups that emerged and flourished in Baltimore and Washington, D.C., Goosman's analysis is both tribute and historical rumination. More than most, he recognizes the multifaceted background that forms of popular music naturally share. In the American context, he comprehends that this musical odyssey stretched across racial lines, providing an occasion for group harmony and therein financial and social opportunity. Throughout the book, Goosman looks to understand the unique dynamics within the black community that created the setting and feel for new musical styles. Forged in segregated social clubs (alternately described as "gangs"), churches, and schools, youngsters from the era identified with specific streets and areas that provided a haven for growing up and experimenting with group harmony.

Early in the narrative, Goosman establishes the marketability of "blackness" as a persistent theme to the book. "Predicated on the established fixed images or ideas about what is or is not black," he argues that this perceived concept "adds yet another layer of complexity to the intersection of race and music" (p. viii). It is a complexity that the author analyzes on two different levels: "the street level, where living in a segregated city affects people in everyday ways, and on a broader level

in how the music industry in particular treated group harmony and rhythm & blues as product" (p. ix).

Goosman focuses on the groups that were commercially successful, noting that they provided a unique model for those inspired and challenged by them. Thus the Ink Spots in the early 1940s carry more weight than groups who failed to achieve crossover appeal to white audiences. From the Ink Spots, the mantle passed to others—primarily to the Ravens, Orioles, and Clovers, whose vocal ability and appeal would chart the way for an explosion of black group talent. These groups provided a model that "became indelibly linked to a historical period, and continued to resonate into the 1960s, 1970s, and beyond" (p. 183). The urban roots and ties of this talent created what Goosman brands "an overall music consciousness that embraces both celebration and resistance" (p. 22).

Particularly insightful is the author's explanation of the various alliances that undergirded the evolution of a music industry in urban black communities. Alliances, sometimes but not always crossing racial lines, emerged among musicians and various producers, managers, writers, and arrangers. Often these alliances were informal, born of friendship, goodwill, or a mutual love for the music. They sometimes involved more obvious, if modest, economic interests. The success of the groups also involved mediators, specifically disc jockeys who agreed to play and promote the new sound. The work of the DJs catapulted the music to a new level of popularity and set the stage for a greater awareness of civil rights concerns in the era ahead. Together with the critical touch of people like Jesse Stone at Atlantic Records, and specifically the market success of the Clovers, the magic of group harmony came to fuse itself to American life and into the American consciousness.

Ultimately, group harmony, for specific young people "a way of life . . . meant for life" (p. 229), became through commercial appeal and dissemination "commodity." "People detached it, like older blues, from its time and place to use it in a variety of ways" (p. 232). Nostalgia aside, however, Goosman notes that, through this process, major change occurred. The music escaped its "marginal status to overtly change the sound of mainstream music" (p. 232).

Particularly intriguing is Goosman's attempt to compare modern-day rap with the rhythm and blues music of the postwar period despite the fact that the vast majority of his interviewees would seem to reject the comparison. For readers not accustomed to oral histories, parts of the book might also seem difficult to read due to the author's persistent desire to quote his subjects word for word, including asides and incidental comments. In this case, editing might well have served to create a more readable monograph with, arguably, a more accurate rendition of what the participants of group harmony were actually saying. But this is a very minor criticism of an important and valuable contribu-

tion to the literature of twentieth-century popular music.

JAMES R. GOFF, JR.
Appalachian State University

HOUSTON BRYAN ROBERSON. *Fighting the Good Fight: The Story of the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church, 1865–1977*. New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xxi, 248. \$22.95.

In a well-written, very accessible narrative, Houston Bryan Roberson has provided an illuminating vista into the unfolding life of a historic African American Christian congregation. The story ranges over six generations, beginning in the opening days of Reconstruction, when men and women formerly enslaved presented themselves for worship at Montgomery, Alabama's, white First Baptist Church, assaying the implications of their newly decreed emancipation. Dissatisfied with the resultant discrimination and segregation they experienced, they withdrew to form a new congregation, officially established in 1877 as the Second Colored Baptist Church, later renamed the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. Roberson carries his narrative up to the congregation's celebration of its centennial in 1977.

This book is an effective integration of the chronological and the thematic. The story of Dexter Avenue and the succession of its pastoral leadership is set in the context of the larger narrative of African American religious and social history in the post-Civil War period, into the late twentieth century. We see the diversity of ministerial visions and leadership styles. We see lay perspectives on the meaning of church and lay expectations of leadership. We see how these two sometimes complementary, sometimes divergent postures were negotiated in the context of the Baptist congregational polity. We also see how a congregation carried on its institutional life in the midst of governmental policy shifts, international military conflicts, economic change, and communal racial practice.

Along the way, Roberson treats the reader to an engaging, critical exposition of this congregation's "struggle with the symbiotic callings of providing expressly religious ministry—Christian salvation and regeneration—versus encouraging social activism" (p. xiv). Through a series of social advocacy and protest initiatives, the congregation provided a base of mass support and fundraising, space for movement planning and community rallying, and key clergy leadership personnel, who were encouraged by the congregation in their participation. At the same time, says Roberson, some of Dexter Avenue's pastors brought priorities other than social advocacy. While not outrightly eschewing activism, they directed members of the congregation toward deepening their personal spiritual health, broadening their knowledge of religious doctrine, and enhancing the quality of their life as a Baptist religious community. Even when pastors asserted and were supported in social advocacy, relatively few congregants had a visible presence in these initiatives.

Students of African American religious life and history will recognize this as a familiar pattern. Black churches and black clergy have been pivotal, indeed critical, to whatever successes that have been achieved. But the diversity within the black religious world has meant that not all have brought the same theological hermeneutic nor the same concept of the church's mandate. And as Roberson points out in the narrative of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, there has been a recurrent concern that laity express over leadership digressing too far or too long from matters of spiritual and personal nurture of congregants and the effective administration of the church's internal life.

Roberson makes the case that religious faith provided the basis for a liberating engagement of oppressive social realities, and that a healthy church life of mutuality and care provided the confidence and empowerment for persons to go forth to assert themselves as constructive citizens of the larger community, entitled to citizens' prerogatives.

Another, related theme running throughout this story involves the strategy for social engagement operative in the thinking of Dexter's lay members and, indeed, pervasive in the African American community since colonial days. It had to do, as Roberson phrases it, with "members' faith in the morality of American institutions and their belief that hard work inevitably leads to progress and improvement" (p. xvi). African Americans sustained a belief that ultimately the noble principles espoused in the defining documents of the republic would ultimately prevail over the distortions of malevolent or misinformed whites. This led both to a continual effort to demonstrate the worthiness and capability of African Americans to enjoy citizen's rights and status and also to ongoing self-help programs for racial uplift and socio-economic elevation. Roberson provides several references to ways in which the membership of Dexter verbally and programmatically demonstrated this construction of the African American reality and this strategy for racial advancement. It reflected what author Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham termed the "politics of respectability." Although Higginbotham's reference specifically was to the activities of African American Baptists in the women's movement in the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century, scholars have recognized its wide applicability to African American social reform efforts. While no means universal, it has been, and continues to be, a dynamic ranging broadly across such efforts.

In presenting the story of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Roberson surfaces some other key issues in African American religious and social life. One such is the matter of class. Dexter was known as a "silk stocking" congregation, attracting the social and economic elite of Montgomery's black community. Roberson speaks to ways that the leadership of the church acted in awareness of this identity, chose its pastoral leadership accordingly, and structured its programs of ministry to reflect the religious and social vision appropriate to this identity.

Another issue Roberson surfaces is the role of women at Dexter. Women were shown to be significant contributors to the life and vitality of the congregation. They were central actors in the community and social activism that came to characterize Dexter. But as in the larger black church and in U.S. society in general, women at Dexter created alternative organizational spaces of service to church and community that did not challenge presumed male domains of authority.

Roberson supports his narrative with a good command of the relevant primary and secondary literature and ample citations. He is an affirming though generally balanced raconteur. Occasionally he imputes commendable, liberationist motives to actors beyond what his data make apparent, and some of his transitions are a little rough or thin. Nonetheless, this book is a well-told, insightful historical account that illuminates our understanding of the complex ways that religious faith, race, class, gender, leadership dynamics, and social-political developments interface in African American congregational life.

LARRY G. MURPHY
Northwestern University

EDWARD E. CURTIS IV. *Black Muslim Religion in the Nation of Islam, 1960–1975*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 241. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Important scholarship on the Nation of Islam began in the 1960s with the publication of two social scientific monographs on this religious community, which was established by W. D. Fard in Detroit in 1930. C. Eric Lincoln's influential sociological case study, *The Black Muslims in America* (1961), viewed the Nation of Islam as a social protest movement, and Essien Udosen Essien-Udom's *Black Nationalism: A Search for Identity in America* (1962) focused on the political and psychological implications of the organization as an expression of black nationalism. Edward E. Curtis IV's innovative book examines the factors that established the Nation of Islam as a religious group.

Instead of focusing on the retrogressive question of the Nation of Islam's orthodoxy, as previous scholars have done, Curtis considers how African American Muslims construct and perform their religious identities in this community. He examines the personal testimony of the Nation of Islam members published in *Muhammad Speaks* newspaper to elucidate the dynamics of their conversion experiences and commitment to the religion of Islam. Analysis of cartoons, poetry, and religious arguments by black intellectuals in the Nation of Islam in the 1960s and 1970s sheds light on their dedication to Elijah Muhammad as their prophet of Islam and the Qur'an as the scriptural source of authority for their construction of Islamic identity. Curtis shows how the Nation of Islam's black history narratives that focus on Arabia, West Africa, Asia, and Egypt connect black people in the United States to transnational Islamic identities that expand the poles of the circum-Atlantic

world. The book's creative analysis of the Islamization of the Nation of Islam's members evaluates how they selectively utilize ritual, beliefs, symbols, and ethics from Sunni Islam to construct their African American Islamic identities and "how members attempt to discipline, strengthen, purify, and cleanse their bodies by altering their dress, diet, [and] labor habits" (p. 7).

Finally, the author argues convincingly that members' participation in the unique ritual elements of the Nation of Islam such as the Fruit of Islam, the Muslim girls training classes, national conventions, local temple activities, the University of Islam, community bazaars and businesses, and selling *Muhammad Speaks* is the most important aspect of their "Islamic identity construction" (p. 136). This is a groundbreaking and excellent study of the religious life of the Nation of Islam that makes a significant contribution to the short list of recent scholarship on this group by Claude Andrew Clegg III, Michael A. Gomez, and Jamillah Karim.

RICHARD BRENT TURNER
University of Iowa

WINIFRED BREINES. *The Trouble between Us: An Uneasy History of White and Black Women in the Feminist Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 269. \$29.95.

For a number of years, scholarship on American second wave feminist protest and organization—the upsurge dating roughly (and disputedly) from the mid-1960s through the late 1970s—has complicated the dominant picture of such protest as monolithically middle class and white. In her new book, Winifred Breines adds to this body of scholarship; she both relies heavily on it and disputes elements of the collective picture painted by scholars such as Dorothy Sue Cobble, Silke Roth, Kimberly Springer, and myself in telling her own version of the history of relationships between black and white feminists.

Breines focuses primarily on socialist feminists situated in Boston in the 1970s, although she puts their activism into a narrative that has a broader scope of time and place. She situates the tensions that developed between black and white socialist feminists in a prehistory of schisms born during the civil rights movement. Along with previously published accounts by Sara Evans and others, Breines makes a strong case in her first chapter for the centrality of the civil rights movement as a progenitor of feminist movements on the left. In her second chapter, Breines suggests that the growth of the black liberation movement—itsself divided, with organizations and individuals wrestling with various versions of black power, black nationalism, and black cultural renaissance—attracted radical black women and simultaneously made their lives as female activists uncomfortable.

Breines explores the emergence of white socialist feminism and black socialist feminism in Boston in chapters three and four, respectively. In chapter five, the best and most original chapter in this book, Breines

looks at attempts by black and white socialist feminists to organize across racial/ethnic lines in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It is in this chapter that Breines uses her interview data with black and white feminist activists best, and it is in this chapter where the most coherent story of the push/pull of black and white feminist activism is told. It is also in this chapter where the story of local activism is married to a story of struggles for a larger, national, and multiracial feminist politics, as Breines mirrors local Boston struggles with race/ethnicity with those taking place within feminist academic organizations like the New England Women's Studies Association and the National Women's Studies Association.

The main contribution of Breines's work is that she puts forward her own take on the causes of black/white feminist tensions. As she notes in her introduction, whites who participated in 1960s movements have focused their memoirs and first-person accounts on themselves, and there are fewer accounts than we need on interactions among participants navigating the waters of conflicting and (sometimes) cooperating movements. I am glad to have her account; in and by itself it adds to our knowledge about the era. I take issue with Breines chiefly as to where she positions her account in terms of previous scholarship. Breines is critical of prior "organizational histories" (see pp. 136–137 in chapter five) of black and white socialist feminisms; she writes that these organizational histories "overlook the political and cultural context in which early black feminism developed." As the author of one such history, I find the criticism problematic, as it makes my work and that of others sound like mere recitations of the rise and fall of letterheads. Moreover, it is hard to accept that such political and cultural context could come from a study so centrally based on activism in one location, even if that location is Boston. There is no question that Boston was a hotbed of feminist organizing, and Breines shows this amply, but it is hard to get "context" from the localized and very particular kinds of community aspects that Boston had. I think Breines is on safer theoretical ground when she argues for her study filling lacunae as to what racial tensions felt like on the ground—the way that racial/ethnic divisions engendered pain and bewilderment.

From the standpoint of American feminist second wave history, it is a good sign that new work is increasing the sheer amount of material out there about the era; we are now beginning to argue finer points of emphasis and detail. Thus Breines's book, especially if read in conjunction with the existing histories that she herself uses, is a welcome addition for the fashioning of new understandings about feminisms as crucial contributors to postwar American political culture.

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DONALD T. CRITCHLOW. *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade*. (Politics and Soci-

ety in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 422. \$29.95.

So influential has the Right been in shaping American social and political culture in the last twenty-five years that one might be tempted to see its rise to power as inevitable. But as Donald T. Critchlow argues in his political biography of Phyllis Schlafly, one of the twentieth century's most influential conservatives, the emergence of the Right to a dominant position in national politics and in the Republican Party in the 1980s was an uneven process, "an interrupted tale of fits and starts" (p. 5). Among the moments of disappointment experienced by Schlafly and her followers were Barry Goldwater's defeat in the 1964 presidential election and Richard Nixon's betrayal of the conservative wing of his party in the 1970s. But these were momentary defeats. As this meticulous and exhaustive account of Schlafly's political career makes clear, the building blocks that led to the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment in 1982 and the triumph of the Right were put into place over a thirty-year period.

Key components of the story told by Critchlow are well known, especially the shift from anticommunism to social issues as the central concern of the Right in the 1970s. Schlafly herself, while remaining consistent in her beliefs that America had to respond aggressively to the communist "menace," especially in its foreign policy, embraced an emerging anti-feminist and pro-family crusade in 1971. But while the issues that galvanized conservative activists were in transition, elements of ideological and organizational continuity were clearly at play and explain the strength of the movement in the latter part of the twentieth century. Critchlow points out the "deeply held republican values" (p. 8) rooted in Judeo-Christian morality that both the "old" and the "new" Right shared: "a conviction that the nation must not stray from its religious foundations and values lest society collapse into anarchy" (p. 9). But more compelling and original than this cultural analysis is the evidence he provides of Schlafly's solid grounding in, and cultivation of, grass-roots networks—locally at first, then nationally. This might very well be the essential element that gave effectiveness to her political activism and explains her enduring contribution to the conservative movement.

Critchlow deserves praise for writing a detailed and balanced account of Schlafly's remarkable political career. Long before she achieved fame as Betty Friedan's archenemy, she had run twice for Congress (in 1952 and 1970) and had published dozens of articles and a best-selling book, *A Choice Not an Echo* (1964); she was a popular public speaker and had mobilized thousands of women to political action. By giving due attention to her role as a prolific author, skilled at popularizing intellectual conservative writing, Critchlow provides a compelling account of the interrelated role that each set of actors (intellectual elites and grass-roots conservatives) played in shaping a powerful movement. Less satisfactory, however, is the book's failure to engage the

issue of race. Although Critchlow is probably on solid ground when he asserts that Schlafly's conservatism "was not driven by race" (p. 142) and that she paid little attention to it (p. 187), one might question whether this was generally true of northern conservative anticommunists. Also, given the prominent role that Schlafly played in the National Federation of Republican Women (as its vice-president between 1964 and 1967) and the support that she received from southern clubs, among others, would she not have been called to take positions on race-related issues? Similarly, Critchlow's assessment that crime, not race, motivated the Republicans' campaign use of the Willie Horton case in 1988 (which Schlafly contributed to publicizing) will find detractors. Overall, a disjuncture seems to exist between the extensive conservative movement that Schlafly so powerfully shaped and one of the key issues at the heart of modern American politics.

This book is to be read not only in conjunction with Lisa McGirr's *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (2001), which documents a similar type of grass-roots-based activism among conservative Republicans, but also alongside Daniel Horowitz's biography of Schlafly's nemesis (*Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique: The American Left, the Cold War, and Modern Feminism* [1998]). As Critchlow notes in his first chapter, these two *grandes dames* of twentieth-century conservatism and feminism had much in common. Born in the early 1920s in middle-class midwestern families, they were well educated and professionally ambitious women who worked during the war, turned to full-time homemaking in the late 1940s, but soon found ways of reconciling family responsibilities and political activism. In 1952, when the "Alton housewife" ran for Congress for the first time as a Taft Republican, her counterpart was leading a rent strike in her residential community of Parkway Village, Queens. Although Friedan retreated from the limelight until her re-emergence as a feminist author and activist in 1963, Schlafly's public and political career continued uninterrupted. The paths followed by these two influential women are revealing of the dominant forces at work in the second half of the twentieth century.

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PAUL CHARLES MILAZZO. *Unlikely Environmentalists: Congress and Clean Water, 1945–1972*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2006. Pp. xii, 340. \$29.95.

It is easy to understand the development of American environmental policy in the 1970s as a reaction to the growth of public environmentalism in the previous decade. Indeed, most historians have argued that the problems of industrialization and urbanization spawned a popular, grass-roots movement for environmental quality that in turn led the federal government, primarily the executive branch, to press for proper environmental protections. This is all true, Paul Charles Milazzo argues in this excellent text, but hardly com-

plete. To understand fully the genesis of modern environmental regulation, one must not forget the role of Congress. By focusing on passage of the 1972 Clean Water Act and the battle against water pollution, Milazzo illustrates the particular traditions, jurisdictions, and even individual egos within Congress that shaped the struggle for clean water. As a result the struggle predates popular environmentalism and involves, as the title implies, some "unlikely environmentalists." This book is as much a study of the development of Congress as the evolution of water pollution legislation. It explains the complex milieu of forces at play and, as such, is a welcomed addition to the literature.

Milazzo begins his story by discussing the "developmental discourse" (p. 6), a prominent set of values and priorities that guided Congress after World War II. Public concern still revolved around ensuring enough water and thus encouraged reclamation projects. Accordingly, committees grew in Congress to facilitate conservation. When pollution first appeared on the national radar, it fell to these existing committees. Reflecting their mandate, members saw polluted water as an impediment to economic growth; their concern was not initially ecology. They also saw projects to address the problem as the chance to bring home some pork barrel spending and to reward their constituents with jobs, something readers today should have no problem understanding.

Milazzo avoids the pitfalls of many books on Congress. He does not wade so heavily into the minutiae of legislation—a real possibility with a book on the Clean Water Act and its scientific standards—that it becomes dull and a burden to read. Milazzo never loses the humanity; he keeps this a story about people. In one of his best insights, Milazzo points out that in this period committees were not as partisan and that individual chairman held considerable power, reigning over what amounted to political fiefdoms. The individual agendas of these few men were, therefore, particularly important. Environmental historians will recognize many of the people Milazzo covers but may find the actions of others surprising. Minnesota Democrat John Blatnik, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors, cast the first permanent water pollution controls as a continuation of New Deal priorities. Facing President Dwight D. Eisenhower's criticism of his state's expansive budget for dams, Oklahoman Robert Kerr recognized waste treatment facilities as a justification for a bloated public works appropriation. Kerr was no fan of federal regulation but found pollution control a useful tool.

Not surprisingly, Maine Senator Edmund Muskie plays a starring role, although Milazzo cast him in his early efforts as much an ambitious opportunist as a committed environmentalist. Denied the committee post he wanted, he set about to use his obscure post on the temporary Senate Subcommittee on Air and Water pollution to publicize an emerging social problem. His legislative efforts in the mid-1960s established specific ambient standards as much to promote regional water

planning and thus win political support from development-minded voters as to promote aesthetics or public health.

Milazzo points out that Muskie's developmental, technician-centered approach to resource management was a direct result of political realities and, combined with his emphasis on federalism, appealed to existing congressional priorities. At the same time, however, Americans had a desire for an "autonomous self-regulating unit" (p. 9) that would help them understand the complexities of modern life. While this interdisciplinary systems framework grew out of World War II operations research and Cold War aerospace engineering, its emphasis upon a holistic approach fueled a new environmental movement by stressing nature's complex interdependency with human beings. Eventually this "systems discourse" undermined Muskie's legislative creations, casting them as inadequate and forcing him to reconsider his philosophy. In the end, ironically, Muskie found himself defending his Clean Water Act not only from the business interests adversely affected by the law's stringent standards but from environmentalists who sought to broaden the effort to protect the total environment.

Milazzo bases his conclusions in solid research, employing an array of personal papers, government documents, congressional records, and popular publications. A good administrative history is difficult to find, but this book proves Milazzo is up to the task. It should appeal to a wide audience, not only those interested in the environment or history but also political scientists studying the operations of Congress. This book should find its way onto the shelf of every scholar of modern America.

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JESSE F. BALLENGER. *Self, Senility, and Alzheimer's Disease in Modern America: A History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xvii, 236. \$43.00.

Jesse F. Ballenger's book is a cultural history of Alzheimer's disease in the U.S. since the late nineteenth century. Ballenger aims not only to provide a cultural history of the disease but also to make ethical and epistemological claims about whether a human being with advanced Alzheimer's disease is still a person. These ambitions impose unusually high scholarly standards. Ballenger is up to the task.

In chapter one, he outlines the negative stereotype of senility that pervaded late nineteenth-century America. Unlike the middle third of the nineteenth century, when middle-class ideology asserted that self-discipline and hard work would lead to a healthy and independent old age, the late nineteenth century painted a picture of inevitable decline, disease, and dependence. These perceptions were built into medical literature at the turn of the century, and old age itself was increasingly seen as a pathological condition known as senility. The stereotype of senility, argues Ballenger, is the central

backdrop for understanding the "subsequent history of senile dementia and Alzheimer's Disease" (p. 35).

In 1907, Alois Alzheimer described the case of a fifty-one-year-old woman with symptoms of progressive dementia. Her autopsy revealed the presence of neurofibrillary tangles and senile plaque in her brain. In 1910 the famous nosologist Emil Kraepelin declared that these lesions constituted Alzheimer's disease, a relatively rare (pre-senile) dementia in contrast to the common dementia in people over sixty-five (senile dementia). Alzheimer disagreed with this separate classification, wanting only to argue that what was labeled senile dementia could occur in a younger person.

From the 1930s to the 1950s, many physicians followed Massachusetts psychiatrist David Rothchild, who argued forcefully against a strictly biological approach and in favor of recognizing the psychosocial aspects of Alzheimer's disease. By the 1960s, however, the pendulum had swung back toward brain pathology, and the separate classification of Alzheimer's in contrast to senile dementia had been dropped. Meanwhile, a strong gerontological and geriatric ideology claimed that dementia's clinical symptoms and pathological structures constituted a disease entity and were not part of the normal aging process—a claim that remains in dispute today.

Ballenger does an excellent job of tracing the development of neuropathological and molecular research on Alzheimer's disease. He also demonstrates the central political role of the "Alzheimer's disease movement" and of Robert Butler at the National Institute on Aging in radically expanding funding for biomedical research. Ballenger is intimately familiar with contemporary scientific debates and bioethical controversies. He argues plausibly that Alzheimer's disease is emblematic of the postmodern era just as hysteria was the cultural disease of the Victorian period. The loss of memory and of the ability to maintain a coherent self-narrative remind us "of our own difficulties in creating and maintaining selfhood" (p. 153). He points out that lavishly funded research to cure Alzheimer's disease has resulted in a dearth of funding and resources for the caring for Alzheimer's patients.

In taking up the question of whether individuals in advanced dementia remain persons, Ballenger sides with those who emphasize that we have a moral obligation to understand Alzheimer's patients as persons, as fully human beings. The problem is that demented people challenge the "over-busyness, hypercognitivism, and extreme talkativity" (p. 184, citing Kitwood) that allow "normal" people to disguise their own vulnerability. In contrast he cites eighteenth-century physician Benjamin Rush's picture of demented individuals as retaining their essential humanity, by virtue of their ongoing connection to the "wellsprings of human meaning—community and God" (p. 8).

Early in the book, Ballenger promises to interpret dread of aging and dementia as a historical problem. He is largely successful in this effort, emphasizing that aging and dementia contradict both the nineteenth-cen-

ture middle-class masculine ideal of self-reliance and the late twentieth-century compulsion of “successful aging.” Ballenger notes that contemporary American tendencies to biomedicalize and pathologize aging and dementia have the ironic effect of intensifying fear and dread. This year marks the hundredth anniversary of Alois Alzheimer’s first case report. A century from now, will triumphalist histories of Alzheimer’s disease tell the story of scientific progress and cure? Or will other histories tell the story of acknowledging aging and dementia as part of the human condition, perpetually in need of connection to the “wellsprings of human meaning”?

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ERIC J. VETTEL. *Biotech: The Countercultural Origins of an Industry*. (Politics and Culture in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 273. \$39.95.

Biotechnology—in its gene splicing and recombining form—seems so much a present concern that it sounds almost strange to talk about it in historical terms. But in this book, Eric J. Vettel chronicles the history of biological engineering, tracing its emergence to the middle years of the previous century. As Vettel tells it, the groundwork for our modern commercial industry was laid in the booming postwar years of American research when money from newly flush government agencies like the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health flooded universities with the aim of strengthening the country’s scientific infrastructure. In the biological sciences, the lion’s share of funds went to researchers who drew on the techniques and tools of physics and chemistry as they built new fields such as molecular biology and biophysics.

Vettel’s account centers on the San Francisco Bay Area and on three institutions of higher education in particular—Berkeley, Stanford, and the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF)—each of which pushed to establish research programs devoted to fundamental questions about biological systems. The earliest was that of the Nobel laureate Wendell Stanley, who was hired by Berkeley in 1948 to head the Biochemistry and Virus Laboratory. Later in the early 1960s, physics Nobel Prize winner Donald Glaser would make his mark pursuing fundamental research in molecular biology. At Stanford, the administration recruited rising stars like Arthur Kornberg from Washington University and Joshua Lederberg from Wisconsin to blaze new pathways in enzyme studies and molecular genetics. And basic bioscience research was made a top priority at UCSF by University of California president Clark Kerr, much to the dismay of medical school faculty devoted to the clinical care of patients.

Even as the pure research ideal took hold on these campuses, rumblings of discontent began to surface. It

started, Vettel explains, with the thalidomide scare in 1959, continued with the publication of Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* in 1962, and culminated with the visceral public backlash against the Vietnam War. Student protests at these Bay Area campuses were as unfocused as they were passionate. Some activists targeted Defense Department research calling for an end to studies of biological and chemical weapons. Others, who were less anti-science (Vettel calls them “bioscience humanists”), sought to redirect university research to more applied, life-affirming ends. The new public mood generated a near-crisis atmosphere that made federal policy makers and politicians stand up and take notice. Vettel describes how President Lyndon B. Johnson and his advisors led the push for more public accountability in the allocation of research dollars that, combined with the economic downturn and rising inflation of the mid-1960s, effectively turned off the funding tap for basic research. This shift in funding priorities was the prompt, Vettel claims, which led university administrators and researchers to consider private-sector funding for their work, effectively recasting the new life science knowledge and technologies in a commercial “biotech” idiom.

Although much of the book chronicles the Bay Area overindulgence in basic research and the intense countercultural backlash that prompted changes in national funding priorities, Vettel’s explanation for the turn to commercial pursuits is not limited to strict science policy determinism. He describes as well the personal and ideological characteristics of the new generation of researchers who came of age during this time: individuals from cultures and backgrounds that accorded higher status to solving real human problems like those associated with malnutrition and disease, individuals who also believed that profit and public service could go hand in hand. All these factors set the stage for the account toward the end of the book on the rise of Cetus, which the author calls “history’s first biotechnology company.” The story of Cetus—its strange mix of participants (physicist-turned-biologist Glaser plays a key role), its bravado, entrepreneurial energy, and ultimate fate—is itself a fascinating history within a history.

The mix of patronage patterns and public sentiment (inextricably entangled then and still) appears to be the core of the multilayered historical explanation Vettel offers. The wide range of economic, social, cultural, and personal factors chronicled in the book—particularly the interaction between the institutional and personal—gives the reader a deep appreciation of the subtle and complex forces at work during this tumultuous period in U.S. history. In some ways the recognition of this complexity stands in contrast to the less carefully examined categories of pure versus applied research that Vettel uses to frame his story. The argument that a time existed when researchers operated in a domain of pure thought, unassailed by external interests or pressures, is one that has little historical support. More attention to historiographical discussion of this point would have strengthened the book. Nonetheless, it offers a provoc-

ative early look at an enterprise that is sure to receive much more scholarly analysis in the years to come.

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MICHELLE MURPHY. *Sick Building Syndrome and the Problem of Uncertainty*. Durham: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 253. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$21.95.

According to Michelle Murphy, "sick building syndrome" is a term that emerged after 1980 with the conjunction of gendered office labor systems and airtight buildings constructed of modern materials. It came to be defined as a condition that produced multiple medical symptoms among workers from nonspecific causes. Indeterminate in both cause and effect then, its very existence was a subject of controversy. Murphy embraces that indeterminacy by making the "problem of uncertainty" the center of her study. She uses multiple overlapping histories to reveal the ways that regimes of knowledge and social practice make elements materialize or, in some cases, de-materialize. In delineating "how an expert or lay tradition made chemical exposures perceptible or imperceptible, existent or non-existent" (p. 7), her task is similar to that of historians of medicine who charted "how microbes have become objects of fear, management, and regulation since the advent of germ theory" (p. 5). The result is a history that is as complex as the topic she seeks to illuminate.

Her first two chapters on ventilation engineering and labor management provide the necessary historical background for the emergence of sick building syndrome, but it is the remaining five chapters that rivet one's attention and display her considerable skills. Murphy details the way that multiple, minor medical complaints of women office workers that could not be tied to a specific event or causal mechanism were materialized by feminist labor activists who adopted the use of the social science survey from environmental activists in order to turn individual worker complaints into a legitimate critique of indoor air pollution. The difficulty of achieving public recognition of the risks from multiple, low-level chemical exposures (the presumed source of office workers' medical complaints) lay both in gender systems that allowed authorities to suggest that workers' distress was simply hysteria or mass psychogenic illness, and in the scientific regimes of toxicology whose paradigms, instruments, and subject positions were formed to express hitherto unrecognized single-source industrial diseases. This fundamental conflict between workers and authorities over what is palpable, material, and real is only the beginning of Murphy's analysis.

She unfolds the story of multiple groups with diverse perspectives and methods who sought to deny or affirm sick building syndrome. Chapter seven takes up the regimes of practice by which sufferers of low-level chemical exposures materialized their condition within a society that questioned its very existence, giving substance

to Murphy's aims to trace lay traditions as well as expert practice. Chapter five details the remarkable story of Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) scientists and office workers in the 1980s, who brought charges that the headquarters building of the agency in Washington, D.C., was a site of sick building syndrome. Here Murphy returns to a central paradox of sick building syndrome: that it describes a physical assault from chemical exposures upon workers' bodies within the presumably comfortable, safe, and privileged environment of the modern office. In contrast to the occupational exposures of industrial workers, office workers clearly experience chemical exposures in the office building as a loss of safety and privilege contrary to expectations built on economic privilege. Yet Murphy urges us to see this also in racial terms. She understands race as not simply "racialized disadvantage" but also "racialized privilege" (p. 112), and she offers this particular narrative as a means of understanding both sick building syndrome and American society. As office work and scientific practice have different socio-economic status, Murphy argues that the coalition of office workers and scientists at EPA was built upon a felt loss of racial privilege. It is provocative and the most daring of her claims.

If the original struggle was between proponents, workers who focused on physical sources such as modern construction, and critics, authorities who claimed that it was simply the manifestation of a psychological disease, the widespread acceptance of sick building syndrome in the 1990s proved to be a triumph for neither party. In chapter six Murphy describes the deliberate effort to create public acceptance of sick building syndrome, led by a new profession of building consultants who promoted systems ecology as a framework to understand unhealthy buildings and offered their professional services to manage the shifting ecology of a building and its occupants. The emphasis of these building consultants on sick building syndrome's multiple and indeterminate root causes made individual corporate responsibility a moot point. This coincidence of interests between corporations and consultants was reinforced by the heavy subsidization of some building consultants by the tobacco industry, which became increasingly nervous about the concept of indoor air pollution. Defining the syndrome as the result of multiple and indeterminate causes had important consequences, and Murphy points out that "it was precisely this capacity to exclude specific causal narratives and affirm ambiguity that made ecology and multiplicity such powerful ways to manage the physical corridors of capitalism" (p. 150).

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WARREN BELASCO. *Meals to Come: A History of the Future of Food*. (California Studies in Food and Culture, number 16.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 358. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

Will the world run out of food? The economist/parson Thomas Malthus certainly thought so. In his famous *Essay on the Principle of Population as It Affects the Future Improvement of Society* (1798), Malthus maintained with great pessimism that humanity's capacity to reproduce would always outrun humanity's capacity to produce. But Malthus was not alone then, before, or since, argues Warren Belasco. From Homer and Ecclesiastes in ancient times, to French mathematician the Marquis de Condorcet, English radical William Godwin, and other contemporaries of Malthus, to many present-day demographers, agricultural economists, and environmentalists, the future of food has been a subject of considerable concern and controversy. Nor has this deep-rooted anxiety been confined to academics and policy makers. Such worries, Belasco stresses, are embedded in Western culture, manifesting themselves in a whole range of forms, including Victorian fantasies of a meal-in-a-pill, world's fairs, Disney theme parks, chain supermarkets, space food, organic farmers' markets, and fiction. Belasco himself cannot resist weighing in (and, like many of his predecessors, taking advantage of the endless possibilities for puns). The "basic belly issues" (p. x) facing us today, he concludes, strongly suggest that "the banquet is over" (pp. vii–viii). With such serious problems as climate change, environmental degradation, and the widening income gap, "where are the outrage, the urgency, the sense of mission?" (p. 265).

Belasco's primary purpose, however, is neither to predict nor to judge but to survey other people's predictions and judgments. From the outset, one realizes the enormity of this task, with the dizzying array of personalities, issues, and ideologies on Belasco's plate (which may account for why he limits himself to American history over the last two centuries). Much of his analysis seems to come in threes. He divides the book into three parts to emphasize the three different ways of dramatizing the future that emerged in his research: policy debates, speculative fiction, and stories about products. The debaters in part one consist of three groups: "Cornucopians" or optimists, who believe that the way to feed the future is to simply "bake a bigger pie"; Malthusians, who insist that population pressures necessitate putting "fewer forks on the table"; and "Egalitarians," who argue that only with a more equitable economic system—by "teaching everyone better table manners"—can the poor feed themselves (p. ix). Then, in part three, Belasco identifies three variant cornucopian futures: classical, modernist, and "recombinant." The first promises bigger and better things to come, links directly with visions of past progress, and comes to light most vividly in Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition of 1893; the second, by contrast, breaks sharply with the past and emphasizes new technologies and scientific breakthroughs, as evident at the New York World's Fair in 1939 with its dazzling displays of modern food production; the third "splices" the classical with the modern, and is best exemplified at Disney World, where "Frontierland," "Main Street," and "Tomorrowland" offer visitors the future of their

choice (p. 225). In Belasco's defense, some degree of reductionism cannot be avoided with so much "food insecurity" (p. vii) on the table, but eventually even the most sympathetic reader may have trouble stomaching this veritable feast of threes.

Still, one cannot help but enjoy this insightful, entertaining book. Consider, to cite just one delightful passage, Belasco's take on "chlorella cuisine" in his chapter on modernist futures. In the decade after World War II, with the world population likely to double (it would happen even faster than predicted), many "cornucopian think tankers" (p. 210) at Stanford University, the Rockefeller Foundation, and other major research institutions believed that algae would solve the impending food crisis. It could be produced on fully automated "skyscraper farms" without the limitations of conventional agriculture, yield as much as forty tons per acre, and grow rapidly using two inexhaustible resources, sunlight and carbon dioxide. And if the thought of algae burgers was just too much for the average consumer, a neutralized chlorella powder could be added to conventional foods or to animal feed, thereby increasing the protein supply one way or the other. As a modernist cure-all, however, algae research fell well short of its lofty goal of feeding a starving world. The masses preferred grains and soybeans, algae's closest high-protein competitors, not only because chlorella cultivation turned out to be far more complicated and expensive than originally thought, but because, as even one enthusiast had to admit, algae "does not taste too good" (p. 207). Such was the irony of fate for many a modernist vision.

With its focus on past food predicaments, alternative food realities, and food stories of the future, this book will provide scholars and nonscholars alike with plenty of food for thought.

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CARL ABBOTT. *Frontiers Past and Future: Science Fiction and the American West*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2006. Pp. viii, 230. \$29.95.

Carl Abbott's purpose in this book is two-fold: to show through detailed readings science fiction's engagement with western history, and to present an account of how western historical writing has changed to accommodate new insights about how the West was won. The result is a book that demonstrates how science fiction and western history have both accepted and challenged the frontier myth. A fundamentally interdisciplinary study, this work serves as an excellent introduction to both science fiction and Western historical writing.

As a genre science fiction is well equipped for serious engagements with the national past. Science fiction, Abbott argues, "Is inherently historical in its conception and sensibility because [it] weighs the consequence of change" (p. 34). Abbott's point here is not that science fiction writers aim to write professional history but that our common fund of historical knowledge is a con-

stitutive part of the genre's futurism. To write about where we might go, in other words, writers begin with where we have been. This does not mean, as Abbott clarifies in his treatment of Robert Heinlein, that their work is always a reliable guide to the history they evoke. That, however, is hardly the point. What is at issue, in this study, is just how such fiction's western past is transformed from the "space cowboy" era of the late 1950s to what Abbott calls the complex regionalist interventions of writers such as Octavia Butler, Greg Bear, Cynthia Kadohata, and Kim Stanley Robinson (all writers who live and work in the West) in the 1990s.

In eight chapters Abbott reminds us that space was one of the many "replacement frontiers" that followed the closing diagnosed by Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893. Writers such as Jack Williamson created futures in which the story of territorial conquest could be endlessly repeated on space's final frontier. However, Abbott also tracks the evolution of sentiment that produced Robinson's Mars Trilogy. This series of novels follows the literary and cultural expectation of Mars as a West to be pioneered by the white peoples of America and Europe. However, Robinson's engagement with that tradition is no simple recapitulation of frontier myth, but a critical analysis that seeks to match in complexity the society that the historical West actually produced. In his hands the settling of Mars opens the way to a historic turn toward a radical democracy that eschews the political, economic, and social structures that have dominated the past two centuries.

Abbott's enthusiasm for the fiction he examines is always disciplined by his training and interests as a historian. His reading of science fiction is, therefore, informed by theoretical perspectives emerging from historical argument. For example, he uses Karl Wittfogel's work on the despotic bureaucracies created by large-scale engineering works to read the social thought experiments of Pamela Sargent's novels on the terraformation of Venus. The multigenerational political order that Sargent imagines fits, as Abbott describes it, both the "hydraulic despotism" theorized by Wittfogel and also is a hegemony as defined by Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser (pp. 74, 79).

If this study has a fault it is that no material mechanism connects Abbott's casual and professional historians. We do not know when, if ever, they read one another. Rather, he describes a milieu in which "historical writing and SF . . . have come out of something in the same intellectual soil, out of the same American effort to probe the past in order to maintain critical hope for the future" (p. 31). Western historical and science fictional narratives offer prospectuses on progressive futures as well as remediation of usable pasts. Even as I take pleasure in accepting this I worry about the details. It would be interesting to track just how the work of a particular historian influences and is translated by a particular fiction writer. Seeing how and when influence flows in the opposite direction would be as valuable. While not the purpose of Abbott's study,

such detailed analysis would enable us to understand better the friction between histories and fictions that aspire toward progressive political goals.

By engaging how we critique and revise the past Abbott illustrates that hope for the future lies in the practice of writing history, whether as scholarship or entertainment. Science fiction, as an entertainment disciplined by historical assumptions, produces dress rehearsals for futures in which lives matter "across the divides of gender, race, and class" (p. 187). As the New Western History revises our understanding of the frontier to supply a productive and valued past, so science fiction, by reimagining this West on the space frontier, becomes a medium through which narratives of democratic community displace the hierarchies required by stories of imperial conquest. Abbott locates a future "critical citizenship" in this productive interchange of ideas and narratives.

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GARY R. MORMINO. *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida*. (The Florida History and Culture Series.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xvii, 457. \$34.95.

Florida is the tackiest state in the union. Who can forget the 2000 election, when the candidate's brother was governor and his state campaign manager, a really tacky figure in her own right, was in charge of election procedures? Pink flamingoes, coconut patties, tee-shirts with cheesy slogans, cute alligators, palm trees, and sun-decked beaches are the images of this unique state that stick in one's mind. Gary R. Mormino's book does a very capable job of chronicling the modern development of Florida and its bizarre popular culture(s).

The time frame is the twentieth century, with primary emphasis on the period following World War II. Demographically, this is appropriate. In the first half of the century, Florida's population was thin and mainly concentrated in the northern part of the state, like south Georgia except more remote and parochial. The ascendancy of south Florida, especially Miami, and the development of coastal communities established the state's identity and modern economy. These forces also distinguished Florida from other southern states as a place of migrants and immigrants and a site of international commerce and tourism. Geographic proximity to Caribbean states and Central America has exerted a tremendous influence on Florida's culture and communities. A singular relationship with Cuba, both historical and contemporary, indelibly shaped both Miami and Tampa. Key West, the closest point, was effectively a Cuban colony from the mid to late nineteenth century, although little evidence now remains. Today Key West is a playground, exemplary of the tourist character of the state. Politically, the center of gravity and locus of power continues to favor northern sections near Tallahassee and Jacksonville. The panhandle, which most

resembles the Deep South, was previously the site of heavy-handed political power all out of proportion to its mostly rural population, but not so much anymore. The real power in Florida resides with northern capital, urban/suburban electoral strength, and above all the actions of ambitious/rapacious developers. Mormino's account focuses heavily on these men (nearly all are male) and the infelicitous transformations they have wrought on a challenging but beautiful terrain.

The book is divided into nine chapters, plus an epilogue written in late 2004 after a season of scary and punishing hurricanes. In the first chapter, the author explores the emergent regional identity of Florida and its relationship to the old and new South. Modern influences, a mélange of northern migrants and retirees, Caribbean political refugees, laid uncomfortably on the Cracker traditions of "Old Florida." Chapter two traces land speculation and real estate frenzies of the past thirty years. The buccaneer capitalists, both carpetbaggers and homeboys, created huge expanses of residential and commercial real estate, much of it in environmentally unwise locations. Chapter three examines the phenomenal effects of Walt Disney, not only on Orlando but throughout the state, where mom and pop attractions and more ambitious facilities of earlier times fell victim to the marketing genius of the House of Mouse. Chapter four is about the retirement lure of endless sunshine and lovely beaches. St. Petersburg, aka "God's waiting room," exemplifies this development strategy, a city with only one purpose, now struggling to shed this identity, the subject of too many lampoons. Mormino's treatment of the mobile home parks, which offered cheap but unsafe living conditions, fails to include the recent massive dislocations of fixed income elderly residents by park owners who are selling the land out from under them. Chapter five is a mixed bag that focuses on the extreme influence of military installations but also replays discussion of developers and entrepreneurs and their high risk strategies that often pay off, because the political system is basically in their pockets. Chapter six is about agriculture, which has been big business in Florida for a very long time, with large political influence and small wages for workers. Chapter seven is about the transformations of technology. Except for an interesting discussion of air conditioning, which had a huge impact, this chapter could have been about anywhere. Chapter eight traces the rise of immigrant communities as major segments of the state's population. Cubans numerically dominate Miami and wield power in excess of their numbers, but there are significant Puerto Rican, Haitian, and West Indian communities throughout the southern half of the state. A growing Mexican immigrant population, not only in the agricultural areas but in cities, adds to the importance of Spanish in a doggedly xenophobic state. The final chapter is about beach culture and seems like it could have been shortened and folded into tourism without losing much. In sum, this book is a good read, more about economics than politics, but it gives

too little attention to legacies of racism and ethnic conflict.

SUSAN GREENBAUM
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J. MARK SOUTHER. *New Orleans on Parade: Tourism and the Transformation of the Crescent City*. (Making the Modern South.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 303. \$34.95.

J. Mark Souther's book went to press immediately following the tragic events referred to worldwide as, simply, Katrina. In the wake of this disaster, this history of the making of New Orleans might best be described as timely. In a brief postscript, Souther poses the obvious questions about if and how New Orleans will rebuild, yet he also addresses the underbelly of a town built on distinct class and race divides by asking when and who will return to call New Orleans "home" (p. 234). Not easily, but swiftly, Katrina ripped the carefully constructed carnival mask from the face of a socioeconomically bereft Crescent City, exposing to the world how much can and did go wrong behind the scenes of tinseltown Mardi Gras celebrations. Souther asks if "the people, many of them poor and African American and—until recently—invisible" will return to "reconstitute the substance behind the façade of New Orleans" (p. 233). In other words, will New Orleans recreate and thrive, yet again, on the backs of a racialized underclass of service workers?

Although appropriately noting the socioeconomic challenges New Orleans must face now, the strength of Souther's book lies in the tightly woven class and race analysis that winds its way cleverly through the festive routes of the Crescent City's past. Souther provides an insightful and well-written account of how tourism altered the social, political, and economic landscape of pre-Katrina New Orleans. Focusing on the French Quarter, Dixieland jazz, and Mardi Gras, Souther traces the methods city leaders—of differing racial backgrounds—deployed to turn New Orleans "into an ersatz caricature of itself, a 'Creole Disneyland'" during the second half of the twentieth century (p. 222).

This book adds an important chapter to the field of southern history. The Crescent City turned to tourism in part because it failed to keep pace economically with Miami, Houston, Charlotte, and Atlanta. And it makes a significant, albeit complicated, intervention in the debate about tourism and its ill effects. Rather than reading New Orleans's reliance on tourism as a necessary evil, Souther acknowledges that compromises were made, but he also argues that positive measures resulted from the creation of a tourist economy. Tourism breathed new life into the spirit of Dixieland jazz and funneled new avenues of revenue into the wallets of jazz musicians, brass bands, and otherwise unemployed service workers. It prompted local residents and preservationists to begin paying attention to the city's neglected architectural treasures. And it led to the desegregation of public accommodations. City leaders

found that tourists were more likely to relish New Orleans's unique culture of southern permissiveness if its restored (or recreated) iron-lace galleries and Palladian windows were available to whites and blacks alike.

As a social historian, Souther relies on an expansive archive of local news clippings, editorials, oral history interviews, organizational files, and municipal records to tell and to sell the history of an "Old South" town that "juxtaposed images of European sophistication and Afro-Caribbean primitivism" (p. 135). Balanced in both structure and execution, his book hones in thematically and chronologically on four central aspects of the Crescent City's evolution into a town dependent on tourists: first, the historic preservation of the French Quarter; second, the dismantling of Jim Crow and the subsequent integration of public accommodations; third, the resurrection of Dixieland jazz; and fourth, the transformation of Carnival into a less elitist and more racially inclusive celebration. Devoting a chapter to each, Souther demonstrates how New Orleans adjusted its local priorities in order to satisfy tourist expectations, and he delves deeply into the political negotiations underpinning decisions about race and class in particular.

In addition to a more illuminating set of illustrations and neighborhood as well as city maps, future histories might keep the following inquiries in mind. First, given the number of references to New Orleans's reputation as "the Sodom of the South," to Mardi Gras's drag queens and female impersonators, and to the Crescent City's prostitution-like character, what might the history of America's most celebrated Carnival look like under the lenses of gender, sexuality, and performance? Second, put simply, why did Souther and his editor choose for the book's cover an image that Souther himself critiques as one that "evoked New Orleans's African American culture and rendered it pictureseque and accessible for a mostly white audience"? Does this decision—and tendencies within the text itself, such as an imbalance between white and black sources in the earliest chapters—work to reinforce the predominance of a white perspective? Finally, while Souther supports his argument that positive results emerged from the onset of tourism, should we not still ask or at least imagine what other economies might support desegregation and the resurrection of distinctive cultural forms and features? These inquiries notwithstanding, in the end Souther's well-crafted and intelligent book carries on, chapter after chapter, with exquisite detail and accomplished analyses.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

COLIN A. PALMER. *Eric Williams and the Making of the Modern Caribbean*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 354. \$34.95.

From the moment that he emerged on the intellectual scene as the author of *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), Eric Williams was a provocative, complex, and compelling public figure. Like Aimé Césaire, another extraordinary Caribbean intellectual, Williams, after a significant career as a professor and historian abroad, entered the political life of his native Trinidad and Tobago. Biography can often be the most unforgiving of historical genres, but Colin A. Palmer has written an informative and useful account that greatly enhances our understanding of a man of tremendous political and intellectual acuity. Rather than chronicling his life from cradle to grave, Palmer concentrates on the public life of Williams from 1956, when he founded the People's National Movement, the country's first modern political party, to 1970, when a new generation disenchanted with the direction of the nation challenged his administration and policies.

Palmer sets the context for Williams's political trajectory by delineating his ideas, especially his trenchant critique of colonialism. Emphasizing the need to reconceptualize the history of the Caribbean outside the terms of imperial historiography, Williams undertook the task of the political education of the citizenry, doing so in the unusual manner of giving public lectures in Port of Spain's Woodford Square. Such fierce dedication to the intellectual and political autonomy of the former colonies led to the triumphs and setbacks that marked his administration.

Palmer details several momentous events that defined Williams's political ascendancy. His handling of the dispute over the U.S. naval base at Chaguaramas, which had been selected as the capital site for the West Indian Federation, constituted "the greatest victory of his political career" (p. 137) as he outmaneuvered the great powers (United States and United Kingdom) as well as his political opponents at home and in the region. Adopting a seemingly inflexible and defiant position, however, had a different effect when the issue of the "golden handshake" erupted. True to the intellectual orientation of the author of *Capitalism and Slavery*, Williams criticized the paucity of the gift designed as an expression of goodwill on the behalf of the former colonizer to the newly independent nation. He insisted that Britain owed more to its former colony. Rejecting not only the proposed terms of the agreement, Williams also repudiated the premises: "I do not propose to accept any concept of the Commonwealth which means common wealth for Britain and common poverty for us" (p. 150). Ultimately, Williams retracted some of his assertions and accepted the British terms.

As a fervent advocate of the economic and political integration of the anglophone Caribbean, indeed having championed the cause of the West Indian Federation, Williams explored, hesitantly, the idea of forming a unitary state with Grenada, but the plan collapsed as a result of the machinations of the British as well as Williams's own ambivalence over whether additional islands should be included. When Williams attempted to intervene to help find a resolution to Cheddi Jagan,

Forbes Burnham, and Peter D'Aguiar's vying for political control in Guiana [*sic*], his efforts were forcefully rebuked. Palmer concludes with a discussion of Williams's notions of race, using as a frame a trip to Africa in 1964 as well as the events surrounding the protests in 1970.

Overall, this well-argued and documented study situates Williams centrally in twentieth century politics of the anglophone Caribbean. Palmer goes to lengths to give Williams's detractors sufficient representation, and thus, in the end, the book is marked by balanced treatment of its subject matter. However, a couple of minor criticisms, one structural, one conceptual can be offered.

Palmer stated that since Williams was such a controversial, if not polarizing figure, for his evidence, he "relied almost entirely on archival sources and on the voices of the major political actors of the period" (p. 13). Such was the case because much of the discussion of Williams's political life remains embedded in a discourse of personality. Yet, his childhood is discussed in the book during the golden handshake incident. As a result, the author wanders into the psychohistory that he shuns elsewhere in the study, contending that Williams expected "his associates in government to accept his leadership uncritically, just as his siblings had done, usually associating criticism or dissent with disloyalty" (p. 160). Additionally, the author's portrayal of the 1970 protests being influenced by the U.S. black power movement would benefit from some nuance. Palmer suggests that the challengers to the government of Williams "used the language of race to legitimize their claims, but the demon was a structural oppression that knew no racial boundaries" (p. 303). Yet, the economic hierarchy, as Williams, Elsa Goveia, and others have argued, expressed itself most clearly within the terms of race. Thus, rather than implying a notion of false consciousness on the part of the protestors, they should be taken at their word and the issue could be examined in the terms of *why*, given their existential reality, they would have sought social transformation within the terms they articulated.

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JOHN LAWRENCE TONE. *War and Genocide in Cuba, 1895–1898*. (Envisioning Cuba.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 338. \$35.00.

Revolutions generate myths, and the Cuban Revolution has generated its fair share. Indeed, in the Cuban case there has been a strong tendency for historians to present Cuban history since the first war for independence against Spain between 1868 and 1878 as a "long revolution" that finally culminated in the anti-imperialist and socialist revolution of 1959. In the process of writing this history, past struggles and historical participants take on mythological status, revolutionary or counterrevolutionary. Fortunately, in recent years, the scholarship on Cuban history for the late nineteenth

and twentieth centuries has proven far less susceptible to teleological interpretations and promoting myths: solid historical research and critical analysis are finally providing us with fresh and more accurate insights into the complexities, multiple possibilities, choices taken and not taken, and contradictions that people faced within specific historical contexts. John Lawrence Tone's book is an example of this new and historically nuanced scholarship. It will be of interest to scholars who are interested in Cuban, Spanish, and American history, as well as military and imperial history.

From 1895 to 1898 Cubans fought to free their country from Spanish colonialism. This war is usually portrayed as a "war of liberation" where a poor, rural, and largely black Cuban insurgency fought a bloody and popular guerrilla war against a decadent colonial power. The Cubans, the story goes, were on the verge of defeating the Spanish when the United States intervened in 1898, mainly to prevent a truly democratic, independent, and nonwhite republic from existing ninety miles off the American coast. With the exception of the point about the Spanish being on the point of defeat, Tone does not really challenge this story. What he does do, however, is provide much needed critical insight into precisely how bloody and how popular the war really was. We learn that the war itself was not as consistently popular as we are often led to believe and that its outcome was not as inevitable as the existing historiography suggests.

By focusing most of his attention on the war before American intervention, Tone achieves a more nuanced perspective on the strengths and weaknesses of each side. Too often the political and military history of the war before the United States intervened is given short shrift by historians, with the "real" story of the war beginning once the U.S. government decided to invade. Tone reverses this scenario and as a consequence we are reminded that it was Cubans and Spaniards who did most of the fighting and paid the horrendous price of a war in which atrocities were carried out by both sides.

The book has eighteen chapters. These are nicely counterbalanced with one concentrating on events in Cuba, and the next focusing on the Spanish perspective. This approach is useful because it allows the reader to appreciate the actual ebb and flow of the conflict on both sides as well as the complex internal political and military situation faced by each. We still can admire the courage, creativity, and political-military sophistication of the Cuban leaders José Martí, Antonio Maceo, Calixto García, and Máximo Gómez, but Tone provides solid evidence that the Cuban insurgency had almost collapsed by 1897. The struggle against Spanish colonialism was not anywhere near as popular in the western part of the island as it was in the east. While historians of Cuba have long recognized this fact, Tone convincingly shows that the Spanish had genuine support in the west (beyond the elite) and that some of the insurgent's military tactics in the west actually damaged their popularity there.

The Cuban war, in other words, was truly a civil war

as much as it was a one-dimensional anticolonial war. The fighting often descended into genocide, most often by the Spanish, but not always. The rebels were not immune from oppressing and even killing innocent civilians in what at times became a desperate fight simply to survive. Tone's book provides new evidence that shows that by 1897 the Cuban rebels *needed* external support from the United States to win the war. That "support" came, of course, in the form of an American intervention, and genuine Cuban independence was indeed thwarted. But instead of accepting the established view that the Cubans could have won on their own, Tone makes a compelling case that had the United States not invaded, Cuba's second war for independence might have ended in a stalemate, with both sides unable to win militarily, just as the war had in 1878.

Tone's use of archival and other sources is admirable. He has employed newly released hospital records, internal correspondence on both sides of the conflict, battle diaries, and Spanish archival sources. Not only does much of this information bolster his argument that there was nothing inevitable about winning or losing, but he also has provided a much needed human dimension to the conflict, especially for the Spanish side. We learn about the lives of individual soldiers, their backgrounds, and their motivations. Tone humanizes the war, and by doing so he effectively shows how truly devastating it was for both Cubans and Spaniards.

A significant contribution of the book is Tone's discussion of the infamous Spanish policy of "reconcentration," which forcibly relocated Cubans to camps where thousands died of disease and starvation. This policy was in many ways a precursor to similar policies carried out by the United States in Vietnam, and the Spanish policy of reconcentration in Cuba is perhaps the earliest example of how a colonial power used mass violence against civilian populations in an attempt to counter a guerrilla insurgency. According to Tone, between 155,000 to 170,000 people died in these camps—ten percent of the total Cuban population. Reconcentration was unsuccessful because it did not result in the defeat the Cuban rebels, but it did prevent them from winning. This policy played into the hands of an increasingly aggressive and interventionist group of politicians, businessmen, and journalists in the United States who were looking for a reason to invade Cuba in the name of human rights and civilization. Tone's historical analysis of the war provides a useful reminder that the use of righteous and moralizing rhetoric to justify military intervention is far from a recent phenomenon in American politics.

Tone writes well and his work will be accessible to experts and undergraduates alike. The author is clearly most comfortable when discussing the military aspects of the conflict; yet what is striking for this reviewer, who generally shies away from military history, is that Tone makes the military part of the story historically relevant, something not everyone who writes in this genre can do. This book is a valuable addition to both Cuban and Spanish history and its publication is yet another indi-

cation of the high quality of scholarship that has emerged in recent years.

ROBERT WHITNEY

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MARK OVERMYER-VELÁZQUEZ. *Visions of the Emerald City: Modernity, Tradition, and the Formation of Porfirian Oaxaca, Mexico*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 231. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

The city of Oaxaca, like other state capitals during the final decades of Mexico's nineteenth century, experienced economic, commercial, architectural, and symbolic transformations that were crucial to elites and commoners alike and that became essential to the modernizing and state-building projects of Porfirio Díaz's regime (1877–1911). In this study, Mark Overmyer-Velázquez examines the construction, negotiation, and confrontation of the myth and idea of modernity in the Emerald City, and underlines that the phenomenon was neither monolithic nor homogenous but rather simultaneous and mutually constructed with tradition. The former idea—that modernity and tradition were selectively consumed and reshaped during the final decades of the nineteenth century—was not circumscribed to the city of Oaxaca; it prevailed throughout the country and attempted to follow the paradigmatic model of Europe or the United States, but also to adapt the nation's uniqueness to that notion.

Through a careful assessment of numerous primary sources and recent revisionist studies on the history of Mexico's hitherto neglected south, this book examines the contested visions and imaginaries of modernity and tradition that elites and commoners had of the city of Oaxaca during a period of rapid modernization. The book's five chapters explore numerous important topics that, unfortunately, render the narrative difficult to follow. The author begins with the study of local elites and their regional and foreign business partnerships and family alliances during the final decades of the nineteenth century, and explores the ways in which the print media, the development of a tourism industry, and new sports and leisure activities enhanced and reinforced the elite's perception of their privileged place in society. The second chapter examines some of the urban planning, architectural, and sanitation and social hygiene reforms enforced by the city elites, as well as the impact that the institutionalization of a city police force, prison, and asylum system had in making the Emerald City a "legible," ordered, and harmonious urban environment. Particular attention is devoted to the contradictory and fragmented visions of modernity that emerged in the city of Oaxaca, as well as to the deepening of social, economic, and racial inequalities and marginalization of the majority of the urban population.

The three remaining chapters explore issues relative to labor, the sex trade, and morality campaigns in accordance to the heterogeneous and contested visions of modernity upheld by the Catholic Church, social re-

formers, workers, and prostitutes. The renewed presence and the reconciliation of the Mexican Catholic Church with the state and with municipal authorities are examined in chapter four. Overmyer-Velázquez provides detail on the intersection of religion, work, and state politics; the influence that the encyclical *Rerum Novarum: On the Conditions of the Working Class* (1891) had during the tenure of Eulogio Gillow as archbishop of Oaxaca; and on Gillow's intervention in the city's artisan community via the creation of the Catholic Workers Circle of Oaxaca (CCOO) in 1906. Thus, church efforts to moralize and inculcate a modern work ethic among urban workers through Christian teachings and social and financial support, as well as to protect workers from urban vice, Protestantism, and ignorance, are examined. The numerous topics so far mentioned reappear in the final two chapters of the book, where Overmyer-Velázquez presents a detailed analysis of medical, legal, and administrative structures, as well as a careful assessment of the photographic registries that were employed by the city's elites to regulate female sex work in the city of Oaxaca—sex workers being defined as a “necessary evil” and as “instrumental part of the modern city” (p. 152).

There is much that is interesting in this book. The author elucidates the multiple and often incompatible visions of modernity during the final decades of the nineteenth century; underlines the dilemmas present in the quest to modernity; stresses how anxiety and disorder prevailed; and devotes particular attention to the importance that visual order had for the process of state formation during the Díaz administration. However, the value of the book would have been further enhanced if the author had included a more substantial analytical framework within which to discuss the different views and experiences of modernity/tradition, and if instead of tackling so many different topics, he had concentrated only on some of them. Notwithstanding, the book provides an excellent picture of the fragmented and contested visions of modernity that emerged in the city of Oaxaca. It is a contribution to a growing body of literature on the history of regional cities and a welcome addition to the historiography of modern Mexico.

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MARY KAY VAUGHAN and STEPHEN E. LEWIS, editors.
The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920–1940. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 363. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

As recently as a decade ago, studies of the two decades following the 1910–1920 Mexican revolution concentrated nearly exclusively on the 1934–1940 administration of the populist President Lázaro Cárdenas. His signature policies of massive land reform and the nationalization of petroleum in 1938 towered over the scholarship. To be sure, scholars did give some atten-

tion to events that took place in the intervening years, including the foundation of Mexico's national education system, the early and oftentimes violent phase of land reform, and the resistance of Catholic peasants to revolutionary policies. Yet national histories tended to depict these events either as the coda to earlier revolutionary warfare or as the mere prelude to Cárdenas's own project. Even the Cárdenas years themselves were sometimes billed as little more than the logical consequence of political pressures unleashed by the revolution.

The editors of this book reveal how far historians have come in reframing the postrevolutionary decades. Contributors take pains either to place previously studied topics into the context of postrevolutionary political life, as in the case of Jean Meyer's chapter on Catholic militants and Desmond Rochfort's contribution on muralists, or to introduce topics relatively new to the historiography that illustrate the particularities of the postrevolutionary moment, as for example Michael Snodgrass's chapters on workers and union politics in Monterrey or María Teresa Fernández's discussion of women and revolutionary nationalism. The revolution does not disappear from any of these discussions, but the spotlight remains trained on the 1920s and 1930s as a historical moment ruled by its own historical logic; likewise, *Cardenismo* appears more as an expression of social and political processes originating in the 1920s than as a mere extension of revolutionary struggles.

Editors Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis group the book's sixteen chapters into four aspects of postrevolutionary state formation: aesthetics (including chapters on popular arts, the visual arts, music, and the didactic effort to inscribe revolutionary symbols into Mexico City's built environment); utopian projects (including “defanatization” campaigns aimed at the popular classes, education in its nationalist and indigenist guises, and social hygiene); mass communications (roads, radio, and film); and the experiences of key social groups such as Catholics, women, and industrial workers. The chapters on aesthetics and communications make particularly innovative thematic contributions. For example, Wendy Waters's contribution on road building integrates a discussion of the local politics of granting road construction contracts, of public ritual during the inauguration of new highways, and even some of the changes that roads brought to the communities they linked. Rick A. López shows that the staging of patriotic “Noche Mexicana” folk performances and exhibitions of folk art functioned both to legitimize postrevolutionary nationalism and to construct Mexican Indianness at the very time that the state hoped to “redeem” the popular classes. Like most of the book's contributors, these scholars move beyond the confines of traditional social history and engage the so-called “new cultural history” of Mexico.

The volume is also a model of interdisciplinarity, including contributions from scholars working in the fields of art history, media/communications studies, and anthropology. As a reflection of the state of the art in

the study of postrevolutionary state formation, the collection's breadth shows that recent trends emphasizing aesthetics, the production of meaning, and technologies of power have inspired scholars across disciplines and on both sides of the border to consider how artists, scientists, union leaders, intellectuals, and others sought to comprehend, represent, and work within emerging structures of power.

The book does omit some subjects that would have allowed for fuller discussion of the postrevolutionary decades, however. The selection of topics privileges urban areas and historical actors over rural ones, although essays by Adrian A. Bantjes and Vaughan constitute significant exceptions. Questions of land reform and peasant mobilization, of the institutional innovations of the Cárdenas administration, and even the nationalizations of the late 1930s receive relatively little attention. There is of course no compelling reason to replay timeworn topics in a volume that showcases new thematic directions and emerging scholarly trends. Yet greater attention to such issues would have gone even further to show the interrelatedness of formal politics with cultural process of state formation that the book foregrounds. Even so, this is an important milestone in the historiography of postrevolutionary Mexico that will serve as a touchstone for future scholarship. The sheer variety and richness of the contributions show how fruitful a refocused attention to the postrevolutionary decades can be. Moreover, the book's success in training attention to the 1920–1940 period as a coherent historical period will help subsequent scholars place both the revolution and *Caudinismo* into more convincing historical proportions.

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ALAN KNIGHT and WIL PANSTERS, editors. *Caciquismo in Twentieth-Century Mexico*. London: Institute for the Study of the Americas. Pp. x, 409. \$22.50.

This collection of essays, edited by Alan Knight and Wil Pansters, features a variety of useful approaches to examining the phenomenon of *caciquismo* in twentieth-century Mexico. The project includes the work of an impressive cast of Mexicanists and grew out of a 1998 Oxford workshop on the topic. The book uses the influential David Brading, ed., *Caudillo and Peasant in the Mexican Revolution* (1980), as its point of departure. Nevertheless, Knight's introduction distinguishes between the classic national caudillo figures who dominated the era of the Mexican revolution and the more nuanced phenomenon of *caciquismo* which continues to permeate all levels of political life but proves especially characteristic of local politics. All told, this book presents students of Mexico with an impressively varied and innovative set of ideas for conceptualizing and understanding how *caciquismo* has persisted throughout the last century.

Historians have long considered the *cacique* figure as

an obstacle to stable institutional rule in Mexico. As Pansters points out in his exceptional conclusion to this volume, since the 1960s scholars have generally portrayed *caciques* as rural political bosses who monopolize local resources and exercise an intensively personalistic control over clients dependent on their largesse. Of course, *caciques* were considered to have resorted to violence when their power was challenged and tended to see politics as an end in itself. Ever ambitious, under the right conditions they might bring even rivals under their control and eventually rise to the status of national caudillos. The traditional assumption was that *caciquismo* developed in the absence of a powerful centralized state and its modern bureaucracy. Thus, the emergence of the postrevolutionary state was thought to have marked the emergence of "modern" *caciquismo*, which was urban and institutional rather than rural and personalistic in character.

Perhaps surprisingly, the essays in this volume generally concur with many of the standard assumptions about *caciquismo*. Where they seek to depart—and herein lies this collection's real strength—is by adding nuance, depth, and complexity to the issue by examining the adaptive nature of this phenomenon in a variety of localities. The result is an incredibly useful book that will be a must read on this topic for the foreseeable future. The success of the volume stems from the contributors' collective embracement of the issue's complexity. There is no attempt to limit the historical potential of *caciquismo* by producing rigid definitional boundaries so as to reify the concept's intellectual relevance. Importantly, and despite the fluid, complex, and varied portrayals of *caciquismo* appearing here, the term itself is not reduced to a mere linguistic convention lacking real conceptual utility.

Many of the authors seek to explain how *caciques* obtain, exercise, and retain their power. The standard notion that such figures perform as "intermediaries" between national and local governments tends to find reinforcement here, but just how *caciques* achieve that task emerges as an especially difficult and lively topic of analysis. Of special interest is *caciquismo*'s relentless presence; the phenomenon clearly has metamorphosed into a form visible in contemporary Mexican politics despite the emergence of the more openly democratic system that was supposed to sound its death knell. The consensus is that "hybrid" *cacicazgos* combining personalistic and institutional forms of rule emerged during the formative period of the institutionalized revolution and have found ways to persist through to the present. That being established, several authors seek to understand why this phenomenon has been so consistently a part of national politics and exactly how and where this power exists.

Two contributions stand out in this sense. Pieter de Vries's provocative examination of the performative aspects of *caciquismo* presents *caciques* as "brokers" of power whom people imagine as capable of maneuvering through the institutional and personal labyrinth of Mexican politics to benefit themselves and their con-

stituents. By focusing on power as an imaginative realm conceptualized by both those wielding it and those seeking to benefit from it, de Vries helps explain why this style of rule has remained so characteristically and persistently a part of national life. He suggests that the image of power in itself provides legitimacy to those suspected of exercising it, thereby explaining how so-called "illegitimate," even criminal power brokers so often command respect. Pansters's analysis of an academic *cacicazgo*, a phenomenon that defies the traditional temporal and geographical (usually premodern and rural) limitations of *caciquismo*, likewise presents an innovative approach. His analysis de-territorializes the phenomenon so as to demonstrate how *caciquismo* has successfully operated within the very modern (academic) institution that was supposed to eradicate it. Pansters argues that institutional *caciques* do not operate as traditional intermediaries since the old spatial distinction separating local and national power does not apply. Still, the "compartmentalized" institutional space within which he argues *caciquismo* operates suggests that some sort of intermediary role continues to be fulfilled, an argument that resonates throughout this book.

While most of the contributors interpret the discursive, culturally based construction of this type of political power, each essay is rooted in strong, empirically grounded archival work. As such, this collection provides readers with several genuinely useful case studies—almost every contribution provides some narrative—and meaningful consideration of the theoretical implications generated. Critics will note that five of the first six articles feature Michoacán, but that type of geographic scrutiny actually adds to the overall depth of analysis. Pansters's concluding essay will in itself likely enjoy widespread circulation among graduate students prepping for their comprehensive exams. For non-Mexicanists, this is as good a place as any to experience the incredible variety, depth, and originality that has come to characterize interdisciplinary scholarship on Mexico.

DANIEL NEWCOMER
East Tennessee State University

DARÍO A. EURAQUE. *Conversaciones históricas con el mestizaje y su identidad nacional en Honduras*. Honduras: Centroeditorial. 2004. Pp. 279.

Darío A. Euraque sets out to challenge Honduran historiography for misunderstanding racial complexity and overrating the importance of caudillos. By the eighteenth century, "for every mestizo, there were three mulattos" (p. 21; all translations are mine), yet the state pursued a rhetoric of patriotic *mestizaje* that denied negritude. Categories of African descent had disappeared by the census of 1930. The same elites anxious to deny Afro-Hispanic legacies have promoted the invention of a largely fictional Mayan past. While half the nation was indigenous in the 1860 census, virtually none were Maya. Euraque presents the book as a series of

hypotheses presented in loosely linked essays. The first chapter unveils the close kinship between imperialist and academic agendas during the dictatorship of General Tiburcio Carías Andino, from 1933 to 1949. Carías was a great defender of the United Fruit Company. One of the main anthropologists engaged in redefining Honduras as Mayan was Doris Stone, none other than the daughter of Sam Zemurray, "the banana man" who was president of United Fruit by 1933. Carías was among the most vigorous promoters of heroic Mayanization, a phenomenon found to the south in El Salvador, too. The strategy served well to marginalize living indigenous populations who accounted for some ten percent of the population and distracted attention from their most recent uprising, that of Lencas in 1925. Euraque next interrogates the decision to honor the heroic figure of Lempira, the Lenca leader who resisted the Spaniards' initial invasion. The government declared a holiday as well as giving his name to the national currency at the time U.S. Marine invasions were ubiquitous and had reached the capital. Anger against U.S. imperialism found a more perverse outlet in anti-immigrant legislation that allied Honduran elites and mestizo workers against black West Indian laborers.

The book's most substantive chapters are its last two. Here Euraque offers a patchwork of insights on the Afro-Honduran diaspora, drawing on analyses suggested in his oral histories (the author mentions others who aided in the research). He starts in the regional capital of Yoro founded in 1649 by free mulattos who fled enslavement in Olancho. The town of Olanchito, Euraque argues, likely possessed a similar origin among mulattos descended from slaves who were forced to mine gold. The region is distinguished by its love for the word, an inheritance of African values, the author suggests. In Yoro the township was vastly outnumbered by some 16,000 surrounding Tolupanes, an indigenous people who had never been conquered or missionized. The descendants of self-liberated blacks recast themselves as civilizers of an overwhelmingly indigenous department and distanced themselves from their African ancestors. This local elite aided the efforts of a Spanish priest who walked the length and breadth of the Yoro rainforest converting Tolupanes. The priest had the president's support, not surprisingly since the new converts were roped into debt and other forms of servitude. It is worth noting that Euraque focuses on traditional intellectual history—i.e., that of elite male actors—rather than labor or cultural histories of non-elite subjects.

Euraque's chapter on the African diaspora raises the issue of periodization, and as the book's title promises, it is organized as a conversation, which is appropriate for an audience of Honduran academics but less effective for readers who are not versed in the particulars. The detail is fascinating, and the author probably has reasons for eschewing a chronological narration. At the beginning of the 1800s, some thirty percent of the population that the census takers managed to count was of African descent (p. 174), mostly living in the depart-

ments of Atlántida, Colón, and the Bay Islands. Before independence, the British had seized thousands of Garifuna (called black Caribs until the 1960s) and deported them to the Honduran coast as punishment for their rebelliousness. Garifuna kept their distance from English-speaking blacks brought by U.S. businessmen beginning in the 1870s. Among the various banana companies, United Fruit counted one quarter of its workforce as black West Indian. While the histories of racism against the Garifuna are scattered throughout the book, here we learn that they lost economic power at the turn of the twentieth century and faced escalating discrimination. Black Carib dances were criminalized and women with marked African features driven from beauty contests (recent scholarship exploring the intersections among gender, class, and negritude could be brought to this conversation). All blacks in Honduras suffered legislation that drove them out of parks and public spaces. West Indian blacks excluded Garifuna from their clubs and social circles. In 1934, the state passed the above-mentioned law that is termed anti-immigrant, although it is more accurately described as anti-black. It prohibited such individuals as Hugh H. Smythe, a U.S. anthropologist, from even visiting Honduras. At this time the right-wing National Party was building the municipal power that would allow Cárías to declare himself supreme ruler in 1936. The dictator presumably ordered the massacre of Garifuna in 1937 that took fifteen lives, a story told somewhat circuitously here. Some in the Garifuna community remember the land struggle that preceded the massacre, and others their alliances with the Liberal Party during the dictatorship, an association that rendered them intolerable in the eyes of the state. Still others emphasize the class alliances that inclined well-to-do black Caribs to join the right. Among them was the individual who betrayed his less privileged neighbors, who were in fact conspiring to end the dictatorship. The massacre scarred collective memory. By the 1940s and 1950s, the majority of Garifuna favored the Liberal Party. Social democracy was on the rise and explicitly challenging racism, particularly against the Garifuna. The latter's presence was significant in the unions and a few West Indians rose to leadership. The liberals slowly won power at the local level, which helped topple Cárías. These histories, Euraque rightly insists, played out via racialized identities and demands. Then in 1954, one of Latin America's most stunning general strikes exploded across the landscape of the banana zone and from there, to the rest of the country. Modern Garifuna ethnicity, the author contends, was born in the strike and its aftermath, through 1957 when the liberals' candidate Ramón Villeda Morales finally won office. With decisive black support, Villeda passed a Labor Code and Agrarian Reform Law. Two years into his term he survived a coup attempt lodged in his own police, which prompted him to replace the suspect forces with a Civil Guard, for which blacks were heavily recruited. Its opponents called it the "Black Army" (p. 218). When the liberal government was felled by the coup of 1963, one

of the new government's chief targets was precisely Villeda's civil guard. Somewhat abruptly, Euraque offers more portraits, among them the Garifuna communist and guerrilla Moisés Moreira, who resisted the coup against Villeda in 1963. These various trajectories gave rise to Garifuna consciousness by the 1960s. It took shape before and alongside of the transnational black power movements that are usually credited as the inspiration for present-day Garifuna identity. The 1970s mark an era of ethnic autonomy. Another coup in 1972 brought to power a populist military for the space of three years, that implemented "a nationalist vision with its origins in Caribbean capitalism" (p. 239). We do not learn of the tensions between Caribbean capitalism and its laborers at this juncture.

Euraque's essays show that Honduran history is badly mistold when race is silenced. Elite concepts of Indo-Hispanic *mestizaje* that took shape in the 1800s served to belittle the strength of indigenous communities, while ignoring abundant evidence that the taproot of *mestizaje* was in fact African. The book stands as a powerful challenge. It might not work very well in the classroom, however, since it meanders rather than gathering related points in a single telling that would permit, and indeed require, the arguments to deepen. Moreover it is frankly empirical, a work of revindication rather than a conversation with larger debates about theory. Neither does Euraque theorize his own findings. Gender is dramatically absent. The author urges scholars to pay closer attention to class divides, but himself offers mainly a birds'-eye view. Excellent recent scholarship on the African diaspora in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Brazil would be important to bring to the table; however, the author explicitly leaves such tasks to others. Euraque has limited himself to setting a research agenda, and one of fascinating import that begs for book-length treatment of the many moments he has sketched.

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LEWIS TAYLOR. *Shining Path: Guerrilla War in Peru's Northern Highlands, 1980-1997*. (Liverpool Latin American Studies.) Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 232. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$32.50.

Lewis Taylor's book is a detailed and complex account of the emergence, strategies, and actions of the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) in Peru's northern departments of Cajamarca and La Libertad. Taylor offers an important contribution to the literature on Sendero Luminoso as it fills a significant gap in the scholarship about this movement. Taylor's argument is straightforward: while Sendero Luminoso's "Northern Front" was an important site of struggle in its war against the Peruvian state, the northern highland region has not been sufficiently researched. Most studies of the Shining Path focus on the movement's birthplace, Ayacucho, additional parts of the Southern Andes, and other strategic regions of movement activity such as the Upper Huallaga. However, Taylor argues convincingly that the

northern highlands were a critical part of *Senderista* strategy.

The book is divided into six chapters. The first two chapters provide insightful discussions of the ideological, political-economic, and geographical context of Sendero Luminoso. The following three chapters treat distinct periods of the conflict, from "early moves" (1979–1983), to "guerrilla expansion" (1983–1992), to "guerrilla retreat" (1992–1997). The last chapter situates Taylor's work within the broader literature on peasant revolt and rural politics. While this chapter is perhaps the least satisfying, as a whole the book offers a remarkably clear and useful synthesis of the literature on Sendero Luminoso and an important discussion of an understudied theme.

Taylor is a gifted writer, as his elegant balance of historical detail and ethnographic sensibility demonstrates. Additionally, his extensive personal experiences in the region organizing peasant federations provide him unique windows into the lives of many of the characters that make up this book, and serve to highlight many diverse voices and perspectives.

Taylor's level of detail is clearly one of the book's strengths, but as is often the case, it is also a weakness. While Taylor does discuss the articulation of the northern highlands with other regions of the country and engages (briefly) the broader literature on peasant revolt, this book could have offered more in terms of general lessons for our understanding of Peruvian or rural politics. Moreover, there are some missed opportunities. Given Taylor's level of detail and nuance, I was surprised to find that there was no mention, let alone discussion, of Sendero Luminoso's actions in the Amazon. This is particularly important in light of recent reports of Sendero Luminoso activity in this region, and appeals to the Peruvian government from members of Asháninka communities who are reportedly enslaved by Sendero Luminoso cadres still active in this region. The ongoing activities of Sendero Luminoso, though certainly greatly scaled down and isolated, are a challenge to the periodization of this or any other account of the conflict that places it safely in the past. Additionally, while Taylor mentions the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) final report in his book's preface, he does not engage its many volumes as important elements of the historiography. Nor does he discuss the politics surrounding the report, in particular the cool reception of the final TRC report in 2003 by then president Alejandro Toledo, the related (and continued) hostility toward human rights organizations, and the return of Alan García, who is implicated in many of the dark periods of state violence, as president of Peru.

Finally, Taylor handles a few materials in ways that are puzzling, if not problematic. For instance, in making the claim that there was significant peasant participation in *Senderista* activities in Cajamarca, Taylor relies on the reported confessions of detainees. Taylor's acritical reading of these confessions and the conditions under which they were obtained is surprising (p. 206). Additionally, Taylor's concluding paragraph (p. 216)

includes an oddly "optimistic" letter from a *Senderista* inmate to "President Gonzalo" (the nom de guerre of Sendero Luminoso's leader, Abimael Guzmán) that raises more questions than answers. Taylor seems to suggest that the apparent inactivity of late does not mean that Sendero Luminoso has been defeated but rather that it may be regrouping. While this is certainly possible, and as mentioned above, taking place to some extent in the Amazon, there are many other developments taking place in the rural Andes that Taylor leaves unexplored. Indeed, the waters are not all that calm: Asháninkas, *cocaleros*, *ronderos*, and other actors are actively shaping the contours of rural struggles. It is not clear why Taylor would end this book about an organization widely known for its brutality, with a letter that describes the Shining Path as "the planters of beautiful seeds."

Despite these concerns, Taylor's book is a must-read for those interested in the Shining Path and its historiography. It is also an important work for those interested in Peruvian politics, peasant struggles, and the micro and macro processes of revolution.

MARÍA ELENA GARCÍA
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OSVALDO BARRENECHE. *Crime and the Administration of Justice in Buenos Aires, 1785–1853*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2006. Pp. x, 179. \$65.00.

This book is a welcome contribution to a growing body of work examining late colonial and early national period justice systems in Latin America. Osvaldo Barreneche is specifically concerned with criminal justice from the late colonial creation of an Audiencia (High Court of Appeals) in Buenos Aires through the rule of Juan Manuel de Rosas, the most famous (or infamous), most autocratic, and longest ruling governor of the early national period. By tracing legal jurisprudence from eighteenth-century Spanish reforms through what he sees as a crucial period of state formation, Barreneche attempts to shed light on how justice was administered during a long transitional period in Argentine history.

Barreneche begins by examining the administration of criminal justice at the end of the eighteenth century, the period when Buenos Aires was elevated to a vice-regal capital. Members of the city council (*alcaldes*), chosen every year by out-going members of the council, also served as judges of the first instance; they were aided in their deliberations by public attorneys and prosecutors. The verdicts reached by these courts could be reviewed by the High Court (Audiencia) comprised of senior jurists appointed by the Spanish crown. Although Barreneche finds that viceroys took an ever more active role in judicial decisions in the latter years of colonial rule, *alcaldes* were active in fashioning the original charges contained in the *sumario*, and in dispensing criminal justice.

In Spanish America the years following independence were often chaotic. Although the fledgling na-

tions usually managed to promulgate constitutions, they often did not create new criminal or civil law codes for several years. In the case of Argentina, a national constitution would not be completed until 1853, and would only be accepted by Buenos Aires ten years later. During that lengthy interim, the penal code in effect was essentially the same law that had been in effect under Spanish colonial rule. In fact, a new penal code was not adopted until 1886. Nonetheless, in theory at least, independence led to the introduction of new ideas about the nature of citizenship, and the equality of all citizens under the law. The post-independence world was one in which class or *calidad* no longer determined the treatment or punishment of the accused. Thus the poor, and other citizens without power, should have experienced less systemic bias against them in the criminal courts.

Barreneche tracks these and other changes in political ideas, legal theory, and the mechanism of providing justice. Most important, he is also interested in how these changes affected the accused in the transition from a colonial to an independent polity. He argues that late colonial death sentences (the verdict in less than twenty percent of all criminal cases), were often used to set an example to the general populace. In addition the Audiencia frequently overturned the lower court's verdict, increasing punishments such as prison time, corporal punishment, and fines while it tended to reverse the death penalty. After independence, while the republican penal discourse considered abolishing the death penalty, the ongoing problem of maintaining public safety tended to preempt questions of due process or equal justice for all.

Barreneche also finds that independence modified the essential features of the criminal justice system in several other negative ways. There was an overall growing institutional subordination of the judiciary; an increased tendency for the police to interfere in what previously had been judicial matters; an increase in what the author calls "institutionally malleable penal-legal procedures," and a resultant growth of punitive punishment. As a result, the entire judicial apparatus found itself losing power to executive and legislative entities. The judicial establishment—including judges, public defenders, clerks, and other officials—was chronically underfunded and often stymied by overlapping jurisdiction. In addition, those involved in administering criminal justice were hampered by job insecurity as they tried to function in a highly politicized world in which judicial officials were increasingly tied to the political faction in power. As a result judges became more reticent to explain their legal reasoning, and the distance between legal principles and legal decisions grew wider over time. Indeed Barreneche suggests that the roots of judicial problems that continue to plague Argentina to this day can be found in the post-independence period.

This interesting work is unfortunately marred by repetition and, from time to time, contradictory arguments. Barreneche spends too much time explaining the internal power struggles among the judicial estab-

lishment, the executive, and the legislative bodies while failing to address other issues such as the treatment of criminals in much detail. The study could have also benefited from more discussion of actual cases, especially in the post-independence period.

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STEVE J. STERN. *Battling for Hearts and Minds: Memory Struggles in Pinochet's Chile, 1973–1988*. Book Two of the Trilogy: *The Memory Box of Pinochet's Chile*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2006. Pp. xxxi, 538. \$27.95.

The death of former dictator Augusto Pinochet in December 2006, like his arrest in London in 1998, has again exposed the wounds left by his regime: while some celebrated the death of a villain, others mourned a hero's passing. It is precisely the vigor of these opposing memories that makes Steve J. Stern's latest book a work of poignant urgency, as well as a penetrating history of the dictatorship in its own right. The second volume in Stern's trilogy *The Memory Box of Pinochet's Chile*, it builds on the strengths of the first, a compelling treatment of Chile's post-transition "memory struggles" over the meaning of the military regime. Here Stern examines "the making and unmaking of cultural legitimacy" (p. xx) through four collective and emblematic "memory strategies": salvation, rupture, persecution and awakening, and the "closed box." Although sympathetic to the politics of "truth and justice," Stern rejects characterizations of Chilean society as a culture of oblivion, documenting instead the importance of memory for both supporters and opponents of military rule. He painstakingly documents how struggles over memory have played out at the center of political contests over the fate of the regime, leading Chileans to a "memory impasse" that continues to inhibit resolution of the regime's brutal legacy.

Stern treats the dictatorship in two parts: the first, "building the memory box," proceeds from the Allende period through military coup, human rights mobilization, and regime consolidation, to the fitful dawn of what Stern calls "counterofficial Chile," which exposed state-sponsored violence in the face of military denial, judicial passivity, and retribution. Stern moves beyond the well-known facts to illuminate how Chileans constructed opposing "memory camps": officialist versions of military rule as salvation competed with the increasingly widespread views of the coup as a violent rupture. Stern's detailed reconstruction of the human rights scandals of 1977–1978 demonstrates the importance of such "memory wars," which frustrated military leaders' efforts to consolidate their rule by "closing the memory box" on this sordid past. In the book's second half, Stern examines the eruption in 1983 of "memory war in the streets," tracing battles over memory evident in student activism, women's movements, shantytown protests, and party alliances, as well as within the military

regime itself. Here Stern examines how street protests and military repression reinvigorated memories of 1973; this "time travel" hindered the advance of both official and counterofficial forces, allowing both loose and emblematic memories to shape the 1988 plebiscite that removed Pinochet from power.

The book relies on an unparalleled diversity of primary sources for the military period, ranging from personal and state archives to media sources and ninety-six oral interviews. Drawing extensively on human rights archives and a sampling of cases from state truth commission archives, Stern traces the events of military rule through radio, print, and television media, transforming the censorship, self-censorship, and commercial competition of the media itself into the subject—rather than a mere source—of his analysis. Particularly innovative is Stern's examination of the "Yes" and "No" campaigns for the 1988 plebiscite, which combines Chilean polling data with oral interviews to demonstrate how the "No" campaign deployed emblematic memory of rupture and awakening to end the dictatorship at the polls.

This book is not for the faint of heart, nor for readers short on time. Seeking "*Chile profundo*, or better, the various *Chiles profundos*" (p. xxxi), Stern infuses his historical narrative with chilling accounts of human experience in a period of radical evil. In the afterwords that follow each chapter, Stern raises "unsettling" questions that complicate the "neatness" of his own historical narrative, even as these stories humanize and reinforce his central arguments. As Stern acknowledges, the afterwords also point to the need for further research on subjects insufficiently addressed in the present work, such as gender, generation, and the effects of military rule outside Santiago. The sheer length of the volume—weighing in at over five hundred pages, with one hundred pages of notes—testifies to the author's extensive research but limits the work's accessibility, making it most suitable for graduate students and specialists.

Stern's engagement with the comparative history of Holocaust, war, and memory in Europe makes this a model of historiographical engagement. Having explicitly engaged Chilean history "on its own terms," however, Stern is less attentive to recent scholarship that has examined the dictatorship not as an aberration but rather as a distinct phase of political violence and reconciliation in which memory struggles have also been prominent (Brian Loveman and Elizabeth Lira [1999, 2000]). Nevertheless, the theme of memory, a rigorous interdisciplinary methodology, and a creative narrative structure are the combined source of this work's brilliance, one that sets a benchmark for future historical studies and challenges the conceptual boundaries for the study of Latin American dictatorships. Particularly in light of the recent demise of Chile's hero-villain, we now await volume three, which promises to bring us "full circle" to Chile's troubled ethnographic present.

ELIZABETH QUAY HUTCHISON
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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN. *The Shotgun Method: The Demography of the Ancient Greek City-State Culture.* (The Fordyce W. Mitchel Memorial Lecture Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 140. \$39.95.

In this slim volume Mogens Herman Hansen mounts a powerful argument to overthrow standard views on the demography of the classical Greek world. Using city-state (polis) data accumulated through his Copenhagen Polis Centre (CPC) project, including *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, edited by Hansen and Thomas Heine Nielsen (2004), Hansen estimates that there were many more Greeks living in the fourth century B.C.—between 7.5 and 10 million—than has been recognized heretofore. Previous estimates of c. 3 million for the Greek mainland and parts of the Aegean (areas for which Hansen posits 3.9 million) ignore the numerous Greek settlements elsewhere in the Mediterranean, communities that Hansen fully incorporates. It is one of the great attractions of this book that Hansen undertakes a geographically comprehensive treatment.

Of course, the demography of classical Greece—an era without censuses or other surviving population records—is a hazardous business full of uncertainty. Hansen is well aware of the pitfalls. The book's title refers to his practice of producing a range of estimates, from low to high, in order to encompass the truth with something more like a metaphorical shotgun blast than an impossibly precise rifle shot.

The concept makes sense, though it describes less about Hansen's method than his manner of presenting results. A more informative title might have hinted at the unique basis for the calculations, which is measurement of the intramural area of 232 city-states for which we have fairly good estimates of urban size. Grouping the 232 cities into five size categories, Hansen derives the average number of hectares of urban space per category. He then estimates the total number of Greek cities in each category by using data from the 636 cities about which we have indications of overall size. From here Hansen calculates the total number of hectares of urban space in Greece for each size category, and then extrapolates these numbers over the roughly 1,000 known cities of the classical Greek world.

For this much, Hansen uses the city-state data collected in the *Inventory* and other CPC publications. But to turn total hectares of urban space in Greece into population numbers, many difficult (and at times almost arbitrary) assumptions have to be made. These include the percentage of intramural space actually used for habitation (as opposed to public buildings, open space, etc.); the average number of houses per hectare; the average number of people per household; the proportion of the populace that lived in the city (vs. the countryside); the variation of these averages and proportions across different city size categories; the size of the undercount his method will produce in areas of Greece like Epirus and Macedonia with few urban

settlements; and, finally, how much higher the total Greek population might have been than the minimum figure (roughly 7.5 million) that Hansen's assumptions and calculations produce.

In making judgments on all these issues Hansen shows his usual confidence, cleverness, erudition, and ready willingness to discard scholarly orthodoxies that do not match his view of the emerging evidence. For example, he uses test cases from the few cities and regions about which we have a fair idea of the ancient population (detailed in Appendix 1) to establish convincingly that the surprisingly large numbers his method produces likely *underestimates* the Greek population rather than the reverse. Hansen also effectively criticizes the now-common practice of using "carrying capacity" inferences derived from nineteenth-century Greek census figures to estimate ancient populations. But at least one assertion rings hollow: Hansen contends (pp. 29, 75–76) that his large urban numbers disprove the longstanding notion that the vast majority of ancient Greeks lived in the countryside, since if they did Hansen's results would push the total population to a ludicrously high figure. But opponents might easily counter that the absurdity of such a figure shows that Hansen himself must have gone terribly wrong somewhere with his urban habitation numbers. Hansen admits (p. 28) that "the most problematic assumption is the relation between the urban and rural populations." And one might add that Hansen's method cannot fully control for variation in the density of habitation in different cities and regions.

Hansen's ambitious and fascinating study will not settle all debate on the population of classical Greece since the evidence is too scanty and the necessity of piling assumption on top of assumption to produce meaningful figures, whatever one's method, renders any comprehensive result suspect. And yet this study represents a major step forward. Its greatest strength is its basis in the CPC's massive, painstakingly accumulated data on all the city-states of the Greek world. Hansen exploits this new resource well in producing his elevated population estimates, estimates that may require historians to reconsider fundamental aspects of the Greek economy and society.

ERIC ROBINSON
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WOLFRAM DREWS. *The Unknown Neighbour: The Jew in the Thought of Isidore of Seville*. (The Medieval Mediterranean, number 59.) Boston: Brill. 2006. Pp. x, 387. \$167.00.

In 2004 an excellent study was published under the title of *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England*. Its author, Andrew P. Scheil, worked with the great advantage of knowing that no actual Jews were ever recorded as being present in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms at any point during their long history. This is not to say that Jews never crossed the Channel between the fifth and eleventh centuries, but if they did they left

no trace of their fleeting presence in Britain. Why this should have been the case, when we know of the existence of several communities of them in parts of Gaul, is an interesting if probably unanswerable question. However, this generally recognized fact meant that the book could be devoted entirely to questions of how Anglo-Saxon authors, above all Bede, dealt with the purely literary images of the Jews and of Israel that they found in the Bible and in the patristic literature available to them.

Wolfram Drews—in his extremely interesting, well-researched, and scholarly book—has no comparable advantage. The existence of large and widespread Jewish communities throughout Spain in the period it was ruled by the Gothic kings (456–711) is well known thanks to the survival of a substantial body of royal and ecclesiastical law relating to them, together with a few physical traces of their presence. There are also a small number of works, some of which are now lost, written by several of the leading theologians of the period that refer to them. Of these *De fide Christiana contra Judaeos* by Isidore bishop of Seville (died 636) is the most substantial and best known. However, it has never been subjected to the detailed analysis of its content and purposes that it receives here.

Because of the contemporary Jewish presence in the kingdom and the problem that they were thought to have presented as a distinctively non-Christian component of a population that after 589 was uniting around a common Catholic Christianity, it has tended to be taken for granted that works such as Isidore's were addressed directly to the Spanish Jews and represented an attempt either to convert them or to counter arguments that they were putting forward against the truth of the Christian revelation. It is one of the many merits of Drews's excellent book that he shows this to be erroneous. As he demonstrates in detail in the central part of his work, Isidore was clearly poorly informed about post-biblical Judaism, was not capable of reading its writings, and had no interest in doing so in any case. His readership was an entirely Christian one, and it was a matter of no concern to his arguments that real Jews were actually present in the land in which he was writing. His purposes were entirely focused on showing how the truths of the Christian faith could be deduced from the Old Testament. His book was in any case dedicated to his sister Florentina, a nun who had no part in any current Christian-Jewish polemic.

It is also clearly demonstrated here that for Isidore, following older patristic ideas going back to St. Paul, the conversion of the Jews to Christianity would only come about just before the end of time. He thus had no interest in trying to achieve it prematurely, and certainly not by means of forced conversion as practiced by the Gothic king Sisebut (611–619/620). Thus Drews suggests that Isidore's book was, insofar as it had any controversial intent, an implied criticism of the king's policy, which was also condemned by the Fourth Council of Toledo of 633, presided over by Isidore himself.

This view is probably sound, even if it is almost impossible to date the writing of *De Fide* with any precision.

Where perhaps Drews goes too far is in trying to locate the work in a wider context of the creation of a new ethnic identity for Goths and Hispano-Romans in the aftermath of the elimination of Gothic Arianism, formalized in the Third Council of Toledo of 589. In so doing he is merely flowing with the current interpretational tide that tends to see almost any Spanish historiographical or theological text of the seventh century as having a deliberate and conscious part to play in this process. While it would be wrong to be equally categorical in denying this, no allowance is ever made for less committed motives such as antiquarianism or intellectual speculation. Certainly, in the brief introductory chapter entitled "The Problem: Parameters of Identity in Visigothic Spain" and the more substantial fourth chapter headed "Isidore's Position on Contemporary Jewish Policies," the author launches his own carefully gleaned conclusions into a discordant debate about the formation of ethnic identity in the period more generally, and in so doing has to rely almost entirely upon the conflicting conclusions of other scholars, many of whose standing in the matter could be called into question.

The real heart of this splendid book lies in the lengthy second and third chapters devoted to the internal analysis of Isidore's text and its positioning in the patristic tradition of literature relating to the Jews. Much of a fifth chapter is devoted to a very good overview of the subsequent influence of *De Fide*, which of course had nothing to do with issues of ethnicity. That might have given cause for not being so confident that this was part of its original intent. So, if Gothic Spain had left us no more evidence of a Jewish presence than has Anglo-Saxon England, we would not have to worry about Isidore's possible ulterior motives in writing the work that this study has in most respects so fully illuminated.

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VALERIE RAMSEYER. *The Transformation of a Religious Landscape: Medieval Southern Italy 850–1150*. (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 222. \$42.50.

A great deal recommends this carefully written and documented study of medieval southern Italy, with a clear focus on the principality of Salerno (divided by the ninth century into Benevento and Salerno as well as Capua) and its great abbey of Cava. The very readable presentation introduces readers to the complex and endlessly fascinating history of this region, where Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Lombard, and subsequently Norman interests overlapped during the period covered by Valerie Ramseyer, 850 to 1150. On the basis of carefully selected works by Italian and other European scholars—the names of Giovanni Vitolo, Hubert Houben, Vera von Falkenhausen, Huguette Taviani-

Carozzi, and G. A. Loud are prominent—but especially through her own painstaking investigation of the rich trove of documents from the abbey of Cava as well as relevant *vitae* and chronicles, Valerie Ramseyer presents a wealth of information on the institutional developments in the principality of Salerno over the course of three centuries. The first three chapters cover Salerno under Lombard rulers (849–1050); chapters four and five of the books deal with the reorganization of the region after Salerno's integration into the duchy of Apulia under Robert Guiscard after 1077. Each part concludes with a helpful summary and is accompanied by maps and genealogical charts.

Perhaps most interesting among Ramseyer's conclusions is the fact that relatively little changed in southern Italy until about 1100 or so, when both the archbishopric of Salerno and the abbey of Cava developed territorial lordships of their own and began to impose labor services and other restrictions on the inhabitants who could be conveyed with the land. Churches and chapels built and maintained by families and lay *consortia* (that is, proprietary churches with extensive rights for their lay owners) had been encouraged and supported by both bishops and princes and were typical until the late eleventh century. They constituted the vast majority of religious houses in Salerno and are emblematic of the prevailing diffusion of authority. Contrary to the theories of Ulrich Stutz and Hans-Erich Feine, these structures of shared authority were not affected by the arrival of the Lombards. Feine argued that the Lombards—i.e., rulers in the Germanic tradition—destroyed a pre-existing episcopal system in Italy (pp. 63–67). As Ramseyer shows, such a system never existed. Not even the great church reform of the eleventh century overcame the strong local influences. Archbishop Alfano of Salerno, nominated by Prince Gisolf II and ordained by Pope Stephen IX in March 1058, certainly has to be considered a friend of the Roman reformers, but even he did not "oppose the old tradition of laypeople founding and administering religious houses, and he did not uphold the call by Gregory VII and others to end lay investiture" (p. 155). Ramseyer reasons astutely that it was precisely the lack of a "well-organized ecclesiastical hierarchy in the region that made imperative the continued participation of the laity in church matters" (p. 156).

The differences between the regions of Europe that had come under Carolingian influence and southern Italy are noteworthy, highlighted briefly on occasion. This is especially striking with regard to the abbey of Cava. A Salernitan courtier and noble, Alferius, founded the abbey c. 1020, after he had spent several years at Cluny under Abbot Odilo. The new abbey obtained generous privileges from the Princes Guaimarius III and IV of Salerno that laid the foundation for its early twelfth-century independence (p. 163), later affirmed and strengthened by the papacy under Urban II and Paschal II. Because of numerous forgeries in the abbey archives, details of the abbey's rapid expansion are uncertain as Ramseyer indicates, but by the early

twelfth century Cava's power, wealth, and influence in the old principality of Salerno far outstripped those of its archbishop, whose important papal privileges existed only on paper (p. 126). Cava's greatest period of growth occurred under its third abbot, Peter (1070–1123), who was strongly influenced by Cluny, both with regard to adherence to the Benedictine rule in many ways as practiced at Cluny and with regard to the gradual but systematic incorporation of dependent churches and monasteries. These came to be governed by priors as at Cluny or were even directly administered by Cava. Both Lombard and Norman nobles made extensive donations to Cava (especially noteworthy is the return of inherited shares of churches by individual heirs), but even more significant was the purchase of properties by the abbey itself, made possible by the commercial success that resulted from the abbey's acquisition of ports at Vietri and in Cilento. Ramseyer's painstaking reconstruction of the development of Cava's lordship, or seigneurie, is a clear and convincing sign of the changes that occurred after the Norman settlement, when Salerno was increasingly linked to the rest of Italy and lost some of its Mediterranean characteristics. Ramseyer's book is a fine introduction to a very thorny topic.

UTA-RENAME BLUMENTHAL
Catholic University of America

ROBERT M. STEIN. *Reality Fictions: Romance, History and Governmental Authority, 1025–1180*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 294. \$30.00.

Everyone now agrees that the modern academic disciplines are constructed ways of approaching knowledge. Nonetheless, educational psychologists and scholars of teaching and learning have shown that disciplines impose distinct cognitive modes upon their practitioners. Medievalists pride themselves in being multimodal, and yet we, too, favor some forms of cognition over others. This is the review of a historiographer trained in history of the work of a historiographer trained in literary studies. *Caveat lector!*

This book makes the claim that the changes in power relationships in northwestern Europe led to a need for new representations of that power, in turn creating new genres: a sort of historical writing that focused on contemporary history, the romance, and a reconfigured epic. Robert M. Stein begins with Charles Tilly's model of the state as something distinct from the nation. In Western Europe in the eleventh and twelfth century, multilingual non-national states were in the process of construction, creating a new reality that required new literary representations.

In his first chapter, Stein examines the *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*, an early eleventh-century serial biography commissioned by Bishop Gerard (1012–1049), and the texts associated with it. In Stein's depiction, these works constitute an argument for episcopal political authority (the bishops of Cambrai were counts

also), based not on the charisma of the office holder but rather his control over administering the Eucharist, his spiritual advice, and his capable administration.

The second chapter considers two narrative subjects, the death of King Harold at Hastings (or alternatively, his survival of the battle) and Waltheof, who was implicated in a revolt against the king in 1074 and executed. Stein examines the treatment of these two issues in a variety of texts official and unofficial, Latin and vernacular, and "historical" and "hagiographical" (one of his points being that these two genres are inseparable). Both topics provide a litmus test of the various ways in which the Norman Conquest of England might be represented (or in many cases narratively effaced). The representations in which Harold survived the battle and lived a life of penance turned away from the public world toward private penance as a source of meaning and satisfaction in response to the new regime. Authors who remade Waltheof as a saint both constructed and valorized Englishness.

The third chapter treats the world of the romance. Stein does not see twelfth-century histories as incorporating romance touches but rather sees twelfth-century social realities as shaping both kinds of literary works in a similar way. In his examination of the Arthurian material in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, Stein argues that Geoffrey empties the political world of transcendent meaning. Things happen because of human desires or frailties; there is no possibility of judging the rightness and wrongness of causes, because each side makes the same claims and thus peace and order are elusive. This program is picked up in the *lais* of Marie de France and romances of Chrétien de Troyes. In *Guigemar* and *The Knight of the Lion* the "happy" endings are achieved only by force and thus reproduce in the world of the text the power realities of the social world.

In his final chapter Stein points out that although most scholars treat epic as a precursor to romance as a genre, the surviving epics date only from the twelfth century, the same period as romances. Epics perform antiquity and tradition so as to explore the twelfth-century debate also found in legal texts between the ruler as sovereign (in law the principle that what pleases the prince has the force of law) and as a first among equals (in law the principle that it is proper for the prince to observe the law). This tension can be resolved neither in epic nor in the social world.

Stein offers insightful and convincing readings of the texts he has selected. I was particularly happy to see him skewer Georges Duby's reductive reading of the *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*. But the central issue this review has to address is whether the exploration of the world of twelfth-century power through the texts themselves has explanatory power as a way of talking about state creation. That will depend upon your gaze. Stein sees most of these texts as concluding that the actual world cannot be made to conform to our desires for it, so that the representations might be said to end in failure. Indeed his chapters trail off or end abruptly, while

his texts gaze inward toward themselves. But I found myself longing to look outward from them. If “representational practices, too, are real actors in the social world” (p. 210), what effect do these actors have on their audience or how do they create their parts? Stein says in his prologue that he is not interested in recounting state formation, so I must recognize my desire to be a stance infected by my discipline. Other readers, perhaps even historians more free than I of their disciplinary gaze, may find an account of the performance sufficient to itself.

LEAH SHOPKOW
Indiana University

ANGEL NICOLAOU-KONNARI and CHRIS SCHABEL, editors. *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374*. (The Medieval Mediterranean, number 58.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xvi, 403. \$98.00.

Six studies on the social and cultural history of Frankish Cyprus make up this collection edited by Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel. They deal with Greeks, Franks, economy, religion, literature, and art. The introduction gives a brief summary of the history and historiography of the island under the Lusignans. The volume also includes genealogical tables, a map of Frankish Cyprus, an appendix of figures of Cypriot architecture and art, and a comprehensive bibliography (in which titles in Greek should have been translated into English, as one of the book’s most important assets is to introduce the English reader to Greek historiography).

Nicolaou-Konnari’s opening essay closely examines the changes experienced by the Greeks, Cyprus’s major ethnic group, under Frankish rule. The Franks created a clear ethnic and social hierarchy solidly based on religious affiliation, which distinguished Latins from non-Latins. They also introduced a new political order, at the head of which stood a feudal monarch and a fief-holding aristocracy, excluding any non-Latins. Still, the Franks’ rule was tolerant, aimed at developing peaceful coexistence with the local population. The Greek lower class was hardly affected by the changed regime, although the burgesses and especially the aristocracy underwent radical transformations. In a compelling analysis Nicolaou-Konnari explains the process by which the old aristocracy, the *archontes*, disappeared, and a new class of Greeks, composed of wealthy and educated burgesses and aristocrats, emerged. Their service in the Lusignan administration afforded them social mobility and prestige, without, however, permitting them (until the fifteenth century) to break into the ruling class of the Frankish nobility, enterable only through conversion to the Latin rite. Interestingly, if one might expect conversion to have been common, the author found very little evidence of it, as conversion “involved a complete change of cultural values and group attachment” (p. 45). Nevertheless, the creation of this new Greek class led to widening social interaction and cultural exchanges, exemplified by mixed marriages and the cre-

ation of a Greek Cypriot dialect as the *lingua franca*. The essay concludes by showing that although religious affiliation would continue to be the most important criterion for social categorization, a new definition of identity was emerging: *Kypriotes*, a common identity of inhabitants of Cyprus, based on a geographical and political perception. It is somewhat disappointing that this important point is not fully developed.

Nicolaou-Konnari’s significant study paves the way to the five subsequent essays, which by dealing with different aspects of Frankish Cypriot society and culture examine questions of identity, self-perception, and cross-cultural influences. Peter W. Edbury provides a very detailed picture of the Frankish ruling class. His essay is divided according to the different groups of which this class was composed: the monarchy, the nobility, and the burgesses. Edbury describes the Lusignan regime as a stable monarchy, able to seat a male heir on the throne until the fifteenth century. It also owned most of the fortifications and fortified towns. Unlike the situation in Latin Syria and the Palestine mainland, this prevented the nobility from becoming a major threat and contributed to the island’s political and economic prosperity. Comparisons with the mainland, which are made throughout the essay, are of great value to historians of the Crusades. One of Edbury’s most interesting points is his analysis of the ways both the monarchy and the aristocracy perceived themselves and wanted to be seen by others. Despite their firm roots in the island, ceremonial rituals, royal portraits on coins and seals, official titles, and the adoption of European chivalric culture all point at their wish to project a Western European image. But image is one thing and reality another: Edbury shows the aristocracy’s reluctance to compromise the security and prosperity of the island by complying with a new Crusade or assisting their king, who was also the King of Jerusalem, to perform his Christian duty of recovering the Holy Land.

Nicholas Coureas studies the impact of the Latin conquest on the Cypriot economy. The Latin occupation, claims Coureas, did not alter the island’s agricultural character. By combining primary sources, modern research, and, perhaps most interestingly, findings from archaeological excavations, he presents an updated picture of Frankish Cyprus’s natural resources, through which he demonstrates the importance local products—agricultural and manufactured—had for its economy. Wheat, barley, pulses, wine, cotton, sugar, and other products were exported. Such productivity attracted Western merchants before the occupation, but after 1192 their number increased considerably. The interests of these merchants embodied the interest of their communes; therefore Coureas studies the involvement of each of these Western communes in trade as well as their influence on Cyprus’s main cities. It would have been helpful to examine similarly the involvement and influence of religious institutions, in particular the military orders. The final fall of Latin settlements in Syria and Palestine had a huge impact on Cyprus’s economy. It became an international trading center from whose

ports long-distance trade was plied with the Western Mediterranean and the Adriatic, and short or medium-distance trade with the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea. From the thirteenth century a papal embargo on trade with Muslim lands made Cyprus also an entrepôt for this trade.

The value of Schabel's study is that it presents the reader with a different approach to religion in Frankish Cyprus. Instead of the traditional historiographical view that Frankish rule was characterized by interreligious or cross-cultural conflicts, Schabel shows a more peaceful coexistence. He found no historical grounds for preconceived ideas regarding the Latin occupation, such as the economic damage inflicted on the Greek Church or attempts to force the Greeks to adopt the Latin practice. In spite of its hegemony, the Latin clergy was tolerant of the Greeks' practices and beliefs, and so was the papacy, as Schabel demonstrates through analyzing the *Bulla Cypria* of 1260. The common worship of Cypriot saints, shared pilgrimage sites, and even some common rituals, such as marriage ceremonies, Schabel concludes, show that despite the differences in language and ritual, "the various groups of Christians on Frankish Cyprus had much in common" (p. 212).

Seeing Cyprus as the ground for intercultural exchange is also the focus of the last two essays in this volume. Gilles Grivaud deals with the written culture of Frankish Cyprus, which so far has received very little attention. Although this is a relatively new field of study, in which, as Grivaud explains, the scholar faces many methodological problems, he manages to present the reader with a great variety of genres, both Latin and Greek: historical and legal writings, genealogical, moral, romance, epic literature, and philosophical writing. Grivaud's analysis of the texts, the circumstances of their composition, and the public to which they were addressed reveals a literary production and intellectual life exposed and receptive to multiple influences: Western, Byzantine, and Arab.

Annemarie Weyl Carr wraps up the volume with an essay that examines Latin and Orthodox art production in Frankish Cyprus. She analyzes the abundance of artifacts that have been found and the scholarly approaches to them by placing the former in the historical context of two main phases of production: artistic production in the thirteenth century, shaped by conventions originating from Frankish Syro-Palestine; and artistic production in the fourteenth century, influenced by Byzantium and the Gothic West, seeking its inspiration in high artistic styles of contemporary courts (European, Byzantine, and even Mamluk). The result is a distinctive representation in Cyprus of high Gothic and high Byzantine-Palaeologan art, and the emergence of local artistic conventions that combined the two. Carr gives three examples of this: the adoption of Gothic dressed stone masonry and cross-vaulted constructions by Cypriot builders; the appearance of funerary icons, which combine Western and Greek traditions; and the formation of the icon of Kykkos, which was to be prominent in centuries to come and seems to

have been venerated by Latin and Orthodox Christians alike.

The essays presented in this important collection give us a better understanding of Frankish Cyprus as a meeting point of cross-cultural influences.

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DALLAS G. DENERY II. *Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Medieval World: Optics, Theology and Religious Life*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 63.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 202. \$80.00.

Dallas G. Denery II's book seeks to ground fourteenth-century developments in optics and cognition theory in the religious concerns and experiences of the era. A clear thesis statement appears in his introductory chapter: "the controversies [concerning perception and cognition] that raged throughout the universities of Europe between 1280 and 1350 can be seen as philosophical responses to problems associated with medieval religious practice" (p. 18).

Denery points to the role of the Dominican Order as singularly generative of philosophical and perspectivist response. He argues that, due to their very public responsibilities as preachers, their role as confessors to the laity, their new place in the public eye, and the training necessary to prepare them for this public role, Dominicans were so concerned with questions of self presentation and "appearance" that they were "forced . . . to conceptualize and construct themselves in new and unique ways" (p. 37). At a number of points Denery contrasts the new Dominican fixation on "seeing and being seen" with older attitudes towards self and self-appearance characteristic of monks who found stability and security within the cloister. It is striking, however, how often over the course of the first three chapters the phrases that Denery selects from Dominican texts to crystallize the new Dominican attitudes are actually copied from twelfth-century authors and earlier monastic texts (St. Bernard and later Cistercians, Hugh of St. Victor, Abelard, Peter Lombard, Alan of Lille, etc.). At times Denery recognizes this, and he acknowledges that there was a long history of monastic self-examination and consideration, using language identical in many cases to that of the Dominicans (e.g., pp. 34, 110, 111), but at other times he returns to the notion of a Dominican exceptionalism (pp. 35, 37, 112), one sufficient to generate qualitatively new philosophical approaches to questions of perspective and cognition. The shifting positions adopted on this subject point to a pattern in the structure of this and other areas of Denery's argument: large, generalized statements (at times what appear to be overstatements) are followed by modifications and substantial qualifications only to appear again later in their original form. This leads to uncertainty concerning which claims are being made and argued at any given moment, and the effect is generally unsettling.

At the center of Denery's argument is the reading of three religious texts (including the *Tractatus moralis de oculo* by Peter of Limoges [c. 1280], which was concerned with comparing—if negatively—the treatment of vision in a religious context with vision in the context of scientific perspective) against the writings of two authors Denery takes to be representative of fourteenth-century developments in perspective and cognition theory, Peter Aureol (chapter four) and Nicholas of Autrecourt (chapter five).

To the extent that Denery's goal is (as he sometimes formulates it) to indicate broad "structural similarities and resonances between different fields of cultural experience," (p. 120), his argument is valuable. Problems arise when Denery claims to be doing more and sometimes a good deal more than this. I failed, for example, to see evidence that the highly technical epistemology of Aureol and Autrecourt "precisely mirrors" (p. 18) the epistemological dilemmas presented by Peter of Limoges. I had most problems at those points where Denery suggests an exclusive relationship, verging on a path of causation, between Dominican religious concerns and the highly technical philosophical and scientific writings on optics and cognition of Aureol and Autrecourt (see pp. 13, 18, 119, 169, 170). These stronger claims raise so many questions that they have the unfortunate effect of weakening rather than strengthening the presentation as a whole. This is regrettable, because Denery has given shape here to a mass of heterogeneous and difficult material, and there is much evidence of committed intellectual labor in this book.

Denery's exclusive focus on the religious roots of perspectivist thought gives rise to further questions. One wonders whether his argument captures the extent to which religious ideas are themselves the product of continual mixing in and construction from all kinds of intellectual discourses in their own evolution.

Historians might also question the absence of any consideration of how social factors—particularly those associated with urbanization in the thirteenth century—might have independently shaped both mendicant experience and university speculation. This is particularly true concerning Denery's clear-sighted recognition of the central role played by concepts of relativity and probability in fourteenth-century perspectivist thought. Denery illustrates the presence of these concepts in Dominican religious writings, centering on the presentation of self (pp. 113–14), and he suggests that the Dominican experience served as their source in the writings of Aureol and Autrecourt. But why the development of these new ways of perceiving the world should, and how they could, flow directly from the Dominican experience, rather than from a host of other interrelated contexts, both social and intellectual, that have an equal or greater claim to being generative of concepts of relativity and probability, is never discussed.

There is no recognition here of the development of these concepts in law or medical theory or political thought or within other areas of natural philosophy or

even within optical theory itself from Alhazen through Witelo; there is no mention of stimuli to their conceptual development coming from the social and intellectual dynamic of the university, the city as social setting, the monetized and commercialized marketplace, or the *civitas* as polity. Denery's decision to *focus* on the influence of religion on optical thought is perfectly justifiable, but the clear recognition of the existence of other crucial contributing factors would have considerably strengthened his attempt to explain the intellectual elements at work both in the Dominican exploration of self and in fourteenth-century speculation on optics and cognition.

JOEL KAYE
Barnard College

JUDITH B. STEINHOFF. *Sienese Painting after the Black Death: Artistic Pluralism, Politics, and the New Art Market*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 264. \$85.00.

Judith B. Steinhoff explores the fourteenth century as a liminal age for art in Siena (p. 5). She acknowledges that the "Golden Age" of Sienese painting arrived early in the century while her major interest reaches into the era after the Black Plague, 1348–1349, and continues through the last decades of the century. In this later era she finds an "extremely sophisticated and self-conscious sponsorship of art" intended to promote both religious and civic agendas (p. 36); indeed one reason to review this volume in the *AHR* is the author's concern with the role of patrons in determining artistic production and the civic-religious imagery that emerged over the course of the second half of the century (p. 115). This is an extensively illustrated volume containing ninety figures, some of them the author's own photographs, and twelve color plates.

In part one, Steinhoff reviews Millard Meiss's thesis about the impact of the Black Death on Sienese artistic production. She does not limit herself to painting, and includes among other things an embroidery of a "Nativity/Adoration of the Shepherds" (fig. 72, p. 161) as well as a frontispiece of the *Libro dei Censi* and the gilded cover of an Evangelary from the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala (plates XI and XII). Most of her examples are drawn from painting, however, and the work of Bartolommeo Bulgarini (active 1337–d. 1378, and trained by Pietro Lorenzetti) is emphasized throughout. Using Bulgarini as her major example Steinhoff argues against Meiss that the second half of the century was not marked by conservatism in art but rather became pluralistic both stylistically and iconographically. She regards Bulgarini and other painters who survived into this era as striving for a synthesis of the diverse visual and thematic traditions that they inherited. Moreover the author sees both pluralism and the attempts at synthesis as positive and artistically creative (p. 178). Again Bulgarini serves as chief example of this trend although she draws on the work of Niccolò di Segna and others as well. Steinhoff argues through-

out that Sienese art after the Black Death was not merely hieratic and abstract in form, in contrast to the naturalistic and humanistic developments of earlier trecento art in Siena.

In support of this thesis Steinhoff explores the working relationships between patrons and artists. Since Bulgarini belonged to a politically prominent and wealthy Sienese family, he serves as an example of how patronage worked. Such working relationships, the art market, patronage, and commissions constitute the heart of this study. Steinhoff then considers the resulting civic-religious imagery and its accompanying rituals. Part four considers the origins of stylistic pluralism in Siena of the 1330s and 1340s and contrasts it with the transitional style of the 1350s and 1360s. She draws heavily on commissions made by the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala emphasizing a coherent set of goals laid out by the Ospedale for the decoration of its church that introduced recurring formal principles and recognizable iconographic features. Bulgarini's altarpiece for the Ospedale "offered a synthesis of Lorenzettian and Simonesque pictorial motifs and concepts" (pp. 207–208, and fig. 86, p. 197). However, the documentation for this important altarpiece has been lost along with the full-length standing figures on either side of the central panel, so it may not be definitively placed within the church of Santa Maria della Scala itself.

The author draws on the work of Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., to create a political and religious context in which Sienese art flourished. Charitable institutions receive the bulk of attention but civic patronage is explored as well. Individual patronage plays a less significant part in this study although Steinhoff does note a Monna Becca who commissioned frescoes from Jacomo di Mino del Pellicciaio and Bulgarini (p. 192). Cohn's *Women in the Streets: Essays on Sex and Power in Renaissance Italy* (1996) is not cited in the bibliography, and this is a loss because it helps in understanding the patterns of private patronage in north Italian towns. While the city's patrons Saints Ansanus, Savinus, Crescentius, and Victor are discussed, Catherine of Siena and her Mystical Marriage to the Christ Child (fig. 82, p. 192) could be emphasized more because Catherine was celebrated in Sienese painting even before her death in 1370. She served immediately as a revered patron saint of the city.

One other bibliographical omission deserves mention. William Caferro's *Mercenary Companies and the Decline of Siena* (1998) provides compelling evidence about the price Siena paid for its wealth and well-embellished city. Prone to attack on all sides, the civil government and religious institutions maintained their patronage despite the back-breaking costs of warfare or bribery. In this attempt to weave together the story of Sienese painting and history, more perspectives on the town's political crises would deepen the reader's understanding of its dedication to art.

SUSAN MOSHER STUARD
Haverford College

SHANNON MCSHEFFREY. *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 291. \$55.00.

This is a study of rich archival material treating marriage in London during the second half of the fifteenth century. It draws most heavily on litigation records of the Consistory, the bishop's highest court in London, but it makes use as well of records from lower church courts and some secular jurisdictions along with testaments kept by various ecclesiastical institutions. Shannon McSheffrey intends the study as an exploration of the way marriage and associated issues surrounding sexuality were related to conceptions of social order in that city.

The book's great strength is the material itself. McSheffrey has mined these sources carefully, providing readers detailed accounts of the processes by which marriage took place, the role of family and friends in managing the marriage decision, the ways public authorities (mostly represented by church officials, although joined by city fathers, guilds, and the like) sought to govern marriage, and the issues that threatened the completion of a marriage pact or created tensions among married couples. Armed with this evidence, she is able to add texture to and sometimes to correct existing historiography.

For example, her evidence reveals that people in this urban culture rarely married as specified by the church; instead of a formal betrothal, a reading of the banns, and a properly solemnized marriage ceremony, couples more often sealed their bond by vows (*de presenti*), usually in the presence of two witnesses, thus achieving what the church considered a "valid" but hardly "legitimate" marriage. Typically they subsequently solemnized their unions but rarely did so in strict compliance with ecclesiastical prescriptions. More interesting still, marriages were normally labeled "clandestine" not when the union had been sealed by simple vows *de presenti*, without the required rituals or publicity, but when the subsequent rituals of solemnization were improperly performed or incomplete.

McSheffrey provides other interesting details as well, most of them confirming but also enriching our understanding of how people married, who had interests in the union and for what reasons, how marriage was related to an individual's reputation, and the like. We are told, for example, that people regularly exchanged vows in unexpected places like inns, alehouses, and taverns; we are provided abundant illustrations of the gift exchanges that fueled courtships and sealed unions; we are presented with many narratives that expose the ambiguity of the notion of "free" consent, given the power of parents, "friends," employers, and fellow guild members. We also see how closely reputation was tied to marriage and to gender definitions. For men, reputation, whether as guildsman, civic leader, or simply as citizen, was in a fundamental sense a measure of good governance, and "governance" meant control, both of

oneself and of one's household. This was the link to sexuality, for the worrisome thing about sexuality was its capacity for disordering the household and the social system built on these units. Thus, the issue was not chastity or purity as such. Men were shamed, McSheffrey comments, not by their actions (as adulterers or seducers) but by the disorder created if they were discovered, and shame was apportioned differently depending on social position. The logic worked somewhat differently for women, however, for their reputation depended not so much on their capacity for self-control but on their ability to submit to control.

Although a welcome addition to the literature for its empirical richness, the book succeeds less well as analysis. McSheffrey promises, in the introduction, to argue that marriages in this period of London's history were coming under greater patriarchal control in response to sociopolitical changes, but that claim is not pursued in the study itself. Another broad claim, that marriage was not the "private" matter imagined in classic liberal theory, is better developed, but that point is not new, although McSheffrey is able to illustrate it with rich evidence about the multiple interests at stake in marriage, the way marriage was performed and lived in public, and how it was closely supervised by public officials. Throughout the book, this reader longed for sharper framing of the historiographical or interpretative issues, clearer analytical categories, and closer reading of language, ritual, and formulas. For example, the material on gift exchange is barely exploited, the complexity of such exchanges only asserted, in effect by reference to Valentin Groebner's fine study, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts: Presents and Politics at the End of the Middle Ages* (2002). Similarly, the chapter on reputation, although providing some nice illustrations and thoughtful comments, seems innocent of the rich literature on honor, reputation, and credit in late medieval and early modern urban society. In short, this book nicely corroborates much of what we already knew and adds some details that texture and refine our understanding, but it does not exploit its material as it might have.

MARTHA HOWELL
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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

KEVIN SIENA, editor. *Sins of the Flesh: Responding to Sexual Disease in Early Modern Europe*. (Essays and Studies, number 7.) Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. 2005. Pp. 292. \$28.00.

No one disputes that the "great pox" deeply scarred the early modern world. Certainly, few other diseases have been the subject of as much scholarly—and prurient—curiosity. This collection of essays presents "state of the art" thinking on the phenomenon that was the pox. By refusing to break yet another lance in the old battle over the origins of the pox or give in to scurrilous anecdotes about famous sufferers, the contributors accept the

scholarly framework so deftly presented by Jon Arrizabalaga, John Henderson, and the late Roger French in *The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe* (1997). To say that the book rests on much good older work voices no criticism of editor Kevin Siena and his fellow authors. Rather such dialogue with previous scholarship, when combined, as here, with new sources and new methodologies, is exactly what academics should strive for.

The editor groups ten essays into three divisions, labeled "responses": scientific and medical, literary and metaphoric, and institutional and policing. In terms of disciplines, however, the volume divides in two: six essays were written by historians or historians of medicine and science, and four by literary scholars. For this reviewer the most successful—and convincing—contributions were the first, although the most provocative and original were the latter. (Arrizabalaga, Henderson, and French did not ignore the metaphoric meanings and literary treatments of the pox, but their methodological focus was neither principally literary nor cultural.) The opening essays on scientific and medical responses, while (obviously) based on contemporaries' experience of the "French disease," reach beyond the pox to address larger historical issues in sophisticated ways. Arrizabalaga's piece in this volume guides us sure-footedly through the confusing debate over causation. While everyone believed in a divine first cause, that conviction in no way prevented medical writers "from concentrating most of their attention on natural causes" (p. 37); in particular, they wondered why the pox first struck the genitals. Yet, while the disease came to be understood as affecting the genitals, it was not immediately or inevitably viewed as a result of sexual intercourse. The French disease also "significantly contributed to the spreading of this idea [of contagion]" as the primary, even sole, means of transmitting an infectious disease. David Gentilcore moves from theory to practice. He refutes the widely accepted explanation that because "respectable" medical practitioners avoided treating the pox, "charlatans" became the resort of necessity for its sufferers. Working within the well-established paradigm of medical pluralism, he demonstrates that the poxed consulted whomever they pleased. Darin Hayton's discerning discussion of Joseph Grünpeck situates his treatises on the pox within the context of sixteenth-century careerism. Grünpeck's use of specific explanations, especially astrological ones, was congenial to imperial culture and fit well the political needs of the Emperor Maximilian.

Three concluding essays—Laura J. McGough's on "quarantining beauty" in Venice, Mary Hewlett's on the connection (or confusion) between syphilis and sodomy in Lucca, and, finally, Siena's own contribution on London's hospitals—highlight how the pox entwined with the sexual, social, and administrative concerns of early modern cities. (No one has, to my knowledge, examined the pox's impact on rural populations.) McGough shows how the prevention and control of syphilis came to concentrate on *one* subpopulation: beautiful

women. Yet, her evidence actually suggests that Venice incarcerated women perceived as first sinful or potentially sinful and then beautiful or reputedly so. Once immured, their repentance supposedly reduced "the body politic's excess vice." One wonders, however, if incarceration of such women really did "[permit] the rest of Venetian society to remain at ease, free of culpability for the disease's origins or transmission" (pp. 233–234). Hewlett's essay on sodomy and syphilis reminds us that syphilis did not supersede other cares; indeed, sodomy remained "the greater evil of the two" (p. 258). Syphilis thus became a useful tool for policing a more worrisome sin: erotic sodomy. Siena's contribution on London hospitals even more forcefully emphasizes municipal policies and social responsibility. While hospital administrators hardly welcomed the poxed with open arms (and isolated them from others), they did not bolt the door either. The practically overwhelming dual problems of illness and poverty mandated actions that cannot be reduced to punishment or discipline. One should not forget, moreover, as Siena notes, that such institutions operated according to statutes: it is by no means clear that they were empowered to deny such patients admission. Siena's conclusion that "[l]urking beneath the surface of these hospitals lies a constant triangulated conflict between . . . indignation, a Christian drive for mercy, and a civic obligation to address a public health crisis" (p. 280) can stand for the ways in which all six essays deal with the disease: as one part of scientific, medical, and public concerns, but never an all-encompassing one. These studies further demonstrate how much the archives can still yield not only for the history of the pox or of medicine but for that of early modern Europe more generally.

The remaining essays rely heavily on literary sources and deploy an alternative methodology. The perspectives are unusual; the findings are dubious. No one doubts that metaphoric and literary receptions of the disease deserve scholarly attention. How much such responses tell us about early modern history and life outside the realm of books and theater remains less clear. All here accept that "syphilis should not be reified to assume an objective place prior to the text, but rather is produced and constantly reproduced by the text" (p. 13). Jonathan Gil Harris's essay, in which he discusses syphilis (the term he prefers) as a palimpsest and a "pathotext," offers the most radical vision. Still, his perception that "a textual palimpsest . . . splices together many strands of discourse . . . that include not only the physiological and the pathological, but also the religious and the economic" does not seem to add much to the demands for deeper contextualization that many historians have raised and produced (including the authors of *The Great Pox*). Likewise, surely, the idea of reading as contemporaries read and understanding as they did is hardly new. More intriguing is Harris's resurrection of the word "syphilis" to denote its very artificiality and its solely textual existence. Medical, social, and cultural historians have generally preferred to employ more general terms, such as "pox" or "foul dis-

ease" to avoid the dangers of ahistoricism and retrodiagnosis. Likewise clever is Harris's choice of text: a play, *Three Ladies of London* (circa 1580), that is "in no sense a work about syphilis," but rather about a "collection of 'spots' that threatens the health and integrity of its host organism" (pp. 112–113). Unfortunately, he buries his arguments in such jargon-ridden prose that one finds it virtually impossible, even with the best will, to track their development. The three remaining essays in this section rely on similar literary readings. Roze Hentschell casts her explanation of the "English discourse surrounding the pox" as "the rhetorical construction of social ills as foreign" (p. 133). That interpretation, too, will hardly jolt early modernists or open their eyes to an entirely new way of understanding the "French disease." Yet, when Hentschell links this notion to a more concrete discussion of cloth as a economic good, as a transmitter of infection, and, of course, as one element in the phrase "moral fabric," we grasp the possibilities of interdisciplinary work: its ability to weave together disparate threads into new, often previously unsuspected patterns.

In sum, this collection of essays carries us directly into the current debates about several things, and the "pox" is only one of them. Method is another. The authors, even those who work with similar explanatory schemes, do not always agree. One has the distinctly pleasant sensation of listening in on a vigorous and intelligent debate among skilled scholarly practitioners. We may disagree with or even be angered by some, but all make us reflect on what we "know" and how we know it.

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DOMENICO BERTOLONI MELI. *Thinking with Objects: The Transformation of Mechanics in the Seventeenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 389. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$29.95.

This book is not mainly about the instruments that one normally associates with the Scientific Revolution such as the telescope, the microscope, and the air pump, but about falling and projected bodies, inclined planes, pendulums, beams, and springs. Although less familiar to the general historian of this period they were crucial in the development of the new science that came to place force at the center of its concerns.

Walking in the footsteps of his distinguished predecessor, Richard S. Westfall, Domenico Bertoloni Meli offers a broad and interesting survey of the development of mechanics during the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century. The originality of his approach can be gauged by his choice for the starting and ending points of his narrative. Bertoloni Meli begins with an analysis of the work of Guidobaldo del Monte, whose *Mechanicorum Liber* of 1577 has seldom been studied in such detail, and he argues persuasively that del Monte's explanation of simple machines (the wheel, the pulley, the inclined plane, and the screw) in terms of the lever inspired Galileo Galilei and set the framework for

subsequent discussions. As his end point, Bertoloni Meli chooses Pierre Varignon's *Projet d'une nouvelle mécanique* that appeared in 1687, the year of the publication of Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica*. Varignon challenged del Monte's approach and attempted to explain simple machines by starting from the more abstract principle of the composition of forces along the diagonal of a parallelogram.

Readers of this book will find a scholarly discussion of the works of Galileo, his predecessors, and his immediate successors, as well as a stimulating account of the contributions of René Descartes, Newton, and several of their lesser-known contemporaries. By focusing on the law of the lever (with its special case, the balance) Bertoloni Meli provides a thread that runs through his story and gives it a unity that is often lacking in this kind of extended study of the development of a particular branch of science. He notices, for instance, how Galileo applied, by means of the principle of virtual velocities, the law of the lever not only to simple machines but also to problems of hydrostatics. In all these cases, the governing principle is the equality of the product mv at one end of the lever to that at the other. *The moment* of the lever thus easily transforms itself into the *momentum* of the moving body. A serious ambiguity is therefore present in the application of the law of the lever, and Galileo, together with the whole century following him, slips into it unaware. Since both ends of the lever move in identical time without acceleration, it is immaterial whether one uses the virtual velocities of the two weights or their virtual displacements. But velocities must be in the same proportion as displacements. Although Galileo often uses displacement, he means it as a substitute for velocity, and whenever he states the general principle of the lever, he states it in terms of velocity. But the equivalence holds only for the lever and analogous instances in which a mechanical connection ensures that each body moves for the same time, and in which, because of equilibrium, the motion involved is virtual motion, not accelerated motion. The conditions of equilibrium do not obtain in the case of free fall because the times involved are not identical and because two separate, accelerated motions take place. If there is an equality of the products of weight multiplied by distance (that is, in our terms, work), there cannot be an equality of momenta (mv) but rather of kinetic energies (mv^2). From this ambiguity sprang the protracted argument over quantity of motion and *vis viva* in the second half of the seventeenth century. Galileo did not go that far, but in the posthumous Sixth Day of his *Two New Sciences* he probed the problem of percussion. He described two types of resistance to motion, the first deriving from the internal resistance by which one thousand pounds is lifted with more difficulty than is one hundred pounds, the second deriving from the distance through which a body moves. To the two resistances correspond two different motors: one moves by exerting pressure (like a stone placed on top of a pile driven vertically into soft ground), the other by striking (like a sledgehammer).

Galileo doubted whether any proportion, by which we could compare them, existed between the two motors or forces. Why he was wrong is an interesting aspect of the tale that is told in this book.

Bertoloni Meli has made an important contribution to our understanding of the genesis of modern science, and his book should find a welcome place on the bookshelf of anyone interested in the history of the Scientific Revolution.

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EUGENE J. KISLUK. *Brothers from the North: The Polish Democratic Society and the European Revolutions of 1848–1849*. (East European Monographs, number 665.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs. 2005. Pp. vi, 272. \$40.00.

This is a detailed history of the Polish Democratic Society (of left-wing exiled Polish nationalists in Paris) during the European Revolutions of 1848–1849. As might be expected, the story includes chapters about years of interminable waiting (from 1832, the date of the society's founding, to 1848); days of hope (February–March 1848, in Paris); much internecine squabbling (both in Paris and back in partitioned Poland); and, ultimately, disappointment and, for some, further exile westward, into England. It is, in sum, a rather dispiriting tale, not least because a nation partitioned among the three most conservative (Holy Alliance) great European powers had to hope for a European war to change the status quo and allow the possibility of reunification into a single state. While the French may have been sympathetic to the plight of the Poles, neither left nor right was interested in a European war. However, the dedication of a few thousand individuals to "Our Freedom and Yours," as the famous slogan first proclaimed in 1831, kept alive the idea of a nation-state and the resistance for which Poles had already become and would continue to be known.

The most valuable sections of the book are those in which Eugene J. Kisluk explores the competition between ideals and ideas among Poles, especially between the Polish Democratic Society and Adam Czartoryski's conservative Hotel Lambert camp, and places them within broader French and European contexts. Once again we see the rhetoric of solidarity in the fight for freedom dashed on the rocks of sharply conflicting political visions and interests, not only among Poles, but everywhere in Europe. In this sense, the Polish story is more similar to than different from that of any number of other nations during these tumultuous years. We also see persisting social divisions undermining hope for unity, as when the Austrian government released Polish peasants from their age-old obligations to landlords and effectively ended the prospect of common cause between peasants and aristocracy.

The book treats the comings and goings of various people, fruitless negotiations among competing groups, hopeful and frustrated permutations on the themes of

armed struggle, and the drudgery of fund-raising in sometimes mind-numbing detail that could only interest someone with a very focused interest. However, all of it together gives a clear snapshot of a particular patriotic Polish organization at a very particular place and time that serves as a case study of both the Springtime of Nations and the history of Polish nationalism. The book includes appendixes comprising public pleas of the Polish Democratic Society respectively to the French nation, the French Assembly, the Poles in emigration, and Slavs in general. These provide a strong dose of the polemical style of the times, which was decidedly romantic. "*Peuple de France! La Pologne nous appelle. Adieu!*" (p. 207). One feels the winds of 1848 blowing through the pages.

ANITA SHELTON
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ELIZABETH GREENHALGH. *Victory through Coalition: Britain and France during the First World War*. (Cambridge Military Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 304. \$75.00.

Elizabeth Greenhalgh's book looks at the organizational machinery that bound Britain and France together during that most bureaucratic of conflicts, World War I. Greenhalgh is concerned with how the Entente organized and ran the war effort. She does not focus on the fighting but on the great and intricate web that took the resources of each society and shepherded them from the home front to the front line. This coalition warfare was not easy or efficient. Greenhalgh early on cites a French officer remarking that, after experiencing coalition warfare, he had lost respect for Napoleon Bonaparte, who faced coalitions in many of the emperor's greatest victories (p. 6). But, and this is one of the book's strengths, Greenhalgh is not merely interested in the difficulties of coalition warfare; she is also interested in the successes. "Victory," Greenhalgh says, "was achieved because of, not in spite of, coalition" (p. 1).

Neither the British nor the French were particularly amenable to coalition warfare, a situation made more fraught by the steady wearing down of French strength and the steady growth of British. As the balance of power on the ground shifted, Greenhalgh makes it clear that the relationship within the coalition shifted as well. The contention between the two nations was complicated by squabbles within the nations, such as British Prime Minister David Lloyd George sparring with General Douglas Haig, commander of the British Expeditionary Force. Here Greenhalgh does not offer much that is new. The arguing, negotiating, compromising, and resentment that marked Franco-British political-military relations is the well-trodden path of generations of historians, British and French alike. Having said that, the book nonetheless gives an effective and nuanced account of coalition politics, and Greenhalgh shows an unfailing and admirable willingness to discuss continuing controversies and pronounce firm judg-

ments. She does not play favorites, a common failing in the historiography of World War I. There is the admirable sense here of a scholar going where the sources lead, rather than shepherding them down a predetermined path.

But the book goes beyond the traditional analyses of the difficulties of generals and politicians. Greenhalgh stays true to her goal of figuring out how the coalition worked. Thus, she looks past the leaders. Much of the hard labor of running such a massive coalition was done by staff, both military and civilian. Experts from both nations struggled to do their jobs, often without much support from their own governments, and in many cases they succeeded admirably. Greenhalgh does well in exploring and explaining the critical effects of many of these initiatives. Thus, she argues that Eric Geddes, the British railway expert, played a substantial role in improving the French rail system during the Battle of the Somme in 1916, and that a French expert, Commandant Vandier, imposed the convoy system on ships carrying coal between Britain and France with such effective results that the British Admiralty was forced to drop its objections and establish a universal convoy system.

Greenhalgh's vision could be broader. She does not outline the social, political, and cultural pressures acting on these men as effectively as she might. Such context is critical to understanding many of their actions. Its absence makes some of their behavior seemingly irrational or inexplicable. For example, Lloyd George's position at the head of a divided and crippled Liberal Party, dependent on the Conservative Party for his government's majority, is only briefly mentioned, but it is critical to understanding the prime minister's continuing strategy of attacking Haig surreptitiously. Cultural influences that played a role are short-changed as well. Greenhalgh mentions offhandedly that "national pride and the military mind . . . hampered the search for a suitable mechanism of command" (p. 283). Well, yes, but neither of those things is uncomplicated or uncontested. What did "national pride" mean to Haig? To Foch? To Clemenceau? What was a "military mind" like in 1914? In 1918? Exploring what formed the men who organized the war would offer insights into their work, but Greenhalgh does not undertake such an investigation. By the end of the book, the reader has a definitive idea of *how* the Franco-British coalition won World War I. *Why* is not as clear.

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KEITH NEILSON. *Britain, Soviet Russia and the Collapse of the Versailles Order, 1919-1939*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 379. \$85.00.

This elegantly written and tightly organized study combines particular and general concerns in an interesting way. Taking Keith Neilson's research into the interwar period, it first "aims to fill a gap in the current literature concerning Britain's relations with Soviet Russia." Yet, recognizing the comparative paucity of direct Anglo-

Soviet interactions, it secondly seeks “to show how Soviet Russia affected British strategic foreign policy making generally” and therefore explores how these interactions affected, and were affected by, the German and Japanese challenges. Since it is not backed up by Russian archive material, yet has sunk deep shafts into British Foreign Office papers, the book has at least as much to say about its second theme as about its first. Indeed, at its core is an account of the running debate among diplomats and foreign policy makers about the likely consequences of Britain’s tilting toward Russia, or toward Germany, or again toward Japan. And since in their memoranda and marginalia the British officials for the most part showed themselves intelligent, articulate, and sometimes even epigrammatic, this debate is rewarding to follow. Unlike much of the recent literature on British foreign policy in the 1930s, the focus here is neither on Neville Chamberlain nor on relations with Germany, but on the collective perspective of the foreign policy makers and on the complex interplay of the various regional struggles for mastery in Western Europe, Eastern Europe, and the Far East, and fresh perspectives are brought to what might otherwise be a familiar story. The book provides material to justify the “realist” assumption about the dynamic of foreign policy. Interestingly, and contrary to some recent accounts, Neilson downplays Chamberlain’s undoubted anticommunism as the cause of Britain’s failure to secure an alliance with Russia in the summer of 1939, presenting the Soviet idea of “indirect aggression” as genuinely problematical and being skeptical as to whether such an alliance could in any case have saved Poland. However, and no less interestingly, he highlights ideology as a factor in Joseph Stalin’s (mis)calculations. Neilson has produced a thoughtful and perceptive study that will be read with profit by those interested in international relations as well as by diplomatic historians.

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ERICA FUDGE. *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 224. \$45.00.

This book is an admirable compendium, bringing familiar practices in the study of the history of ideas to bear on the question of animal reason, which Erica Fudge sees as the crucial category in the binary distinction between humans and other creatures—a distinction on which so much of our moral and practical past and future may depend. Fudge has emerged, in recent years, as an important voice in the study of human oppression of animals as a cultural phenomenon. This book is not, however, an animal rights polemic but instead a learned and clearly written taxonomy of arguments about rationality, primarily focused (under what some would call the usefully flexible, others the use-

lessly flexible, category of “Early Modern”) on works published during the early seventeenth century in England and France.

The book’s exploratory voyages into dream theory, classical mythology, the Virginia settlements, and the tricky horse Morocco, are illuminating as well as entertaining. Out of these, Fudge weaves a strong argument that animals have actually faded from our vision precisely because we no longer need them to define what we are as human. Modern commentators, she rightly asserts, are therefore insufficiently historical when (as usual) they overlook the active role of other animals in the formation of Western Renaissance definitions of humanity, which arise partly from Plutarch’s depiction of animals as (contrary to Aristotelian and later Cartesian categorical exclusions) rational and sentient. An important theoretical study of this distinction—probably too recent for Fudge to cite—appears in Cary Wolfe’s *Animal Rites: American Culture, the Discourse of Species, and Posthumanist Theory* (2003).

As searchable digital versions of early texts become increasingly available, making it easier to find relevant references, scholarly labor necessarily shifts to differentiating the agents behind those texts. It strikes me that a surprising predominance of the English animal sympathizers in this period come from the Puritan wing—certainly this is true of Fudge’s examples—which makes me wish that this book engaged more deeply with the other theological questions that surely inform its chief question about the hierarchies of Creation. In a study of such an emphatically and divisively Christian culture, four passing mentions of Protestantism, Catholicism, and Puritanism may not be enough to show how the discourse about species was inflected by other experiences of prejudice and hierarchy, as well as by the discrepancies among the conflicting versions of Christianity on the possibility of reason, the value of interiority (as opposed to rote training), and the whole problem of other minds.

Fudge may have a point, however, in declining to emphasize such superstructures: her heroes appear to be those (such as Michel de Montaigne and even King James I) who manage to think about real and individual animals, rather than trapping them preemptively in an abstract conception that inevitably prejudices the case in favor of the human creatures for whom such abstractions are significant. And she is good at disentangling the subtler snares of anthropomorphism among the “natural philosophers” of the time.

A few of the claims seem exaggerated. For example, in a brief stretch (pp. 129–130), the notion that a *show-man named* Bankes used magic to enable his horse Morocco to simulate intelligence is said to assert “that a natural horse can never be intelligent,” that it undoes “the dominion that God had given to Adam” (by letting the horse read human nature), that it makes Bankes “more powerful than God,” and that it can “endanger all human-animal relations. If an animal (even by magic) can gain access to that which is human—namely,

reason—then surely the boundary that separates man from beast has already collapsed.” This last point depends on accepting Fudge’s own thesis that reason (as opposed, say, to related but different categories such as language or the immortal soul) provides the key distinction. Even if so, the magical explanation could work the opposite way, by making the seemingly intelligent actions of the horse those of a puppet rather than an independent agent. Nor does the suggestion that children could sometimes be trained like animals seem quite so “dangerous” and “perilous” to the human category as Fudge implies, since the then-common notion aligning ontogeny and phylogeny meant that young people, as they came to the age of reason, were commonly supposed to outgrow some fundamental resemblances to other creatures.

René Descartes’s argument that nonhuman animals are merely insentient machines was, I believe, remarkably reckless, and stupid enough to seem (given his mental power and cultural influence) more a symptom of sociopathology than a plausible deduction from the evidence; but it was still not quite so circular as it appears in Fudge’s paraphrases. Descartes was less interested in the categories of life and consciousness than in a binary division between mechanisms and high-level mental functions—a division derived from his other intellectual and religious commitments. Nor did his view command anything like universal assent, although Fudge is surely correct that it facilitated mistreatment of animals.

Despite these occasional objections, I found this book appealing and valuable. Having done some work lately in the field known as “eco-criticism,” I was grateful not only for Fudge’s enterprising gathering of examples but also for the fair-mindedness with which she has traced the main lines of argument, letting disputants speak largely for themselves. Various sentinels have stood guard, in the history of ideas, at the portal between humanity and other beasts. *Brutal Reasoning* provides a wealth of primary-source information about the functions and permutations of the one called “reason,” showing its weaknesses without any facile under-rating of its powers.

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ANGUS GOWLAND. *The Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy: Robert Burton in Context*. (Ideas in Context, number 78.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 338. \$90.00.

This is Angus Gowland’s first book, which is surprising, since it is stunningly good. It appears in the series “Ideas in Context,” and it achieves exactly that. Gowland places Burton’s big book in five larger contexts: the context of medical theory, of Christian humanism, of the religious spectrum of Burton’s times (what used to be called “divinity”), of contemporary politics, and finally of the scholar’s misery and consolation.

One of Gowland’s ambitions, at which he succeeds admirably, is to trace the genesis of various of Burton’s convictions through the different editions of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (between 1621 and 1651). While Burton scholars are grateful for the recent six-volume Oxford edition (which Gowland of course also uses), anyone who has tried to trace the genesis of one of Burton’s ideas knows that there is only one way of doing this, namely the “old-fashioned way,” with five different editions in front of oneself. One of Gowland’s guiding ideas in several chapters is the notion that in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* Burton availed himself of the literary genre of the *cento*, a rather loose and encyclopedic compositional principle. Gowland shows that Burton’s moderate antidogmatic skepticism steadily increased through the various editions and that in his enterprise he became increasingly doubtful and pessimistic. Burton’s humanist habits of historical study strengthened his skepticism about the earthbound character of spiritual dogma. Theologically he moved farther away from Calvinism, particularly in attempting an optimistic gloss on absolute predestination. Gowland shows that Burton had little appetite for doctrinal precision (of course, “precisionists” was a current name for Puritans) and that for him perseverance was justified as a psychological necessity. Burton has been well recognized for some time by political scientists for quite deliberately applying a psychological term like “melancholy” not only to a person but also to a country or nation, and Gowland studies at length his use of the organic metaphor for the body politic. He finds that Burton’s hostility to reason-of-state politics gradually became more overt in the later editions of the *Anatomy*, although as a means of self-protection he always exempted royalty from his critique. Partly because of his lack of preferment, Burton felt disenchanted and marginalized as an intellectual who, like other European humanists, constructed for himself the figure of the isolated virtuous philosopher.

I find both the religious and political panorama in front of which Gowland sees Burton very instructive, and some of the literary mini-genres he draws for us (for example the *cento*, but also the *consolatio*) are expertly done. The comparison of Burton with Jacques Ferrand (who wrote a similar book on love melancholy just before Burton) is a masterpiece. At the same time, I suspect that Gowland will not find only benevolent readers. His syntax can be complicated; he has a habit of quoting Latin passages, sometimes several lines long, without translation. While it may not be necessary to explain “Machiavellianism,” terms like “Tacitism,” “adiaphora,” “adiaphorous,” “ultimate” and “double predestination,” and *declamatio* (the term Agrippa used for his book *De Vanitate*) might have been glossed or even should have been. Perhaps only in such seeming disregard for the general reader does the author reveal a touch of inexperience. Be this as it may: this is a very fine book deserving a place close to the works of Fritz

Saxl, Erwin Panofsky, and Rudolf and Margot Wittkower.

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ELIZABETH FOYSTER. *Marital Violence: An English Family History, 1660–1857*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 282. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$27.50.

Elizabeth Foyster here continues her exploration of the theme of marriage that was central to her pioneering first book, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (1999), which theme is now approached from a very different standpoint and within a much wider timeframe. Departing from the normative expectations surrounding marriage and its associated gender roles that were a prominent concern of Foyster's earlier work, this study focuses on the extreme violation of those norms and its impact on family life. One of the principal strengths of this new book is its chronological range, which is further expanded by Foyster's expertise in the history of a long seventeenth century to complement the two centuries that are covered here. This affords a novel perspective on narratives of change that have variously pinpointed different moments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as critical turning points in levels of and attitudes toward violence. By contrast, the central argument of the book under review is that the period it spans was overwhelmingly marked by continuity in approaches to marital violence that left its victims, however resourceful, slender room for maneuver.

Using law reports and newspaper accounts as well as the records of the church courts, petty and quarter sessions, and writs of habeas corpus brought before the King's Bench, Foyster demonstrates the persistence of beliefs that husbands were entitled to disciplinary authority over their wives and that in certain circumstances this might be exercised by force. This view remained unshaken into the mid-nineteenth century, even by the 1857 Divorce Act, which is represented here less as an advance for women than as a depressing reminder that "the threat, exercise or control of violence was cherished still as a male right and prerogative" (p. 238), since the Act did not permit women to seek a divorce solely on the grounds of marital violence.

Although male rights of correction remained broadly endorsed, the abuse of such authority was nonetheless the subject of condemnation throughout the period and its discussion here constitutes a useful prehistory to Victorian debates over appropriate limits. The persistence of marital violence was partly attributable to the lack of consensus regarding definitions of cruelty, although the recurrence of particular complaints in court proceedings suggests that certain extremes of behavior were widely recognized as abusive: harming pregnant women, for example. But cruelty could also involve verbal abuse, bullying, humiliation, intimidation, confine-

ment, and deprivation—all of which Foyster urges should be incorporated within a broad definition of "violence." This in turn serves one of the key arguments of the book: rejecting narratives of reforming masculinity or a civilizing process, the most significant change claimed for the period surveyed here is the social calibration of definitions of cruelty. By the nineteenth century, the stereotype of the violent husband had become class specific—now associated with working-class men—while women of higher social status were distinguished by their vulnerability to psychologically damaging forms of cruelty. This amounted to a collective denial of middle and upper-class men's capacity to inflict harm by blows.

Situating marital violence more broadly within the contexts of the family, kinship networks, and wider community relations, Foyster challenges claims that the family became increasingly privatized and that marital violence was more likely to be hidden from view over the course of the long eighteenth century. Occasional unresolved contradictions emerge within this analysis, which suggests that there is no easy route through the complexity and methodological difficulties associated with the history of the family and marital relations. The apparent lack of concern for the welfare of children caught up in their parents' disputes (sometimes in the forbidding role of witnesses in court) is offset by the degree to which mothers were willing to endure abuse in order to retain access to their young children, as well as the intervention by parents of discordant spouses in their adult children's lives. Furthermore, Foyster finds no evidence of the concept of the "household-family," the lack of which, it might be argued, reinforces the reification of the nuclear family unit that has been linked to its privatization. Although insistent that wider community intervention did not diminish during the period, the book does concede that neighborhood involvement became increasingly restricted to the affairs of working men and women as the "communities" to which middling and elite women belonged became more socially exclusive and geographically diverse. Intervention was also limited by the fact that, as Foyster emphasizes, there was no acceptable social role for separated women who were ultimately more likely to be shunned than supported by friends, family, or neighbors. Finally, by the end of the period surveyed here, the responsibility for wider involvement was increasingly devolved to the police and medical practitioners so that "when marital violence became somebody's problem, in terms of it lying within their professional expertise, it ceased to be everybody's problem" (p. 233).

Rich in breadth, particularly having adopted such a broad chronological frame, this book in important ways questions received chronologies that have informed histories of violence and family life, and, by doing so, will no doubt renew and reinvigorate discussion of its central themes.

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MARK S. DAWSON. *Gentility and the Comic Theatre of Late Stuart London*. (Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories, number 5.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 300. \$80.00.

Although the divide between the genteel and non-genteel was the most fundamental social division in early modern England, the category of "gentility" is too often taken for granted, assumed to be an unproblematic and self-evident amalgam of wealth and status. Yet, as Mark S. Dawson demonstrates in this meticulously researched and densely argued study, gentility was a matter of intense cultural debate, and subject to rival claims. Rejecting as simplistic historical narratives that see gentility as "increasingly" represented in cultural terms, or the gentry being displaced in political prominence by a "rising" bourgeoisie, Dawson looks instead at what cultural discourses of gentility tell us about social structure and its anxieties in the late Stuart metropolis.

The book focuses on the theater as a powerful cultural arena where gentility and its meanings were debated. It begins by reappraising the representation of the cuckolded citizen. Critical of the notion that plays became more sympathetic toward London's commercial elite in this period as an urban "pseudo-gentry" established itself, Dawson correctly demonstrates that the cuckolded citizen (or "cit") remained a constant figure on the comic stage, as older plays remained in repertoire and even a significant number of new comedies rehearsed this conventional plot. Rather than offering a straightforward critique of social mobility, comedies instead represented cit cuckolds as "figures of lingering social anomaly" (p. 44), possessing the material trappings of elite status but lacking genteel birth and "blood." Dawson locates the cit plot in the context of the development of commercial capitalism and the culture of credit with the adultery of city wives figuring the market's perceived instability, and with it the shaky foundations of the cit's claims to genteel status based on wealth as intangible and uncertain as his wife's fidelity.

Gentility was furthermore at issue in the representation of the fop. In some of the most interesting and powerfully revisionist chapters of the book, Dawson challenges standard interpretations of the fop as social upstarts or dandified sodomites. Instead, what was at issue in dramatic satires of foppery was the importance of the cultural presentation of gentility. Represented overwhelmingly as being of genteel birth, the fop's affectation of dress and manners made him vulnerable to the criticism that his gentility was nothing more than a subjective, cultural assertion. Since it was difficult for any gentleman to assert his descent with absolute certainty, the overtly cultural display of the fop's status raised the possibility that all pedigrees were cultured, thus drawing attention to the key issue of the relationship between lineage and the legitimization of elite power. In this way, foppery became an important

means, post-1688, of ridiculing Jacobite claims to the legitimacy of the Stuart line and its "natural" authority.

That the theater was obsessed with gentility is revealed also in the social demographic of the playhouse audience. In spite of assertions that the playhouse drew its audience from all sections of society, audiences were heavily weighted toward those who claimed gentility. The theater was an arena of social evaluation in which the upper-middling sort could jostle for and claim genteel status, questioning the integrity of gentility itself as a fixed social marker. In the book's final section, Dawson shows how dramatic criticism was equally obsessed with gentility. Focusing on the most famous of the stage's baiters, the non-juror Anglican divine Jeremy Collier, Dawson argues that what was particularly at issue in the debate about the propriety of the playhouse around the turn of the eighteenth century was the representation of the social establishment. Collier stood apart from traditional Puritan critics of the stage's immorality; what was at issue for him was the drama's perceived ability to question the basis of the natural authority of the landed elite by drawing attention to the cultural contingency of gentility. Criticism of the manners and morals of actors and actresses was likewise designed to lay bare the "naked truth" of the lives of those who impersonated gentility in their stage roles.

This is a powerful, intricately argued cultural history. At times the book may have benefited from taking a longer chronological perspective: for instance, citizens cuckolded by gentlemen remained a comic staple well into the late eighteenth century; did these scenarios articulate similar concerns about anomalous status? Furthermore, while the book brilliantly shows the importance of gentility in theatrical discourses, other issues are sometimes played down. For example, Dawson's assertion that most antitheatrical literature was preoccupied with the theater's effect on the "gentry" and no more" (p. 123) may be true for Collier, but other antitheatrical writers were also concerned with the effects of plays on the morals of apprentices or plebeians who may read (if not actually attend) plays. But these are small criticisms of a fine book that should become required reading for historians and literary critics alike.

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PATRICK CARROLL. *Science, Culture, and Modern State Formation*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 275. \$45.00.

There is no doubt that there is a deep and long-standing relationship between science and the state—that is, between a specific form of knowledge and a particular type of power. In this book Patrick Carroll uses the example of Ireland from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century to demonstrate just how deep and long-standing that relationship is. Ireland turns out to be a useful case for this sort of work. William Petty's surveys and schemes for the island in the seventeenth

century made it the subject of study for one of the key figures in the early Royal Society. By the nineteenth century Ireland had become the first country to be accurately mapped; it had a detailed census by 1851, and a dense network of disciplinary, medical, and educational institutions by the end of the century. Ireland was the laboratory in which the arts and sciences of government were worked out by the English.

The historical case put forward here is built upon an elaborate theoretical structure that draws on historical sociologies of state formation and the insights of science studies to argue for a material culture approach to the question of knowledge and power. This presents "the idea of a 'science-state plexus': the ontologically dense, interwoven, multifaceted, heterogenous, and yet intercommunicating nature of modern science and modern government" (p. 4). This is then explored through the management of land, people, and the built environment—via mapping, medicine, and engineering—in ways that make them governable by turning them into, respectively, "techno-territoriality," "bio-population," and "infrastructural jurisdiction." This is a study of science in its most practical mode. Carroll uses the term "engine science" to collapse any distinction between science and technology. It is also science in its broadest sense: measuring, counting, and engineering. Carroll nicely turns to the language of seventeenth-century "engines" such as Robert Boyle's air-pump to describe this broader political task. He identifies "meters" that measure, order, and standardize: thermometers and barometers, but also measures of death, birth, or disease. He picks out the "scopes" that sense, target, and augment phenomena for the senses: microscopes and telescopes but also surveys of places and people ("terrascopes" and "socioscopes"). He outlines the uses of "graphs" that write, draw, and plot: hydrographs and spectrographs, but also maps and reports. And he establishes the work of "chambers" that capture and manipulate phenomena: not just Boyle's air-pump, but schools, hospitals, and prisons. The historical exemplification of these arguments has to cover a lot of ground, and the contours of complex histories are often only sketched in. However, Carroll certainly makes a good case for the consideration of these material practices of knowing and doing as lying at the heart of the working of the modern state.

There are, however, a number of questions that the book raises. First, it is surprising that there is not more attention to the ways in which similar issues have been addressed in more recent work on science and empire. The work of Matthew Edney and Graham Burnett on imperial and colonial cartography, and of Kapil Raj and Sujit Sivasundaram on imperial science are significant here in that they have been at pains to show both the connections between science and imperial power and, crucially, the limits of scientific knowledge that are demonstrated by its complex intersections with indigenous ways of knowing. Drawing distinctions between the colonizer and the colonized is very tricky in Ireland, but the problems of knowledge in a colonial state could

have been more fully addressed. Second, the concentration on the everyday practices of the state leads toward a rather Whiggish version of history, albeit one where "progress" is to be questioned. State metering, scoping, graphing, and chamber building seem to be forever on the increase. There is a danger here that seventeenth-century political arithmeticians articulating their schemes under conditions of military rule, eighteenth-century Protestant landowners improving their localities, and agents of the nineteenth-century liberal state are all seen as doing very much the same thing. This might be what Carroll aims to show us. In a discussion of public works (including sewers, public urinals, and cemeteries) he argues that "Out of these mundane materials, apparently so trivial when compared to the discourses of political philosophy and theory, the modern state was engineered" (p. 153). His conclusion also stresses the continuities between the colonial and the postcolonial state in Ireland, and the ever-deepening sets of connections between science and the state all around us today. Yet seeing matters this way only gives a partial view of the state. It is telling that Carroll's discussion of the famine in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland in his chapter on bio-population is primarily concerned with the findings of the 1851 census and the passage of public health legislation. But what can this say about the bio-politics of a state that watched a million of its people die? As the historical geographer Gerry Kearns has argued, the colonial state in Ireland can be productively considered by working with (and against) Giorgio Agamben's notion that sovereignty consists in the power to reduce people to "bare life," a condition where they can be killed without it being murder. It should be remembered that Agamben developed his ideas of sovereignty through a critique of Michel Foucault's turn away from juridico-institutional models of the state, and from political philosophy's theories of state and sovereignty, to the sorts of ideas of discipline and power/knowledge that underpin the analysis here. This is not, however, to simply argue for Agamben rather than Foucault. It is to argue that it is important to address the question of modern state formation in terms of both the mundane management of life and the sovereign control over matters of life and death.

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LAURA J. SNYDER. *Reforming Philosophy: A Victorian Debate on Science and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. x, 386. \$45.00.

The Mill-Whewell debate will mean little to nonspecialists in the history of the philosophy of science; even Victorianists might not be able to summon up more than a dim impression of a tart exchange between a utilitarian Radical and an intuitionist Tory. Laura J. Snyder's impressive achievement is not only to register a significant improvement in our understanding of the technicalities of this debate over the proper method of scientific reasoning, but also to bring the debate alive

in a way that illumines the whole terrain of mid-Victorian intellectual life. Snyder's principal aim is to show that John Stuart Mill and William Whewell were never as far apart as their (mostly, Mill's) shadow-boxing implied.

Whewell's Toryism was of the reformist—perhaps Peelite—variety. Son of a master carpenter and Lancaster grammar school boy, he became a pillar of the natural and moral philosophy establishments and (in 1841) Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, but he was always a measured believer in the possibility of mental and moral improvement for all. Far from being a doctrinaire intuitionist, he sought a “middle way” between the epistemologies of John Locke and Immanuel Kant. He believed both in empiricism *and* in pure reason, as evident in his nuanced idea of “discoverers’ induction.” Unlike Kant, Whewell believed that the “Fundamental Ideas” through which knowledge is made possible are “independent of the processes of the mind,” “justified by their origin in the mind of a divine creator” (pp. 44–55)—the red rag to the utilitarian bull—but that our appreciation of these Fundamental Ideas requires a progressive development largely built up from experience, until “the experiential truth has been ‘idealized’ into a necessary truth” (p. 89). For Whewell the “love of knowledge” was a pious trait, as well as a universal potential, to be developed by study both of the Fundamental Ideas and the more speculative “progressive sciences.” By the same token, his belief in moral necessity—the immanence of Moral Rules—also entailed a belief in the need for the progressive development of the moral sense, “a culture of the human mind,” for the full appreciation of those rules; morality, in Whewell's understanding, was therefore *not* a fixed code laid down by the status quo but rather “a living and growing body of truth” (pp. 261–262).

For his part, as is probably more widely appreciated, Mill was not the purist utilitarian that his putative role in a polarized Mill-Whewell debate would require. It is true that Mill's horror of intuitionism caused him to adopt an ultra-empiricist position, almost self-parodically, in his treatments of scientific method, but in doing so he travestied Whewell's own position and obscured for posterity much of their common ground. For the Mill who was so keen to bring together Jeremy Bentham and Samuel Taylor Coleridge shared Whewell's passionate attachment to the necessity for mental culture. Some of the most lucid and powerful passages of Snyder's book are devoted to a clarification of the nature of Mill's liberalism, which believed in the power of self-formation but, as Snyder says, was “not neutral on what type of character we should form” (p. 118), any more than was Whewell's conservatism. Furthermore, his distaste for “miserable individuality” and his firm views on the possibility of “higher” or “nobler” qualities could render him quite as disciplinary in his treatment of the more miserable individuals as any Tory—thus his support for the less eligibility principle in the New Poor Law.

Snyder's formal discussions of the two men's ideas on occasion have a slightly unreal quality, as in her con-

tention that Mill's endorsement of less eligibility emphasized, “as Whewell had done,” “the educational value of this doctrine.” It was perfectly possible (in fact it was common) for liberals and conservatives to endorse the same measures of public policy, the former expecting them to liberate and the latter to discipline; to gauge this difference requires (where evidence is available) closer attention to political context and practice, and not only to the drier statements of principle. Snyder does not often approach this level. Nevertheless, she shows just how much can be done through the higher levels of the history of ideas that may still be of benefit to the nonspecialist. She sorts out patiently and elegantly the confusions that have long surrounded Mill's advocacy of “deductive” and Whewell's of “inductive” political economy. (We amateurs had better give up using these terms completely, as the philosophers have by now chopped them up into much smaller and more precise pieces.) She sheds light on scientific practice as well as on the philosophy of science, notably in considering Charles Darwin's own characterization of his work in terms of the Mill-Whewell debate. Above all, by bringing together a recharacterization of Whewell with the more familiar complication of Mill's thinking, she causes us to reflect deeply on the varieties of liberalism available to the Victorians, and to us, too. The old comforts of liberalism and conservatism, or indeed of negative and positive liberty, are no longer so helpful. Terms more agonized, and less susceptible to moral posturing, are required to define Mill's and Whewell's positions—and to help us find our own.

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GILLIAN SUTHERLAND. *Faith, Duty and Power of Mind: The Cloughs and Their Circle, 1820–1960*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 262. \$70.00.

Some of the new insights into the nature and dynamics of Victorian family life that are provided by focusing on women rather than men are well illustrated in this excellent study of the Cloughs, centering as it does on Anne Jemima Clough (referred to in the book always as Annie) and her niece, Blanche Athena (known as Thena). Once women are seen as individuals with a range of needs and desires that often come into conflict with social and familial expectations, rather than primarily as “helpmeets” and support figures to husbands and fathers, not only are sibling and parent-child relationships thrown into a new relief, but it becomes clear also that changes in family fortune are complex phenomena that affect family members differently. Thus, while the business failures of the somewhat reckless and improvident James Clough caused upheaval and considerable distress to his wife and sons, they were the only thing that made it possible for his daughter, Anne Jemima, to venture beyond the family circle, to set up her own small schools, and to begin the work that would eventually take her to Newnham College. Nei-

ther of her parents liked her engaging in any form of teaching, and her capacity to continue doing so was possible only for as long as shaky family finances made her income helpful.

The negotiations that a woman had to undertake in order to be recognized as an independent person within a large Victorian family involved not only parents but siblings, and in some ways the most moving part of this book is that detailing the painful relationship between Anne Clough and her beloved brother Arthur. Their childhood closeness survived the years of separation entailed by the move of some of the family to Charleston, South Carolina, and by Arthur's schooling. But it could not survive Anne's desire for an independent life. Although she often felt inadequate when facing her highly educated and talented but sometimes taciturn brother, Anne followed and sympathized with the conflicts he experienced as he lost his religious faith and struggled to establish a career. But Arthur was quite unable to sympathize with her interest in teaching or her desire for a fulfilling occupation, and as it became clear that she would not marry, the tone of his letters both to and about her is not only patronizing but, as Sutherland says, mean spirited and even cruel. She was to him an oddity—and she certainly never received from him any of the devotion and support that she offered so freely.

The family circle was even more difficult in the next generation. Blanche Athena, the daughter of Arthur Clough, never knew her father, and seemed to be distant from and lacking in sympathy for her mother from her childhood. Indeed, when she was only nine, Henry Sidgwick commented on the contrast she offered to the style of womanhood evident in her mother and older sister and wondered what she would do in later life. At the age of sixteen, Thena herself noted her disinclination to talk to her mother because such talk would only make her mother want to change her in ways that she herself did not want. By the time she was grown up, however, Newnham offered a possible escape. She went there as a student when she was in her early twenties and stayed until her old age, undertaking a range of administrative tasks and becoming in due course vice-principal and then principal. But Newnham itself was a complex place for her. It had offered Anne Clough a life dedicated to education and free from complex family ties. But she was its principal when Thena became a student there, and for many years Thena's life at Newnham included providing companionship and care for her aging and increasingly difficult aunt.

If their family circles were in some ways uncongenial, the circles that both women became part of in their engagement with Newnham were not. On the contrary, they found warmth and friendship as well as a shared commitment to the broad question of women's rights and to the cause of women's education among those alongside whom they worked. Sutherland offers a very intimate and engaging discussion of the campaigns that led ultimately to the establishment of Newnham, in which Anne Clough worked alongside a group that in-

cluded the feminist activists Millicent Garrett Fawcett and Josephine Butler, the Cambridge men with a strong interest in the reform of university education led by Sidgwick, and a number of very well connected and highly educated women including Nora Sidgwick (née Balfour), Marion Kennedy, and Mary Paley (who provided both administrative support and teaching). Anne Clough was not always easy to work with: her caution, hesitancy, and occasional lack of intellectual clarity sometimes made her a difficult colleague. But her personal strength and her capacity to see when new approaches were necessary and her old ideas had to change won her both respect and affection and enabled these relationships to last. Thena too had a gift for friendship and, especially after Anne Clough's death in 1892, was able to establish and really enjoy her close circle of friends, drawn from a younger generation of university women.

This book combines family and collective biography with a history of Newnham in an interesting but sometimes slightly awkward way. The Clough family dominates the first few chapters, but after Arthur's death it rather falls away. This is understandable in some ways: it was this event that freed Anne Clough from her family ties and enabled her to move into the field of women's education. Her connection with Arthur's widow and his children was not particularly close after this, or at least not until Blanche Athena came to Newnham in 1884. Sources for the early years of Blanche Athena seem rather sparse, and it is the Newnham years and the Newnham life that are discussed here. But one would have liked a little more detail concerning the nature and the cost of the break with family that both women made. This is even more the case because of the detail that is provided in discussing the pivotal relationship between the two central Clough women. Sutherland stresses the spirit of kinship and the close bond of connection between them that was evident from Blanche Athena's childhood. She points also to the differences in temperament between the two women, contrasting Anne Jemima's sanguine and optimistic nature with Blanche Athena's tendency to depression and black moods, and exploring the impact of this on their relationship. The book is particularly good in its treatment of the difficult years of their relationship, the final years of Anne Clough's life, in which the demands she made of her niece taxed the bonds of affection greatly. In many ways, it is this emphasis on the significance of the relationship between niece and aunt that makes the biggest contribution to the study of family biography and of Victorian and Edwardian family life.

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LINDA B. FRITZINGER. *Diplomat without Portfolio: Valentine Chirol, His Life, and The Times*. New York: I. B. Tauris. 2006. Pp. 567. \$45.00.

Every historian who has studied world history from a British perspective in the years before World War I

must have at least heard of Sir Valentine Chirol. Author of books like *The Far Eastern Question* (1896), *The Middle East Question* (1903), and *The Egyptian Problem* (1921), he pops up everywhere to play a significant role in molding British policy as part journalist, part expert, part unofficial adviser to the Foreign Office. And yet very little is known about his life except for the few facts he chose to reveal in his autobiography, *Fifty Years in a Changing World* (1927).

Linda B. Fritzinger is to be congratulated for trying to present a new look at Chirol and his times. Given the extreme sparsity of private information about this secretive and emotionally reticent man, she tries an unusual biographical tack based on Iris Origo's remark that one function of biography is to "show history as it was to the participant." Hence we follow Chirol in his endless foreign travels, we see him reporting as a foreign correspondent and then at his desk as foreign editor of *The Times* of London, worrying himself almost to death about this question and that, at a time when, as Fritzinger correctly demonstrates, almost every international incident involving empires and states was connected to something larger than itself.

The heart of the book—fifteen of its eighteen chapters—treats three major themes: Chirol's significant participant-observer role, beginning as *The Times*'s correspondent in Berlin in the mid-1890s, in the progressive worsening of Anglo-German relations; his concerns about the future of the British Empire; and the role he played in the reinvigoration of *The Times* as the most important newspaper in Britain, only for it to fall into the interfering hands of the popular newspaper magnate, Lord Northcliffe, as a result of its financial troubles in 1908.

Given the existence of huge numbers of Chirol's private and demi-official letters to government officials, memoranda, and articles, we can follow his agonizing about world events on an almost day to day basis, broken only by periods of depression and ill health as he repairs to some North British golf links for rest and recuperation or embarks, once again, on a long sea voyage to India, Persia, the United States, or Japan. Fascinating though much of this is, there are few occasions when the author steps back to try to work out the meaning of it all. Hence we have to try to form our own impressions of Chirol's character, sometimes from what he says about himself, sometimes from what others say about him, with little help from Fritzinger. Similarly Chirol's confusing relations with his more colorful, and even more temperamental, journalist colleagues, like Henry Wickham Steed and the choleric George Ernest "China" Morrison, are described piecemeal without ever being subject to concentrated examination.

All in all this is the type of history that is better mined for individual anecdotes than read as a source of new insights into Chirol's role as one of the most prominent semi-official international experts. It is also wonderfully suggestive of novel themes that wait to be elaborated by other historians. One, already mentioned, is Chirol's awareness that, as a result of the relationships

between the European states and their extra-European empires, as well as of the growing use of the steamship and the telegraph, the world had grown increasingly interconnected. This is a common theme now, of course, but it was still unusual in Chirol's time and made it possible for him to think imaginatively, if not always accurately, about future global developments. For example, he told his Vienna correspondent about the importance of paying attention to the kind of small events that would surely influence world history, giving as his example the recent "exclusion of a few Japanese children from a school in San Francisco" (p. 294).

A second theme is Chirol's division of international affairs into a number of interrelated "questions" and "problems," a way of framing issues that, though widely used across nineteenth-century Europe, has, to my knowledge, never been subject to academic attention. Clearly, it was a method of organizing his thoughts about such issues and of relating them to what other people were also saying. Clearly too, it was a way of "owning," as it were, some of the most significant "questions," of drawing attention to his own expertise in terms of the "answers" he was well placed to provide. Yet, as Fritzinger's book also demonstrates, to see the questions only through Chirol's eyes and to hear them only in the language of his contemporaries traps the biographer in a world totally defined by her subject and not by her.

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JOHN MCILROY, ALAN CAMPBELL, and KEITH GILDART, editors. *Industrial Politics and the 1926 Mining Lockout: The Struggle for Dignity*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 334. £45.00.

It is not often nowadays that one finds a book on modern Britain that has "capital" and "capitalists" as historical actors, rarer still to find Joseph Stalin quoted as an authoritative source. This is a volume by committed writers, though mostly in the very best sense, using a particular perspective to generate fresh and impressive historical research. The subject is a good one: much has long been known about the May 1926 General Strike, but this is the first extended scholarly examination of the miners' struggle that precipitated it, and that continued for another six months, in some coalfields as a lock-out, in others as a strike.

An exemplary historiographical review candidly declares that one origin of the book was reflection on the more recent great industrial-relations struggle, the 1984–1985 miners' strike. This provides a consistent set of themes: not just fertile comparisons between 1926 and 1984, but consideration of the importance of memory and myth in mining communities. There is an elegiac tone, of admiration for a lost world of solidarity among (most) miners and compassion toward their privations, but the historical analysis is hard-headed and the research deep and multilayered. An assumed general "structure" and use of conventional organizational

sources (government, trade union, and employers' association records) are combined with revealing attention to individual agency and regional particularity, and well-pitched deployment of biographical evidence, personal testimonies, and local newspapers.

John McIlroy and Alan Campbell, after a thorough examination of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (MFGB) and its conduct of the lock-out that is packed with valuable empirical research, argue for the "continued utility of class analysis" (p. 100). Even so, they recognize that the miners' leaders accepted that their strategy would increase the numbers of unemployed miners, that most other trade unions withdrew support for the MFGB, and that railway, transport, and dock workers undermined the miners' cause by distributing coal stocks and imported coal. In the first detailed investigation of the coal owners, Quentin Outram dissolves stereotypes of capitalist employers and capitalist state by contrasting the narrow and harsh preoccupations of the Miners' Association (MA) executive with the more constructive and generous strategies of a group of owners including Lords Mond and Londonderry and Peter Rylands—employers with whom the government would have preferred to deal, but for MF and MA intransigence. McIlroy celebrates the efforts of "revolutionaries," the British Communist Party and Minority Movement, without denying their low memberships, ineffectiveness, and debilitating subordination to Moscow.

Several studies evoke the experience of the lock-out in mining communities, unexpectedly noting the summertime enjoyment of leisure and in some areas an almost carnival atmosphere, before the autumn deterioration of weather intensified the privations and contributed to a growing demoralization. Sue Bruley, however, shows how locked-out miners no less than employed miners expected hard toil from their wives and daughters. In places there was violence, including some explosive sabotage in Fife and, as Stephen Catterall demonstrates in another perspective informed by the 1984 experience, some repressive and harsh police action. Essays on the South Wales, North Wales, Scottish, Lancashire, and Nottinghamshire coalfields emphasize not just regional contrasts but also local differences due to economic circumstances and cultural variations including, interestingly, those of religion. Catterall is particularly impressive in explaining how conditions in Lancashire produced among both local miners' leaders and large owners a readiness to compromise at the expense of small and inefficient colliery companies; some owners even offered wage increases, improved benefits, and holidays with pay.

Generally, the volume displays historical materialism as good, flexible scholarship, investigating the detail of regional, parochial, and personal contexts to reveal and explain a rich variety of responses—even when the results are in tension with, or contradict, the starting notions of monolithic "capital" and "class." In contrast, one essay takes the other direction, compressing the evidence and existing scholarship into a doctrinal strait-

jacket. John Foster attempts to breathe new life into a familiar argument, that the coal crisis was related to the international ("imperialist") orientation of the British economy, but the results are dramatic over-generalization, wildly exaggerated assertions about the roles of Charles Addis, Stanley Baldwin, and Josiah Stamp, and numerous factual inaccuracies. Certainly in conditions of great postwar uncertainty, everyone—not just government and owners, but trade union leaders too—made poor judgments, and the 1925 return to the gold standard did not make matters easier for either side of industry. Certainly, too, the Conservative government wished to withdraw from involvement in industry. But it also understood that structural readjustments were unavoidable, among owners as well as workers, and it needed both sides to make concessions. McIlroy and Campbell comment that "in the abstract, the MFGB should have accepted the Samuel report before the general strike began, because . . . it gave them three-quarters of what they wanted" (p. 98). Such acceptance would almost certainly have strengthened the government and the more "advanced" coal owners in pressing the Miners' Association to accept reorganization of the industry in ways that would have caused less disruption and suffering. Deep, though understandable, mistrust produced tragic and pitiful consequences in the colliery villages.

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JEAN DANGLER. *Making Difference in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 218. \$27.00.

In her book Jean Dangler defends a simple thesis, influenced by Michel Foucault. From the tenth to the fourteenth century, medieval Iberians embraced "alterity" (diversity) as something positive rather than just tolerating the existence of differences. Over the course of the period from the late fourteenth century until the early sixteenth, a fundamental transformation took place, for by the time of the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, the recognition of difference triggered the evaluation of some categories as good and others as bad. The latter had to be suppressed, marginalized, or subordinated.

After a chapter in which she establishes her categories of "medieval" and "early modern" alterity, Dangler argues her case in four chapters devoted to understandings of the body, entitled "The Lyric Body," "The Divided Body" (dealing with "cutting poems"), "The Medical Body," and "The Monstrous Body." She demonstrates, on the basis of the works she examines, that the same transformation characterizes all of these types of writing. The complex "medieval" cultural environment, in which categories were mutable, difference was valued, and the sacred subsumed it all, disappeared with the rise to prominence of the church, the university, and the "Castilian nation-state" in grand alliance with each other to mark difference as bad in order to

establish a homogenous, hierarchical order. Throughout, Dangler shows fondness for “medieval alterity” and its “tenets” of “flexible subjectivity” and the value of “negation” for understanding, and therefore, readers will not be surprised when she attacks her own reified concepts, periods, and institutions in her conclusion.

Although I learned interesting things from this work, I also damaged the book at times by throwing it across the room while uttering vile oaths. Without much evidence, Dangler too frequently attributes motive to writers or groups or asserts the representativeness of particular texts. She shows no curiosity about the institutions she feels caused such a fundamental cultural transformation, and this lack of adequate attention to the historical contexts within which writers thought and wrote will put off historians. The meaning of an idea is shaped by what a thinker asserts but also by the alternatives within his or her cultural environment that are rejected. Especially in the case of Fernando de Rojas, whose *La Celestina* (1499) she discusses for much of the chapter on the monstrous, Dangler provides her readers with some idea of what alternatives “early modern” writers wanted to reject, but we do not learn what the “medieval” alternatives might have been: for example, for the twelfth-century Andalusí lyric poets about whose work she provides such interesting information. Did the incorporation of al-Andalus into the lands of the reforming Almoravid and Almohad movements have no impact on the moral expectations of some Iberian Muslim authorities? Institutions constitute Dangler’s causative engine of change between the “medieval” and the “early modern,” but we learn nothing about conflicts within Muslim-dominated cities caught between the Christian forces to the north and the great North African military powers. The margins of my copy are filled with similar unanswered questions.

In fairness to Dangler, she is not a historian, but I think it is reasonable to expect that someone discussing texts will show more care about explaining who read them and in what context. Even if working in the same historical period, I would not expect the author of a manuscript on difficult Neoplatonic concepts written for a small group of contemplative monks to deal with categories, values, and the sacred in the same manner as an author trying to provide moral guidance to a large, diverse population through the use of the relatively new, highly commercialized printing industry. When I am asked to accept that the differences between these two texts, when written in different periods, show that there existed some fundamental transformation of “alterity” between them, I want to know a lot more about the context within which each was produced than Dangler usually tells me. In discussing some manuscripts written prior to the existence of the printing industry, Dangler writes, “Much of this medical literature in the vernacular was intended as practical health manuals for the general public” (p. 89; my emphasis). Clearly, she has not given adequate thought to who might have read a work and how the ideas presented in it might have influenced the reader, if they did so at all.

Complex human communities do evolve and pass through fundamental transformations. Dangler is not the first to claim that the fifteenth century was such a transformative period in the Iberian Peninsula, but she does point to some fascinating evidence, even if her conclusions about what it means are inadequately supported.

The press should be ashamed of the poor quality of the illustrations in the section on cartography, which do not permit a reader unfamiliar with the images to follow the argument.

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MICHAEL J. LEVIN. *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 228. \$39.95.

Diplomatic history seems to be waking from a long slumber. In this volume, Michael J. Levin uses the correspondence of Spanish ambassadors to test the concept of a “Pax Hispanica” in Italy during the reigns of Charles V (1519–1556) and Philip II (1556–1598). The common view has been that Spain controlled Italy not just for much of the sixteenth century but well beyond, until the Habsburg dynasty in Spain (and Naples) gave way to the Bourbons at the end of the War of Spanish Succession (1713). The turning point is thought to have come either in 1535, when Charles V assumed direct rule over the Duchy of Milan, or with the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), marking the end of the last effort by France, aided by an anti-Habsburg pope, to establish a French presence in the peninsula.

Levin puts the common view in question marks, showing from their dispatches that Spain’s representatives seldom, if ever, thought that things were under control. One chapter deals with the Republic of Venice, the necessity of whose continuing ties with the Ottoman Empire was, as the author remarks, never understood by Spain; notwithstanding Charles’s belief that Spain merely needed to clarify its “intentions” in Italy (p. 15), Spain could never be seen as an ally to Venice, except on the relatively rare occasions when Ottoman power seemed even more threatening. Levin’s main focus is on relations with the papacy. It has been argued (most recently by Thomas Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome 1500–1700* [2001]) that, on the whole, Rome’s notables view the Spanish connection more in a positive than a negative light. Levin argues, I think correctly, that one would not get this impression from what the ambassadors said. Ambassadors are of course paid to be suspicious of their hosts, but in this case it seems they had reason to be. On all sides the agents of Charles V and Philip II saw credible threats of “*novedades*”—local quarrels breaking out here or there, any of which might turn out the wrong way and thus upset the existing order. They also understood that Spain’s presence in the peninsula was widely resented. In 1565, Luis de Zúñiga y Requesens, Philip II’s ambassador to Rome, put it this way in writing from Genoa, a republic closely aligned with

Spain: "We cannot keep our allies in Italy except by doing them many favors, or by kicking them often" (p. 206).

The one flaw I see is that the author treats the terms hegemony and domination as equivalent. Not distinguishing between the two, he at times reads defiance of Philip II's wishes on a specific point as supporting his assertion that "the pacification of Italy never happened" (p. 2). But there was a "Pax Hispanica" in Italy, notwithstanding the fact that Pope Sixtus V insisted on recognizing the kingship of Henri IV (1589–1610), France's erstwhile Huguenot ruler (p. 122), or that Philip's cousin, Duke Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, had to be kept under surveillance (p. 177). The difference might best be described as a question of perspective. Hegemony meant that Italy was made to serve Spain's strategic interests, a preeminence achieved for Spain by Charles V and maintained by his successors. Spain did not require that every Italian prince bow to the king's wishes, but it did require that potential rivals (France and the Ottomans) be kept from securing a foothold in the peninsula, and that important resources (ports, manpower, and, especially in the Kingdom of Naples, revenues) remained available if needed. For many Italians, the hegemony in their country of a foreign power felt like domination, even if (for example) there were no Spanish troops in their particular town or principality. What they could do against it they did, and Spain's ambassadors were not wrong to worry that they might some day do more.

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SAMUEL GIBIAT. *Hierarchies sociales et ennoblissement: Les commissaires des guerres de la maison du roi 1691–1790*. Foreword by JEAN CHAGNIOT. (Mémoires et documents de l'École des Chartes, number 83.) Paris: École des Chartes. 2006. Pp. iv, 759. €40.00.

Samuel Gibiat's study of the *commissaires des guerres* of the king's household makes a valuable contribution to the literature on the elites of the *ancien régime*. As Jean Chagniot remarks in his preface, the book is representative of the traditional French *thèse* "in every sense of the word" (p. i). In his exhaustive account of the *commissaires*, Gibiat demonstrates awesome mastery of the relevant archival materials, he pursues a clear argument, he shares more evidence than even specialists can absorb, and he defines his topic according to the categories that shaped historical consciousness in the golden age of French social history: wealth, careers, marriage patterns, and inheritance practices. The structure of the analysis takes a familiar form, and the conclusions are generally unsurprising, but the new light that Gibiat casts on this stratum of elite society adds texture to the emerging picture of an adaptable social system still rooted firmly in privilege on the eve of the revolution.

The experience of the *commissaires des guerres* in the king's *maison militaire* can hardly provide a basis for

sweeping generalizations, because the officers were exceptional in many ways. Attached to troops serving in the king's household, their status, privileges, and career paths differed even from the *commissaires* serving the regular army. Gibiat follows the history of these *commissaires* from the creation of their offices in 1691 to the final abolition of venal offices in 1790. Because only twenty offices were available at any one time, the sample for this prosopographical study is quite limited: 117 individuals. Given the heterogeneous makeup of the group (some were noble and some were not, some were extremely wealthy and some had modest fortunes) and the ever-changing nature of the office (in 1772 they were converted into revocable military charges), there are reasons to doubt the representativeness of the *commissaires*.

Nevertheless, Gibiat makes the reasonable argument that the relative weakness of the *commissaires*'s institutional and social identity actually provides a revealing glimpse at the borderlands separating distinct elements within elite society. Within the milieu of the *commissaires*, upwardly mobile members of the third estate made contact with the exalted nobles who commanded the troops of the royal household, and whose patronage was often needed to secure access to the positions. Indeed, jurisdictional competition between these noble commanders and the often humbly-born *commissaires*—who were theoretically charged with authenticating troop levels, authorizing expenses, and policing the regiments—helps to explain the peculiar nature of the offices. Although the *commissaires* seem to have performed actual work under Louis XIV, in the eighteenth century the chief tasks were done by commanders, inspectors, and *intendants*, and as the troops of the royal household retreated from active involvement in warfare, the office of *commissaire* became little more than a sinecure. One of the principal attractions of the office was that it offered significant privileges in exchange for "limited service" (p. 242).

Noble status was not one of the privileges offered the *commissaires des guerres*, however. Unlike their similarly underemployed counterparts in the chancelleries, the *secrétaires du roi*, the *commissaires* did not purchase their offices in pursuit of rapid ennoblement. Instead, argues Gibiat, the acquisition of these offices usually represented one step in an intergenerational strategy of *ennoblissement* that involved not merely the pursuit of a changed legal status but also gradual acculturation to aristocratic norms. The office of *commissaire des guerres* associated its holder with the military profession and with personal service to the monarch, both of which were taken as informal marks of nobility. An interest in cultural assimilation would help to explain, for example, why a certain number of *commissaires* entered the office even after their families had acquired legal nobility. (Professional itineraries can be traced in the extremely valuable biographical dictionary compiled by Gibiat, pp. 547–682.)

Gibiati marshals a great deal of quantitative evidence to support his hypothesis about the liminal nature of the

commissaires's offices. His analysis of fortunes, for example, confirms that, as in the case of George V. Taylor's "noncapitalist" bourgeoisie, the families of the *commissaires* invested mainly in what might be called "proprietary" wealth—offices, especially, but also land and *rentes*. At most twenty percent can be said to have invested in capitalist enterprises of any sort (p. 330). Consequently, their fortunes—in the aggregate—did not expand over the course of the century but actually stagnated, providing evidence that family priorities lay elsewhere. Gibiat also demonstrates that the value of the *commissaires*'s offices remained robust throughout the period, despite the inability of those offices to confer nobility. The inflation rate for the coveted office of *secrétaire du roi* was truly in a class by itself, but the *commissaires* saw a steady increase in the real value of their offices—with the most prestigious of those offices (e.g., the *commissaire général des Suisses et des Grisons*) rivaling the prices of offices in the Grand Chancery (p. 198). The consistent strength of the market attests to the presence of a large group of upwardly mobile families intent on following the kind of step-by-step ennobling process described by Gibiat.

Both the small size of the pool and the considerable diversity among the *commissaires* necessarily limit the scope of the conclusions to be drawn from Gibiat's compelling analysis. No matter. Specialists of the *ancien régime* with an interest in social class, status, mobility, office holding, or bureaucracy will be plundering Gibiat's suggestive and wide-ranging evidence for years to come.

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JEFF HORN. *The Path Not Taken: French Industrialization in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1830*. (Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology.) Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 383. \$45.00.

Jeff Horn begins with the familiar assault on the anglocentrism of much of the older literature. Additionally, he claims to have "fashioned an alternative vision of industrial development that crosses the traditional historiographical boundaries of the old regime, the Revolutionary decade, and the nineteenth century" (p. 7), a claim to novelty that ignores the work of Ernest Labrousse published as long ago as 1949, as well as a book by this reviewer that appeared in 1975. Furthermore, he insists that he has restored "the prominence of the 'political' component of political economy" (p. 8). Thus, Horn insists on the central role of the French state in the development of "a distinct longer-term institutional model of industrial development" (p. 9), a process interrupted by revolution. According to Horn it was during this period of internal strife and war that Britain gained long-term advantage as a result of the exercise of maritime power and by means of ruthless suppression of dissent by the state, which facilitated ex-

ploitation of the working classes. Central to Horn's thesis is the belief that French entrepreneurs, far more than British, felt themselves to be exposed to a threat from below and were thus far less likely to invest in mechanization (pp. 19–20). In Britain, according to Horn, the "revolutionary potential of the working classes was several orders of magnitude less" than in France. The social fear of the British elites, which so impressed the likes of E. P. Thompson, is dismissed as idle "chatter" (p. 90) and the repressive capacity of the British state emphasized as the key factor in establishing an environment favorable to mechanization. Horn confidently asserts that Luddism had much less impact in Britain than in France. Horn's emphasis is on the disruptive impact of revolutionary politics on business and on an unprecedented wave of machine-breaking. However, in its early stages the revolution had not only liberalized the economy by finally eliminating corporations, privileges, and internal customs barriers, but banned coalitions by employers and especially by their workers. Although labor militancy was never eliminated entirely, the repressive legislation of 1790 would be reinforced in 1803 and more or less effectively enforced.

War and the economic warfare represented by Napoleon Bonaparte's continental system certainly reduced competitive international pressures to innovate, as well as creating alternative opportunities for making illicit profits. Renewed state intervention in the economy was furthermore encouraged by military needs and the difficulties faced by businessmen, although Horn's emphasis on the role of Interior Minister Chaptal in the development of technical education, and of "industrial expositions to manage if not master the market" (p. 187), seems excessive. Moreover, while in 1786 French officials had felt sufficiently confident to negotiate a trade treaty with Britain, by 1815 perceptions had altered. British technology appeared relatively more advanced and, with the exception of some high-quality goods, key sections of the French economy were in need of protective tariff barriers, and entrepreneurs were encouraged to engage in technological catching up.

One of the paradoxes of Horn's approach is that, while emphasizing the weakness of French employers vis-à-vis their labor force, he also maintains that low wages and the ability of French employers to impose reductions rendered expensive investment unnecessary (pp. 47–48). This both suggests the need to further explore a labor market explanation of the pace of technical innovation and weakens the assertion that entrepreneurs were inhibited by the prospect of labor protest. More generally, the policy orientation of the work is excessive. The impact of politics could only adequately be assessed through more effective contextualization in relation to broader processes of social, economic, and technological change. This seems especially evident in terms of the relationship between technological innovation and the market. Horn is clearly aware of the significance of high transport costs, the slow diffusion of information, and market fragmenta-

tion as disincentives, and might have taken greater account of the structure of demand within the internal markets of a predominantly rural society. If he has written a challenging work, it is one that ultimately fails to convince.

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YVES DÉLOYE. *Les Voies de Dieu: Pour une autre histoire du suffrage électoral; Le clergé catholique français et le vote, XIXe-XXe siècle. (L'espace du politique.)* Paris: Fayard. 2006. Pp. 410. €28.00.

The church-state antagonisms that profoundly marked French political and social life in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provide the context for Yves Déloye's finely turned history of *clericalisme électoral*, clerical moral influences on national and local elections. Déloye wants to operate at "the intersection of religious history and the historical sociology of elections" (p. 11). In fact, the book is an intellectual history of the ideas and formulations promoted by the clergy, or, to paraphrase the author, the content of electoral citizenship as it was conceived by the Catholic authorities. We see, in the main, defensive and aggressive clergy, although conciliators do occasionally come into view. Principal sources include pastoral letters of bishops, sermons and clerical publications, and the omnipresent (by the second half of the nineteenth century) local religious publications: *Semaines religieuses* and *Bulletins paroissiaux*. Déloye develops his presentation in three stages: theological and historical foundations, behavior of the lower clergy, and a commentary informed by classical and modern theories of electoral behavior. The coherence of each stage does not preclude an occasional scattershot layout of clerical testimonies, and some general overlapping—all of this probably inevitable.

Stage one. The mid-nineteenth-century dean of the theology faculty at the Sorbonne, Henri Maret, promoted subtle instruction and minimal admonition in matters political. Citizens need not create a state that would teach them religion, but, rather, should influence the state by their own behavior and example. There were few bishops who saw issues quite this way, especially after 1880, when their teaching could be reduced to three formulations: voting is a moral act; religious and moral issues can not be isolated from public forum; voting according to religious beliefs is a distinct moral obligation. "Without Christianity, France would cease to be France," one of them wrote (p. 46). Déloye reviews earlier catechetical imperatives laid on the church by Napoleon Bonaparte and the reconstituted alliance of throne and altar of the Restoration era, highlighting the social levels and cultural configurations that seemed most receptive to clerical influence. Many bishops and priests wanted it both ways: to play up the good-evil confrontation in politics and society, and to avoid the appearance of partisanship at election time. The bishop

of Rennes, for example, thought it not disingenuous to present a list of candidates, "Leaving his clergy free 'to adopt them [appropriate candidates on his list] or to reject them,' the bishop adding however that 'as far as elections are concerned, unity makes for strength'" (p. 82). Of course, the clergy in low practice, often anti-clerical, areas maintained a low profile. Napoleon III was smart enough to proclaim his endorsement of the temporal jurisdiction of Pope Pius IX, but then he supported the Kingdom of Piedmont in its attempt to unite all of Italy under King Victor Emmanuel II—and not under the pope. The publication of Pius IX's *Syllabus of Errors* (1864) and Ernest Renan's *La Vie de Jésus* (1863) heightened tensions between Napoleon III's government and an increasingly ultramontane church, whose electoral clericalism led straight to the anticlerical politics of the Gambetta-era Third Republic.

Stage Two. The initial dramatic example here is Emile Zola's portrayal of a Bonapartist priest, the abbé Ovide Faujas, and his intriguing at election time. Clergy in general had adopted a siege mentality in the face of advancing secularization. Some of the faithful would militate against clergy involvement, but they were no match in Catholic public life for committed clerical heavy hitters. The Maison de la Bonne Presse with its flagship publication *Le Pèlerin* promoted "a doctrine of hatred" against manifest evil, seeing themselves as "apostles of rebellion" (p. 115). Curés insisted on their obligation to take care of the whole person, and tried to structure Catholicism into an all-embracing culture. This could be called a "*christianitude*" resulting from a successful "reconquest" of society. Déloye unabashedly labels it a "theocratic" pretension or claim (p. 125).

In the legislative elections of 1885, Catholics were told that if they were to betray the church, they would betray God. Déloye makes heavy weather of sorting out clergy and lay roles, with authoritarian and moderate types on both sides, but does offer a clear summary: "Catholicism became an all embracing culture of protest against democratic political order, of which it refused to recognize the autonomy and legitimacy" (p. 138). Not only sermons but whole liturgies were politicized, the clergy using prayer, confession, processions, and other formal church gatherings as fora for political manipulation. Priests appealed to women and children (with special catechizing) to influence all voting members of the family. The abbé Charles Marcault wrote *L'Art de tromper, d'intimider et de corrompre l'électeur* (1910) to mobilize Catholics against the deceitfulness of the secularists.

Stage Three. The theoretical commentary takes off from André Siegfried's *Tableau politique de la France de l'Ouest sous la Troisième République* (1913), which established the strong relationship between Catholic solidarity and the conservative vote (i.e., the influence of clergy and large land owners in rural areas). But Déloye believes that Siegfried's analysis makes of clericalism an "ahistorical force," whereas he himself wants to make it a historical process of mutual influence of clergy on people and people on clergy, as the lower

clergy sought to invalidate the secular notion of politics as an independent realm. The result, Déloye says, taking his cue from J. G. A. Pocock, involves more “deference” on the people’s part than “domination” on the clergy’s part. All this is a far cry from Calvinist absolutizing of the individual conscience as sociologically dissected by Max Weber: in Catholic France, moral absolutes were posted by a clergy representing the will of God. Déloye’s subsequent charting of the “space and time” of electoral clericalism includes detailed presentations of some areas, such as the diocese of Rodez in Aveyron, to show that the priests’ influence on voters was only one of a number of possible relationships between clergy and people; there was no single electoral clericalism. On one hand, “concordatory” bishops would moderate the enthusiasm of some of their ultramontane clergy; on the other hand, ultramontanes could take to heart papal encouragement (the *Ralliement* of Leo XIII) to deal positively with the government. Politically and socially involved Catholics such as Albert De Mun and Marc Sangnier had their own political influence, not perfectly coterminous with clerical counterparts. But there was a continuing tradition of clerical interference up through the 1920s and 1930s, when there was a sort of second *Ralliement*.

In a suggestive epilogue, Déloye argues that the politicization of so many different people across the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century had the ultimate effect of creating a much larger, more diverse electorate, now thinking for itself, and—far more often than not—promoting the secularization of French society. Refining older syntheses and synthesizing more recent piecemeal studies, Déloye has made a major contribution to the history of church-state conflict in modern France.

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LISA MOSES LEFF. *Sacred Bonds of Solidarity: The Rise of Jewish Internationalism in Nineteenth-Century France*. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 327. \$60.00.

The main goal of Lisa Moses Leff’s book is to explore the ideology of the Franco-Jewish elite during a relatively brief moment in time—essentially the middle decades of the nineteenth century—when the concept of Jewish solidarity took on a distinctive new meaning and guided their thinking as they attempted both to protect their own position within French society and to promote Jewish rights in other parts of the world. Leff rightly observes that the acculturated leaders of French Jewry saw their French and Jewish identities as intertwined, and she argues that, for them, solidarity was fundamentally “a political rhetoric that aimed to secure Jewish rights in France by embracing the French revolutionary heritage and attempting to bring its fruits to the rest of the world” (p. 229). Thus, they became concerned with the plight of Jews in North Africa and the

Middle East, they founded the Alliance Israélite Universelle in 1860, and they lobbied the French government to demand that a newly independent Romania grant equal citizenship to Romanian Jews.

In illuminating the Jewish internationalism that emerged at mid-century, Leff looks backward to earlier decades to explain how the term “solidarity” evolved from one indicating that Jews, organized into communities, were responsible for each others’ debts and behaviors, to one describing the “brotherly bonds of mutual obligation that held citizens together” (p. 231), and eventually to a word denoting the link that French Jews had with their fellow countrymen, with Jews in other parts of the world, and ultimately with all humanity. So, too, at the end of the volume, Leff looks forward to the 1880s and 1890s to explore how antisemites turned the concept of solidarity against the Jews to make them appear clannish and conspiratorial. Throughout the book, Leff shows that prominent Jews continually sought alliances with others (Saint-Simonians, republicans, and anticlericals, for example) who favored equality before the law, religious freedom, the dissemination of French revolutionary values, and similar ideals.

Just as Leff’s book depends on providing an understanding of “solidarity,” so too does it rest on explaining the concept of “secularism” in the context of nineteenth-century France. Secularism was seen as one of the hallmarks of French republicanism, and, as Leff nicely demonstrates, for the leaders of French Jewry, as for many of the liberal activists and notables with whom they interacted, secularism did not mean the absence of religion but rather the adoption of a universalist moral system that contrasted with the Catholic clericalism that both Jews and liberals so opposed. An important implication here is that French Jews could promote secularism without abandoning their Jewish identity. Indeed, Leff contends, they often touted their Judaism in support of the new concept of republican secularism. Leff also takes up the concept of “civilization” and describes how, for many, the term came to include a commitment to equality before the law and freedom of religion for individuals of all faiths. As a result, France’s *mission civilisatrice* was promoted as a policy that, of necessity, entailed supporting equality for Jews. Jews, like other anticlericals, were intent upon seeing that France’s imperial mission be a republican and democratic project and not a Catholic one.

The integration of Jews into French society and the evolution of Franco-Jewish identity in the nineteenth century is by no means a new topic for historians. Throughout her book, Leff graciously acknowledges the work of other scholars who have written on the topic, and she has chosen to approach a very specific aspect of the subject. “By placing the rise of Jewish internationalism in the context of national integration,” she writes, “this study seeks to add yet another dimension to our already rich portrait of the transformation of Jewish life in nineteenth-century France” (p. 7). Perhaps because Leff has devoted an entire book to a rather limited topic, the text of the volume is somewhat

repetitious. So too, occasionally its analysis of source materials is not entirely convincing. Open to question, for example, is Leff's suggestion that when an 1851 article in the journal *L'Univers Israélite* expressed the hope that Jews everywhere would "take a seat at the banquet of life," it was alluding to the political banquets of the final years of the July Monarchy (p. 178). Nonetheless, in general Leff's analysis rings true and her book has certainly provided a valuable service by elucidating several aspects of both French and Jewish history in the nineteenth century, showing, among other things, that the progress of Jewish emancipation and integration had an important international component, and helping reveal the roots of modern-day Jewish feelings of interconnectedness.

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JONATHAN JUDAKEN. *Jean-Paul Sartre and the Jewish Question: Anti-antisemitism and the Politics of the French Intellectual*. (Texts and Contexts.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 390. \$45.00.

Jonathan Judaken begins by saying that the "scandal" of his book is his thesis that whenever Jean-Paul Sartre "fundamentally rethought the underlying principles that defined his politics and his role as a public intellectual, [he] did so by reflecting on 'the Jewish question.'" A few sentences later, Judaken moderates this thesis, saying that even though "intermittent" over time and "peripheral" in bulk in Sartre's writings, the Jewish question proves to be "a fecund site to interrogate and reevaluate his oeuvre" (p. 3). I do not think Judaken proves the first claim. But he is so convincing in defending the latter contention as to make the stretch pardonable. In Judaken's capable hands, the Jewish question provides an interesting enough optic to think about Sartre that there is no need to displace other "fecund sites" from which to read his work (including his shifting relationship to any number of intellectual doctrines, major figures, or groups of people).

Judaken's study is organized as a chronological survey of the figure of the Jew in Sartre's career, but the emphasis is decidedly on the period just before, during, and immediately after World War II. This is appropriate, as Sartre's main and most enduring work on the Jewish question was and remains his celebrated *Anti-Semite and Jew* (1946). Judaken expertly contextualizes that book in many ways, but most of all in the history of Sartre's textual production. Besides a bridge chapter and a treatment of Sartre's very late reconsideration of what it means to be Jewish (published as *Hope Now* in 1991), there are also two chapters that amount to mini-monographs, one on the reception of Sartre's classic work across more than half a century and the other on his statements over the years about the State of Israel and the Israel/Palestine conflict. Methodologically, Judaken states that he is doing a "cultural history of ideas."

No one interested in Sartre and his times will want to

avoid grappling with Judaken's learned and subtle commentaries on the various moments and writings. In particular, his careful investigation of the textual appearances of Jews during Sartre's wartime phase repays close study. Judaken's main thesis is that, beginning in his early works like *Nausea* (1938) and "Childhood of a Leader," the Jew appears as the symbol of the essential instability of human identity, just as antisemites take hatred of Jews to be the cure for this instability. Because the figure of the Jew allows Sartre's early characters, after being paralyzed by uncertainty, to become active in the world, Judaken also sees the Jew informing Sartre's conception of the *intellectuel engagé*. Famously, *Anti-Semite and Jew* comes from the period when Sartre moved from the apparently quietist position of *Being and Nothingness* (1943) to radical politics. And, Judaken says, his critique of antisemitism served as a template for his later attacks on racism and colonialism.

But Judaken is worried that Sartre's extraordinary critique of antisemitism often fell prey to a version of what it tried to reject. Briefly, Sartre's calls for tolerance of Jews could coexist with prejudices about them. The form that this syndrome takes in *Anti-Semite and Jew*, Judaken argues, is not just Sartre's failure to make room for truly authentic Judaism; he also posited the anti-antisemitic creation of a classless society in which Jewish difference would itself longer need to exist. In Judaken's words, "By textually 'liquidating' the antisemite, Sartre seeks to exclude antisemitic hangmen as authentic members of the French national community. In the process, 'the Jew' is figuratively martyred [and] bears witness to the necessity for French cultural unity" (p. 145). In this way, Sartre's solution duplicates on another level the error of antisemitism he did so much to identify.

Judaken's generally critical view of Sartre on the Jewish question shifts in a confusing way in his chapter on his subject's late flirtation with the idea of an essential Jewish identity. Like many others, Judaken attacks *Anti-Semite and Jew* for its stereotypical and instrumental treatment of Jews, based as it was on prevalent stereotypes or simple ignorance. Also like many others, Judaken is much happier about Sartre's embrace of the "Jewish ethical tradition" at the end of his life. Yet here, Judaken may miss the chance to fully argue his own critique of philosemitism. If Sartre neglected to make room for positive resources in the Jewish tradition in his early life, it is still appropriate to be cautious about his "conversion" later. His encomium to the messianic and ethical contents of the Jewish tradition in *Hope Now* may simply have shifted from one stereotype to another and certainly reflects no more serious learning than before. It is a good thing that Sartre eventually moved beyond his depiction of the Jew as fully the creation of the antisemitic "gaze," but the image of positive Jewish identity he embraced repeats the selectivity and superficiality of what it replaced. In any case, the philosemitic idea that Judaism is defined by an ethical project that can come to our rescue forces Judaism to

be the very "figure of alterity" of which this valuable study is otherwise properly suspicious.

SAMUEL MOYN
Columbia University

MARTHA HANNA. *Your Death Would Be Mine: Paul and Marie Pireaud in the Great War*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006. Pp. vii, 341. \$26.95.

Among the thousands of books published on World War I there can be few that juxtapose chapters on the artillery battle around Verdun and on breastfeeding an infant son. Martha Hanna discovered in the voluminous private papers in the archives of the French Army the joint correspondence of a newly married peasant couple from the Dordogne, in southwest France. She has used this correspondence to great effect to interweave the home and battle fronts in France between 1914 and 1918.

Hanna's original aim had been to study the cultural significance of letter writing in wartime France. This would have constituted a pendant to her previous book, *The Mobilization of Intellect: French Scholars and Writers during the Great War* (1996). Her discovery of the correspondence of Paul and Marie Pireaud changed her focus and gives us this work. The corpus of letters provides a rare opportunity to read both sides as husband and wife communicated day by day, and also gives an insight into the lives of the majority of France's population. The country was still predominantly rural, with forty-one percent of France's working population in 1914 occupied in agriculture.

The book proceeds chronologically after a short introduction giving the pair's family background. It would have been good to have been given some clue as to who donated the correspondence to the French military archives and for what reasons. The Pireauds' only son died childless before his mother, and so we are left wondering about the accession. The archive's published inventory states that the correspondence was donated in 1995.

Chapter one describes how the 1914 harvest was brought in by the women, children, and old folk who remained at home as their men were called up. Paul Pireaud was fortunate to be stationed away from the front line and so missed the massive bloodletting of the 1914 battles. Chapter two moves on to the battle lines as Paul was drafted into a heavy artillery regiment, and saw action both at Verdun and on the Somme. These were France's two big engagements of 1916, and once again Paul was lucky not to become a casualty. This chapter is the most successful, in this reader's opinion, as the extracts from Paul's letters give a vivid impression of what life was like under constant shell-fire. The third chapter returns to the home front, with the birth of the couple's son on July 13, 1916, as the Somme battle was beginning. The contrast with the preceding chapter is stark as we learn about wet-nurses and death rates from infant diarrhea.

The next chapter covers the "troubled year" of 1917,

when military strikes followed the disappointments of the French April offensive (in which Paul's regiment was again involved) and workers' strikes revealed the flagging morale on the home front. Hanna weaves the personal story into the broader picture with great skill. Herein lies the book's greatest value. One of the most difficult questions to answer more than ninety years after the conflict started is "how did they manage to do it?" This chapter gives us an insight into what motivated ordinary Frenchmen and women and what enabled them to keep going through more than four years of war. It shows that the current dispute among French historians of World War I—between those who insist that the French were "constrained" to fight and those who maintain, on the contrary, that they "consented" to the violence—is too Manichean. A complex set of emotions was in play, and Hanna's text may perhaps have the (unintended) consequence of reconciling these two factions.

The final chapters cover the last year of the war when Paul's unit was sent to Italy as part of the Anglo-French force that came to the support of the Italian army after the disaster at Caporetto, and then the impatient months spent waiting to be demobilized after the Armistice. The conclusion gives a brief account of the postwar lives of a couple who died only in the 1970s. It re-emphasizes the close link between front line and home where "correspondence constituted the causeway that brought these two societies together" (p. 288). Paul and Marie Pireaud's generation was the first to have received at least primary school education, and the ability to read and write was a significant factor in the transformation of rural France.

The text is supported by a detailed index and by reference to up-to-date secondary literature. Hanna has used the local departmental archives and the war diaries and postal control records held in the French Army archives to good effect. Harvard University Press has done a beautiful production job. The little community of Nanteuil-de-Bourzac, Dordogne, still predominantly rural although many of its homes have become holiday cottages, should be delighted that their former mayor and his wife have been commemorated in this handsome way.

ELIZABETH GREENHALGH
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CLIFFORD ROSENBERG. *Policing Paris: The Origins of Modern Immigration Control between the Wars*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006. Pp. xviii, 241. Cloth \$57.50, paper \$23.95.

Clifford Rosenberg has written an original and complex history of immigration control in interwar Paris that "testifies to a vast, sophisticated police bureaucracy that emerged sooner, and played a more important role in Parisians' day-to-day lives, than historians have realized" (p. xiii). He presents this history in two thematic parts. "Immigration and the Ambiguities of Political

Policing" takes on the history of immigration control in France, focusing on the interwar period, when hundreds of thousands of immigrants entered the country, primarily Italians, central European Jews, Spaniards, Russians, Armenians, and Algerians. The turning point, Rosenberg argues, was the Great War: in 1912, only twelve full-time employees were at the immigration service, but by 1926, the service was systematized and gigantic, featuring a cross-referenced index card on every immigrant known in Paris. By the end of the interwar period, the great hall of the immigration service held 1.5 million files and 2.5 million index cards.

The immigration service collected fees for registration, performed door-to-door searches for unregistered aliens, stopped people on the street demanding to see papers, and carried the threat of the revocation of the right to live in France (*refoulement*). This was a police service, and its formation constitutes a fascinating tale of municipal politics; Rosenberg makes the case that much more than the more politicized Ministry of Interior, the Prefecture of Police was a stable, professional organization. The police came literally to hold the cards, and the fate of immigrants, in the interwar period (even though they were not as effective as they would have liked). Political and nationalist fears had a large part to play, and as much as communists may have been feared in the early 1920s, most of the Russian newcomers had noncommunist political sympathies; those regarded as politically the most dangerous by the French police were the Italians. One very fine chapter in this section, "Round up the Usual Suspects," eschews neither the liberal legal protections afforded to immigrants nor the new forms of inequality, but rather takes both into account in a close inspection of police politics and procedures in the 1930s.

The second part, "Surveillance, Assistance and Exclusion" focuses on the group that most lacked protections and was almost without effective protection from any quarter: immigrants from North African colonies. Although mainstream politicians understood that some colonial (especially Algerian) immigration must be allowed, and Algerian elites and some liberal parliamentarians campaigned for full citizenship rights for Algerians, colonial workers outstripped Italians as targets of violence during the Great War, and there was great prejudice against North African Muslims by the police. Rosenberg makes the case that it was not race that underpinned this treatment but colonial status. He also argues that the management of North African immigration was agreed upon by a wide spectrum of political figures, from the most progressive socialists to members of the right-wing leagues, an impulse refreshed by a sensational murder in November of 1923 and the formation of the North African Services of the police. This "colonial consensus" held until the Popular Front. It was most strikingly manifested in an odd institution of aid and control, the Franco-Muslim Hospital opened out in Bobigny in 1935.

In order to understand immigration control practices, one must not only know the law but also local

politics and bureaucratic practice, which requires extensive reading of administrative correspondence to understand the implementation—or relaxation—of statutes. Rosenberg has done all of this and has gone one step farther: he elucidates the political lives of administrators and explains bureaucratic structure. The reader can then enter in to the world of immigration control, thanks to Rosenberg's exhaustive research. This complex arena teaches the reader a great deal not only about immigration but also about citizenship, nationality, and the practices of colonialism.

Rosenberg recognizes that the shadow of Vichy hangs over questions of immigration control in twentieth-century France, and indeed his book opens with a thrilling tale of police archive documents hidden during the war. The files used by Paris police to prepare lists of Jews between 1941 and 1944 were the very immigration files that were created immediately after the Great War. Rosenberg concludes that in Paris, where the card indexes of Jews were drawn up by men who had spent their careers tracking immigrants, foreign Jews suffered disproportionately. But he rightly insists that the 1919–1939 period constitutes a historical period in its own right and must not be merely read backward from Vichy, for the key to that period is the "fundamental shift in the relationship between immigrants and the state in France" (p. 205) after World War I, where the most dramatic inequalities were not between French and foreigners, but rather between people who could claim political representation and those who could not: namely the colonial subjects of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia.

LESLIE PAGE MOCH
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LEE PALMER WANDEL. *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 302. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$23.99.

Lee Palmer Wandel's study of the Eucharist in the Reformation is a significant contribution to the field of Reformation studies and within that field of the most visibly divisive aspect of the Reformation, the liturgy and theology of the Eucharist. Wandel puts the reader in the churches of Augsburg as their multiple liturgies reflected the new reforming movements as well as the variety that existed in Catholic churches prior to the centralization imposed by Trent. Although theology enters in, Wandel tries to keep technical explanations in footnotes. She prefers to present what worshippers saw, heard, touched, tasted, and smelled within particular architectural designs that were themselves significant to those who entered sixteenth-century churches. While the focus is on the action at the altar or table and the priest or minister serving there, Wandel keeps her eye as well on the people in the pews and how their surroundings and the liturgy itself served to educate them. Wandel is as much art historian in her sensibility to these aspects as she is in the ideas and vocabulary (e.g.,

mimesis) that she employs and in the number of references to works of art historians (e.g., p. 9, n. 30).

In her introduction, Wandel explains the organization of her study around the words at the center of the Eucharist in each of the continental traditions she includes: Lutheran, Reformed, Roman Catholic. So she discusses the meanings of "My Body," "This Do," and "In Remembrance of Me." Her first chapter, a weak one that might put a knowledgeable reader off, deals with "The Eucharist to 1500." Because of the many errors in this chapter, I would advise the reader to begin with chapter two, "Augsburg." Here Wandel is at home and an excellent guide. I learned much from this chapter and those that follow it. In fact, I think that Wandel may have worked a permanent change in Reformation studies. I, for one, will not write about Eucharistic theology without attention to the materiality of the liturgy, its movements, its "stuff," and not just as it affects the theology and vice versa, but as it is translated into movement, light, color, perception, and reception—in short, without attempting to sit with the congregation.

I found this book both exhilarating and troubling, with exclamation and question marks on nearly every page. With regard to the problems in chapter one, I will cite only the most salient. Berengar of Tours is placed in the thirteenth century (p. 3), correctly in the eleventh century (p. 19), in the twelfth century (p. 21), and again in the eleventh (footnote 22). On page 25 this odd statement occurs: "This do for the amanuensis of me." The word in the New Testament Greek is *anamnesis*, a word still used by liturgists and theologians as meaning much more than *mimesis*, the word Wandel prefers in the rest of her book for the priest's role in the Mass. It would have been helpful if Wandel had explained at the outset what she means by mimesis and its relation to *anamnesis*. (A long quotation from Joseph A. Jungmann explaining *anamnesis* agrees with its use by Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Anglican liturgists; see p. 25, footnote 40.) Wandel explains what she means by mimesis only in her conclusion (pp. 260–261). Because Wandel develops John Calvin's use of "signs" in chapter four, why is there no reference in chapter one to the lively debates regarding the nature of sacraments as signs from Augustine to Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, and William Ockham? Their discussions of the sacraments as signs and of signs generally in epistemological systems heavily influenced the reformers of the sixteenth century.

In her conclusion, Wandel develops well the differences in the qualities and understandings of time in the Eucharistic theologies of the three denominations; I wonder why she missed time's partner, space? The three groups, most notably the Lutherans and Reformed, differed fundamentally in their conceptualizations of space and place with regard to the Body of Christ. Lastly, what does Wandel mean when she writes, "And so, for each Christian, those who did not partake of Christ's body in the way that he or she did, no longer shared the same body. They were, indeed, not human in the same way" (p. 262). What can this mean? "Not

human" in any sixteenth-century meaning of the term? Certainly Christians battled one another as though their opponents were deficient in either faith or intelligence, or both, but did they ever regard them as "not human in the same way"?

Since Wandel's book is so fundamentally worthwhile, even path-breaking, let us hope for an emended second edition!

JILL RAITT
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KLAUS SCHUSTER. *Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung, Sozialstruktur und biologischer Lebensstandard in München und dem südlichen Bayern im 19. Jahrhundert*. (Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, number 24.) With CD-ROM. St. Katherine, Germany: Scripta Mercaturae. 2005. Pp. v, 287.

It is difficult to imagine a more mundane subject—namely, the historic relationships among economic development, body size, and living standards—that has had a greater influence on human happiness. It is a pity, therefore, that historical demography or here more precisely, anthropometry, remains fairly inaccessible, even to most professional historians. This book by Klaus Schuster is certainly directed at a narrow and specialized audience, and all the more so as a German-language publication.

More than simply charting the effect of industrialization on body size or life expectancy, Schuster aims to provide a more sophisticated "anthropometric history" (a term coined by his dissertation advisor, John Komlos), which considers the *mutual* influences of biological and economic processes (pp. 3–5). Understood in short as the study of the history of human height, anthropometric history offers a valuable complement to other forms of economic history. Arguably its first practitioner was Nobel laureate Robert Fogel, Komlos's advisor at the University of Chicago, who used serial records kept on American slaves to study their biological well-being.

Certainly a factor like adult height or stature is significant as an index of economic well-being. Since childhood nutrition affects adult stature, the height of an adult population can be seen as the historical record of that population's childhood access to adequate nourishment. Measured over time, changes in the average height of an adult population indicate changes in that population's well-being. The measurement of stature thus offers several advantages over other indices of well-being, including GDP. A constant GDP per capita as measured over time could fail to indicate increasing income disparities, a trend that would likely be registered, in contrast, by a declining *average* stature for the same adult population. Thus historical anthropometry not only identifies different sources for measuring biological well-being, but it also offers a more finely tuned methodology for identifying growing immiseration.

Schuster is influenced as well by the long tradition of

German historical demography, which dates to the eighteenth century. Cameralist scholar Johann Süßmilch (1707–1767) was the first to identify certain demographic trends that disturbed contemporaries throughout much of the nineteenth century. Exacerbated presumably by the industrial revolution, these included *rising* infant mortality rates, *decreasing* stature, and *falling* living standards, as well as the relatively healthier status of rural dwellers (when compared by these standards to inhabitants of cities). Twentieth-century German scholars also explained north-south differences in infant mortality by invoking Catholic “fatalism” (p. 183).

Schuster analyzes military medical examinations from Catholic Bavaria for the period 1813 (after the introduction of universal conscription) to 1842. His 19,562 recruits, all between the ages of nineteen and twenty-three—constitutive of an “adult population”—represent rural districts of southern Bavaria as well as a number of urban districts within Munich (pp. 17–21). Divided between eight thematic chapters, including the introduction, Schuster’s study incorporates additional data that provide information on ages and causes of death, at least for a subset of his subjects.

The immiseration trends well known for much of industrializing Europe are supported uniformly by the measurements taken of Bavarian military recruits. In the thirty-year period of Schuster’s study (1813–1842), average stature decreased among all demographic groups, especially for urban dwellers (pp. 181, 218). Other indices of well-being worsened in this period, likewise, including an increase in infant mortality and the decline of life expectancy (p. 254). Among those recruits drawn from rural areas, inhabitants of the Alpine region Tölz were the tallest, a characteristic ascribed to higher milk and protein consumption (p. 265). Within Munich, the conscripts mustered from artisan and proto-industrial districts were consistently shorter (pp. 218, 268–269).

The relationships Schuster identifies confirm most of the accepted historical truisms about the impact of nineteenth-century industrialization on European demography. The author proves more narrowly that greater body stature correlated closely to increasing life expectancy, but only up to a certain height, which, once exceeded, no longer exerted any significant influence (p. 270). What remains less well realized, at least for this reader, is the work’s promise to reveal something new about the influence of demography on industrialization or the mutual dependency of economic growth and human welfare. Some speculation on how this study confirms or revises our larger picture of European industrialization, and its human costs, would have made a fitting conclusion. Alas, Schuster concludes instead that one of his study’s most important accomplishments is methodological, namely the linking of two data sets, which might provide a basis for some future analysis (p. 271). To this end, the book comes equipped with a CD-

ROM, loaded with sixty charts and tables as well as two maps.

ROBERT BEACHY
Goucher College

GERHARD A. RITTER. *Der Preis der deutschen Einheit: Die Wiedervereinigung und die Krise des Sozialstaates*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 2006. Pp. 540.

German (re-)unification during the collapse of communism in 1989–1990 remains contested ground among historians. While official accounts like Helmut Kohl’s memoirs celebrate the accession of the Eastern states as statesmanlike success, critics decry the blockage of socialist self-reform efforts, the imposition of the Western system from without, and the ensuing economic crisis of deindustrialization and mass unemployment. In this debate the social dimension of extending a democratic welfare state has received little attention so far, since the unprecedented nature of the conversion makes it hard to decide what standards should be used to evaluate it. Behind the particular issue of managing the social transition looms the larger question of the future of the *Sozialstaat* in an era of globalization.

Gerhard A. Ritter’s study of “the price of unity” is a path-breaking effort to examine the social dimension of the unification process. His account rests on rich documentation from several West German ministries (such as labor), records of party deliberations, expert interviews and concurrent social science commentary. To an American reader the style will seem somewhat too Germanic (long sentences, abstract phrases), but the organization is quite clear. The analysis proceeds in three steps. The book starts with an extensive discussion of the contextual framework of political decision making; then follows a concise exposition of the negotiations within East and West and with each other concerning the “social union” as well as of the unification treaty; finally there is an extensive presentation of the effects of unification on the transformation of the German welfare state.

There is much to recommend this book. The author is a mature historian with an intimate knowledge of the minutiae of social regulations, financing streams, and political maneuvering that shows to best advantage in the explanation of issues like the introduction of long-term care insurance. The text provides a series of case studies of the actual functioning of the German federal system with its neo-corporate emphasis on consensus building, even if time pressures and foreign policy considerations made unification largely “the hour of the executive” (p. 263). His judgment that the rapid extension of West German welfare provisions helped cushion the shock of transition from a planning system to a market economy is generally persuasive, since an informal “coalition of social politicians” succeeded in authorizing major expenditures, quite in contrast to the official neo-liberal rhetoric (pp. 293–298). Also his critique of the negative consequences of providing liberal benefits for the economic revival of the East and for the long-

term health of the united country is convincing, since the massive effort to cope with the system transition postponed necessary initiatives to reform the Western welfare state (pp. 385–386).

Nonetheless, there are also some annoying weaknesses. Sometimes the presentation meanders, following a thematic rather than a chronological sequence by discussing decisions before introducing actors. Much of the background material is redundant and some issues like the demographic deficit, although interesting in themselves, are somewhat peripheral to the central theme. The text is written from a governmental perspective, leaning heavily on the views of labor minister Norbert Blüm, the leading social politician of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) as well as on his counterparts in the Social Democratic Party (SPD), for whom the author seems to hold a special fondness. When policy alternatives are presented, they are dismissed relatively quickly, so that key economic mistakes such as the all-too-favorable currency conversion (mostly at a 1:1 rate, though the buying power was closer to 1:4) and the rapid rise of Eastern wages beyond productivity are bemoaned, but ultimately accepted as inevitable. Finally, the thesis that most of the competitiveness problems of the German economy are the product of the social expenditures of unification is an exaggeration that underestimates the long-term structural problems which began already with the oil price shock of 1973.

In the end, the reader is left with the ambivalent impression that this work contains two books struggling with each other: a superb and highly informative study that examines the underappreciated domestic dynamics of German unification, and a more tentative analysis that addresses the survival of the welfare state in an era of increasing competitive pressures. The former is a pioneering effort, only to be commended, but the latter requires a broader analysis that ventures beyond the time horizon of the half-decade during and after unification.

KONRAD H. JARAUSCH
University of North Carolina

DANIEL L. UNOWSKY. *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848–1916*. (Central European Studies.) West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 269. \$29.95.

This fine monograph presents Emperor Franz Joseph as a central factor in reinforcing the importance of the monarchy in the last half century of the Habsburg empire, especially as nationalism and other factors seemed to weaken the state and finally render it obsolete by 1918. Arguing against the A. J. P. Taylor view that the dissolution of Austria-Hungary was inevitable, Daniel L. Unowsky focuses instead on the relationship between Vienna and its many provinces, between monarchical ritual and nationalist fervor, between claims for tradition and claims for liberal modernization that

shaped imperial celebrations during this period, without an eye on the end of the monarchy.

The book has an ambitious span of sixty years and touches on events from Vienna to Cracow and Lviv. The author begins by examining the attempts of the emperor after 1848 to link his authority to and claim popularity on the basis of Catholic traditions and ritual. Moving from Vienna to the province of Galicia, Unowsky then follows the imperial attempts to secure the same stable image of the monarchy as carrier of tradition and strength. The avenues for analyzing the path of imperial pomp in the provinces are the visits (some aborted) of the emperor to Galicia in 1851, 1868, 1880, and 1894. Finally, the author looks closely at the successes and failures of Franz Joseph's 1898 jubilee in reinforcing the values and image of the monarch as a legitimate binding force of the entire empire.

Unowsky's work is based on excellent archival research and a thorough examination of published resources. The monograph also builds on growing scholarship that has for over two decades questioned the Taylor view of the demise of the Habsburgs, bringing new nuance and depth to it. The author is not satisfied to examine the contestations of imperial celebrations in Vienna, as others have done, but instead moves about into the provinces. Unowsky is right to underline the imperative importance of examining how Poles and Ruthenians in Cracow and Lviv viewed the emperor. His conclusion is not particularly startling: as mass politics develops and as regional elites (and masses) learn how to manipulate political processes and the theatrics of civic rituals, the monarchy found it increasingly difficult to control the meaning of its own staged ceremonies. What is new and significant in this analysis, however, is the care with which the author exemplifies different uses of the same ceremonies by different publics, and the links he draws in particular between imperial rituals and political culture.

This book opens new opportunities for considering the importance of cultural ritual in the shaping of modern politics in the Habsburg Empire and its successor states, and in examining the relationship between secular and religious rituals, nationalism and supranational symbols in shaping civic identities in the late nineteenth century and beyond.

MARIA BUCUR
Indiana University

CARL IPSEN. *Italy in the Age of Pinocchio: Children and Danger in the Liberal Era*. (Italian and Italian American Studies.) New York: Palgrave. 2006. Pp. 261. \$65.00.

Carlo Collodi wrote *Pinocchio* (1882) barely a decade after Rome became the capital of the newly unified Italian state. Its publication roughly coincides with the beginning of what came to be known as the Liberal era in Italian history, a period that Carl Ipsen defines here as stretching from the late 1870s to the start of World War I. It was a time of social transformation in many ways,

not least in the rise of a powerful Socialist movement and the beginnings of modern social welfare legislation.

Ipsen's goal here is to focus on one aspect of this social awakening: attitudes toward children, and especially attitudes toward society's most marginalized children. The larger setting is the transition from a patchwork of old regimes, which controlled the Italian peninsula until 1859, and in which the Catholic Church played the central public role in dealing with society's unfortunates, to the new secular Italian state. Ipsen not only seeks to follow the advent of social legislation regarding children in the Liberal period, but to answer the question of why so many child-related concerns came together in Italy at the turn of the century.

He goes about this task by devoting one chapter each to the subjects of infant abandonment, child migration, child labor laws, juvenile delinquency, and street children. For his infant abandonment case Ipsen focuses on Naples' massive Annunziata foundling home, where infant mortality reached terrifying proportions. He links the Naples case to the larger crisis in the centuries-old system of abandoned babies in Italy, charging the Italian state with the "malign neglect" (p. 44) of these children in the Liberal period. In rather reified terms, Ipsen attributes a change in attitude to the impact of international forces: "Italian society, seeking its place alongside the other modern powers of Europe and North America, came to the realization that it had an obligation to succor its least fortunate children" (p. 45).

One of Ipsen's theses is that the misery in which so many Italian children lived became a national embarrassment for Italians as they sought to claim their place among the nations of modern Europe. Hence children in the wandering trades who had long plied their wares in the streets of Europe became, in the Liberal period, an embarrassment that had to be addressed. This was particularly true for the girls who were lured into prostitution.

Much of the book focuses on a history of child legislation, the chapter on working children being in good part a history of child labor laws. Here, too, foreign influences were clear, with Italy lagging its European neighbors to the north. The nuggets in the book are those stories that offer something beyond the well-known tardiness of Italy's economic and political development. In Sicily, for example, we are told that the new law restricting child and female labor saw mine owners and their workers united in their opposition. Parents were not necessarily pleased by having their small children forbidden from working either in mines or factories.

A good part of the book chronicles attempts by Italian legislators to introduce protective legislation modeled on more advanced northern European models. In many cases, although bills were introduced relatively early and various parliamentary commissions and debates engaged them, they passed into law only decades later. This is the story Ipsen tells of the Italian Minors Code and the long-delayed attempt to create a modern

juvenile court system, which only came into existence in 1934.

In recounting this tale, Ipsen at one point laments how difficult it is in studying poor children to get any sense of their everyday life. This is certainly true, but it does not appear that getting a sense of individuals' lives was a major interest of the author in this book. His focus is largely on social legislation and public debate, and the archival sources are taken almost entirely from the central state archives in Rome. The chapter on foundlings uses little material from foundling home archives, and the chapter on juvenile delinquency uses no material from local courts which would flesh out the lives of these children.

Some of the larger implications of this story might also be discussed in greater depth. Ipsen briefly identifies a series of such larger themes in the last two pages before his epilogue: similar reform efforts throughout Europe; debates over Italian "backwardness" and its possible link to familism and attitudes toward the state; the impact of Italy's huge emigration in these years; and the weakness of the Liberal Italian state under threat both from the rapidly expanding Socialist movement and the Catholic Church. Perhaps in the future the author will follow up these themes. The story of the transformation of child welfare from the responsibility of the church to that of the state is itself one that must be told if we are fully to understand the history Ipsen tells in these pages.

DAVID I. KERTZER

Brown University [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

FRANK M. SNOWDEN. *The Conquest of Malaria: Italy, 1900–1962*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 296. \$40.00.

Frank M. Snowden's comprehensive examination of the campaign to eliminate malaria from the Italian peninsula offers a refreshing antidote to so much of the historical scholarship on modern Italy, which reads like a compendium of failures, missed opportunities, and persistent vices. He recounts, instead, a story of progress, in which Italy emerged as a global pioneer that launched the first national campaign in the world to control and eliminate malaria, successfully eradicating the disease from the country by the 1960s. While the book focuses on the scientific and public health communities, it provides much more than a medical history of disease. Malaria had covered the entire Italian peninsula for centuries, and, as such, it had long been the leading public health problem in the country, causing mass deaths, widespread illness, and socioeconomic disruption every year. Because of the scale of the disease, Snowden is able to use his abundant supply of medical sources to shed light on a range of larger social and political issues in the history of Italy in the twentieth century, from the "Southern Question" and evolving living standards of the poor to the policies of the

Liberal, Fascist, and post-1945 governments and the impact of the two world wars on the Italian people.

The book opens with a compelling depiction of the enormous toll taken by the disease in the late nineteenth century. In contrast to the other great powers of Europe, malaria was not simply a "colonial" problem for the Italians. The first systematic efforts to document and quantify the disease in the 1880s revealed that nearly half the population was permanently at risk to infection. As a consequence, the disease reduced worker productivity, discouraged investment, exacerbated poverty and underdevelopment in the countryside, and sparked massive waves of emigration. At the same time, the problem of malaria reinforced elite fears of Italian military weakness, genetic degeneration, and racial inferiority. Not surprisingly, then, the battle to combat this annual scourge became a top priority of national governments from the end of the nineteenth century onward.

Snowden's study of efforts to eliminate the disease leads him to challenge both older interpretations of Liberal Italy as a largely failed state, and fashionable new revisionist portraits of Benito Mussolini's Fascism as a "kinder and gentler" dictatorship. There has been a persistent historiographical tendency to treat the Liberal state as a doomed regime whose parliamentary corruption and distorted industrial development isolated the governing classes from the masses and thereby paved the way for the triumph of Fascism after World War I. Snowden's account offers a far more favorable assessment of the Liberal leadership, who launched an antimalarial campaign in the first decade of the twentieth century that achieved some noteworthy successes. Between 1900 and 1914, efforts to make quinine available to the poor for the first time led to a rapid and sustained drop in mortality rates and reduced severity of infections. Snowden argues that the antimalarial campaign also contributed to the expansion of civil liberties, democracy, labor organizing, and women's rights on the Italian peninsula. The decision to enter World War I in the spring of 1915, however, soon reversed the gains of the previous era. The demobilization of the antimalarial campaign, the paralysis of private initiatives, large-scale movements of people, and environmental degradation provoked a resurgence of sickness and death that would continue into the early 1920s.

The book's treatment of Fascist initiatives to combat malaria, on the other hand, offers scant support for revisionist historians who have sought to rehabilitate the Duce by presenting a more benign picture of his regime. To the contrary, Snowden provides a highly critical assessment of Mussolini and Fascism's role in public health. While the campaign to eliminate malaria in the Pontine Marshes was a central component of Fascist domestic policy, he highlights the regime's propagandistic motives, the arbitrary and peremptory implementation of its policies, its Nazi-type experiments on poor subjects, and its neglect of the malarial south as well as basic research. The Duce's decision to embrace imperial expansion and foreign conquest dealt a final blow

to the regime's antimalarial campaign. Much like World War I, World War II led to an upsurge of the disease. Snowden's research has also revealed an intentional project of Nazi scientists and engineers to unleash bio-terrorism on the civilian population in the reclaimed Pontine Marshes, a project that produced one of the greatest upsurges in malaria in modern Italian history.

The fall of Fascism opened up a new era in Italian public health that would witness the final eradication of the disease between 1946 and 1965. In absence of war, depression, natural disasters, and dictatorship, the final victory over malaria came about thanks to technological advances like DDT and a combination of financial, educational, and institutional initiatives by committed postwar governments. In telling this remarkable story, Snowden has managed to cover an impressive range of topics in a relative brief span of pages. Moreover, his work has opened up channels to a variety of underexplored areas of social and cultural history.

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ISRAEL BARTAL. *The Jews of Eastern Europe, 1772–1881*. Translated by CHAYA NAOR. (Jewish Culture and Contexts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 203. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.50.

From the late eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth, Jewish society in Eastern Europe changed significantly. The central task that Israel Bartal sets himself in this short volume is to present these changes in terms understandable to the nonspecialist without sacrificing scholarly precision. As Bartal states in his introduction, one of his goals was to "challenge the collective memory of the Jews on both sides of the ocean" (p. 12) and to present a nonideological narrative that integrates the important new research published since 1990 and neglects neither continuity nor change in Jewish history. The result is an interesting—though not always entirely satisfying—book that can serve as a much-needed introduction and overview for nonspecialists.

The chronological and geographical boundaries of Bartal's work are indicative of his desire to go beyond traditional historiography. He argues that the first partition of Poland (1772) was a pivotal date in Jewish history because it put an end to the Polish *ancien régime*, divided up the erstwhile "Polish Jewish community" in three very distinct states (Russia, Prussia, Austria), and set in motion historical processes that would have significant impact on Jews in all three partitions. The end date of Bartal's study is less controversial: nearly everyone agrees that the pogroms of 1881 were significant in Jewish history, severely discrediting the ideology of assimilation-acculturation (at the time, the two trends were not well delineated from each other) and helping give rise both to modern antisemitic and modern Jewish-national movements. Bartal's geographical focus is very broad: essentially, the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. While he does not deny

the increasing differences to be found among Jews resident in, say, Posen, Vilna, Warsaw, and Lemberg, he also insists that they share a common history. The book's chapters alternate between geographical/political and thematic foci. For example, there are chapters on "Hasidim, Mitnagdim, and Maskilim," relations between Poles and Jews in the nineteenth century (a tall order to cover in eight pages!), and the pogroms of 1881–1882 as well as chapters on the reforms under Alexander II in Russia and Galicia after 1848. The book does an excellent job of synthesizing recent historiography but limits, quite appropriately, use of primary sources to occasional quotations from literary texts.

For all its strengths, the book has some weaknesses as well. Some of these may well have crept in with the translation. For example, chapter one is entitled "The Jews of the Kingdom" when the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is obviously meant. Similarly, it is peculiar and misleading to speak of "Jewish constitutions" of 1804 and 1835 (pp. 62–64) when "statutes" are meant. The second and third partitions of Poland took place, of course, in 1793 and 1795, not 1792 and 1793 as stated (p. 27).

One may also wonder why Bartal chose to end his narrative with the pogrom wave of 1881 to 1882. If, as he argues in his conclusion, he wishes to describe three phases in the development of the Eastern European Jewish community—"premodern corporate entity," "subjects of centralized empire," "separate nation" (p. 168)—then stopping in 1881 almost entirely leaves out the final stage. Making 1881 the terminus instead of, say, 1900 or 1914 also means that the chapters on antisemitism and Polish-Jewish relations end before political antisemitism takes shape in the Polish and Russian territories. To be sure, continuing the story to 1914 would complicate matters—for example, the large immigration of Jews to Romania would have to be discussed—but one cannot help thinking that the book would have been better for including that final generation of Jewish and Eastern European history before the great break of World War I.

In the end, however, the positive contribution of this volume needs to be stressed. Bartal provides a clear, concise overview of a neglected and important period in Jewish and Eastern European history. The book is recommended in particular for nonspecialists and course use (at both the undergraduate and graduate levels).

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MARTIN SCHULZE WESSEL, editor. *Nationalisierung der Religion und Sakralisierung der Nation im östlichen Europa*. (Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa, number 27.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. Pp. 272. €40.00.

The unifying concern of this collection of essays is the exploration of hybrid expressions of culture, thought,

and politics generated at the intersection of two distinct phenomena, nationalism and religion. The "nationalization of religion" refers to a process of adaptation in which religious persons, symbols, and practices assume aspects of a nationalist value system. The "sacralization of the nation" describes the assumption of religious functions and forms of expression by representatives or representations of the nation. These issues have attracted considerable scholarly interest in recent years, and this volume represents a valuable addition to the literature, not least on account of its focus on the relatively neglected peoples of Eastern Europe.

The volume consists of thirteen essays by as many scholars, in addition to an introduction by editor Martin Schulze Wessel. The geographical range of the collection is broad but patchy: Poland is the primary subject of four of the essays; Russia, Ukraine, and Hungary merit two essays apiece; and Germany, Serbia, and Romania are each treated in single essays. Many parts of Eastern Europe are thus left untouched. The temporal focus of most of the essays falls within the "long nineteenth century" (1789–1914), although several explore issues related to the Great War and the interwar period, and one is devoted to the second half of the twentieth century.

As its geographical and temporal unevenness suggests, the volume is not intended to serve as a comprehensive treatment of its subject. Rather, it brings together an assortment of small-bore studies of specific instances where the religious bleeds into the national and vice versa. Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, for example, details how two prominent nineteenth-century Russian historians foreswore traditional representations of Alexander Nevsky as Orthodox saint in order to refashion him in the modern mold of national hero. Ricarda Vulpius explores the discursive battles that emerged among Orthodox Christians in Ukraine in the years 1917–1921, as the religious history and character of the region were articulated in ways that emphasized either Ukraine's unity with or its distinctiveness from Russia. Harald Binder examines five public ceremonies staged in Cracow between 1861 and 1910, in which Catholic and nationalist elements were blended together in varying degrees. While the subjects under investigation are often of modest scale, invariably the authors endeavor to highlight the broader ramifications of their findings. A good example of this is the contribution of Klaus Buchenau, who traces the usage of a single word, *svetosavlje*, to reflect upon prominent features of the modern Serbian Orthodox Church, including its encounter with modernization and secularization, its complex relationship with the state of Yugoslavia, and Russian influence in Serbian Orthodox affairs.

As one would expect from a collection involving many authors working in distinct research fields, the volume does not advance a common thesis. In his thought-provoking introduction, Wessel compensates the reader by placing the essays in their wider scholarly context and offering some overarching conclusions that merit careful consideration. Taken together, he avers,

these essays cast an unflattering light on some of the more simplistic arguments in circulation concerning religion and nationalism. A case in point is the venerable notion, still advocated in some quarters, that nationalism constitutes an "ersatz religion" for those who can no longer abide religion's supernatural claims but still require the sense of meaning and belonging that religions traditionally have provided. Certainly one can find instances where nationalism has assumed some of the functions of religion, Wessel concedes, but this collection of essays offers many other instances where religion has survived the encounter with nationalism and given rise to novel, synthetic expressions of thought and culture.

While this collection may lack a common thesis, it does not suffer from the randomness and disjunction that often afflict works of this type. The quality of the essays is consistently excellent, and they all share the same basic concerns in common. Moreover, the authors obviously have tailored their essays with this particular volume in mind, referring time and again to the catch phrases contained in the title (the "nationalization of religion" and the "sacralization of the nation").

This book is unlikely to appeal to a wide audience. The authors generally assume a substantial degree of familiarity with the issues at hand, leaving those readers unfamiliar with the modern history of Eastern Europe unprepared to appreciate the full value of the essays. The narrow, case-study approach the authors employ allows many critical questions regarding nationalism and religion in Eastern Europe to go unanswered, which is likely to disappoint those looking for a more comprehensive overview of the subject. For specialists concerned with modern Eastern Europe and/or nationalism, however, the volume represents a valuable resource. The essays provide important insights into regions of Europe that have yet to receive the scholarly scrutiny they merit.

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MICHAEL GUBSER. *Time's Visible Surface: Alois Riegl and the Discourse on History and Temporality in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. (Kritik: German Literary Theory and Cultural Studies.) Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 300. \$54.95.

Fin-de-siècle Vienna, according to the topic's prevalent paradigm of Carl Schorske, was important to modernism around the turn of the century because of its *antihistorical* turn. Supporting this claim has been a parallel claim about the ahistorical approach of the "Austrian mind," in contrast to the historicism so evident in German thought. The idea that Vienna and Austria were a center for antihistorical thought, distinct from anything German, always stood on shaky ground, as did similar claims for fin-de-siècle Vienna not as an actual center of modern culture but as almost a cultural-historical realm unto itself. Michael Gubser has done those who study the subject a service in furthering

the dismantling of this edifice in favor of something more open, and more realistic. He does this by showing Vienna and the intellectual life of the Habsburg Monarchy as having been far more attached to history, and to the rest of the German world, than many exponents of "fin-de-siècle Vienna studies" would admit.

On one level Gubser's book is a fairly narrow account of the thought of the influential art historian, Alois Riegl, especially his claims for art history as a means by which the passing of time could be shown through the development of style in artifacts. Hence the ostensible subject of this book is Riegl's approach to the question of "temporality" and how every work of art was a part of "time's visible surface." In Gubser's view, Riegl's empirical approach allowed him to anticipate many of the questions that arose once the objectivity assumed in the historicist worldview was replaced by a more complex understanding of the relationship between past and present, object and subject. Gubser introduces Riegl's approach through a chapter on his work on ancient and medieval calendars, which is also a good illustration of Riegl's penchant for periods of transition. He then adumbrates the various academic and intellectual influences that informed Riegl's mature view, and finishes with an exposition of Riegl's thought by discussions of the art historian's major works.

Art historians will find much of interest in those chapters on art historical theory, but the chapters about the influences on Riegl have a general historical interest, because they show a completely different constellation of ideas, scholarly traditions, and cultural influences than is normally associated with fin-de-siècle Vienna. Some of these figures, such as Franz Brentano and Franz Wickhoff, will be somewhat familiar, but others, such as Theodor von Sickel, Max Büdinger, Robert Zimmermann, and Moritz Thausing, will be new to many. This is not that surprising: Vienna 1900 was a very complicated intellectual and cultural world, not the unity we sometimes imagine it to have been. At the same time, Gubser shows that behind one of Vienna's major intellectual figures lies a set of intellectual traditions much more connected to German academic thought, and to historicist ways of thinking, than we might expect. Brentano was a rebel against the school of German idealism, but he was so from *within* the German world. Similarly, von Sickel, whose hyperempiricism worked against historicist and idealist systematization of history (at the expense of any coherent "Austrian" historical identity to counter the nationalist histories of the various Habsburg national elites), was a German, trained in German historical methods. An "Austrian" thinker such as Riegl was far less divorced from historicism and the German academic world than recent fin-de-siècle Vienna historiography would like us to believe.

This contextualization of Riegl's thought brings Gubser's book to a broader level, for he is challenging the comfortable assumption that there is such a thing as a clearly circumscribed subject as "fin-de-siècle Vienna" or "fin-de-siècle Austria." As he puts it, "Culturally and

intellectually, fin-de-siècle Austria was more of a cross-roads than a crucible (p. 215). This is an interesting and useful metaphorical comparison, and Gubser's vision of Vienna 1900 as an open network of relations rather than a fixed, closed set of cultural qualities is a stimulating and helpful one. Vienna 1900 should certainly be viewed as more connected to the rest of turn-of-the-century European thought and culture than has, at times, been the case. However, there has of late been more work done in this direction than Gubser supposes, and it is also true that Vienna 1900 was not only a cross-roads but a genuine "creative milieu," in Allan Janik's words, in its own right. To that extent, perhaps the Rieglian art historical approach adopted by Gubser is a little too abstract and specialized fully to comprehend what did happen in Vienna 1900. "External" historical context cannot be ignored in the way Gubser appears to suggest. Nevertheless, this is a lively and well-argued contribution that brings a fresh and welcome perspective on a complex and important topic.

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ROGER GOUGH. *A Good Comrade: János Kádár, Communism and Hungary*. London: I.B. Tauris. 2006. Pp. xii, 323. \$45.00.

How is it possible that the man who swore in 1956 to fight Soviet tanks with his bare hands and hours later agreed to serve as quisling for a post-Soviet invasion regime in Hungary, a man who eight years earlier persuaded a friend to confess to imagined crimes to facilitate his execution, could in 1999 be voted the greatest Hungarian of the twentieth century and third-greatest Hungarian of the entire millennium? How is it possible that a bastard child, born into poverty, with only an elementary education, could become the most powerful Hungarian communist leader for three decades? Roger Gough's book shows readers how. Gough explains how Kádár, born János Csermanek, lived for the first six years of his life with a foster family, because his mother, a Slovak peasant (Borbála Csermanek), could not support him, and his father refused to acknowledge the infant. When Csermanek moved to Budapest, he never quite fit in, appearing awkward to city and provincial kids alike. Blacklisted from his job as a typewriter mechanic at age fourteen, Csermanek suffered long bouts of unemployment. Poverty and loneliness bred in him an inferiority complex and introverted personality. In 1930 or 1931 Csermanek joined the underground communist movement, which gave him a larger cause and identity. His illiterate mother and bastardy did not bother his egalitarian comrades (p. 12). The author does not state this explicitly, but perhaps due to the lack of a higher, university-level education, a tendency developed in Csermanek to focus on what is currently expedient rather than on what is morally right. These two factors, opportunism and loyalty to a larger cause, helped Kádár achieve power in the Hungarian communist system. In addition, certain accidents of history

taught Kádár key lessons and catapulted him to power, namely five stints in prison (1931–1932, 1933–1935, 1937, 1944–1946, 1951–1954); the Nazi-Soviet Pact (1940); and the end of World War II. During his first experience of torture in 1931–1932, he betrayed his fellow communist prisoners, thinking he had no choice (p. 12). Afterward he was ostracized. From this mistake—and his error of dissolving the Hungarian Communist Party in 1943—Csermanek learned the importance of maintaining party unity above all else. According to Gough, Csermanek's political isolation ended when Matyás Rákosi, whom he met in 1937 in the Csillag jail in Szeged, condoned the younger man's "honest mistake" (p. 14). In 1940, the Comintern decided to re-establish a party organization in Hungary; Csermanek was available to perform tasks in the underground again and to serve as a liaison with the legal Social Democrats. In 1945, Csermanek became one of the ten senior Politburo members elected. He adopted the Hungarian surname Kádár ("cooper"). Lacking intellectual sophistication, Kádár excelled in organization, rather than ideology, economics, or agriculture. He identified strict control over the police force as the party's key task (p. 26). When instructed by Rákosi to interrogate László Rajk, whom Kádár envied and resented for taking his job as Budapest secretary, Kádár had no qualms (p. 35). Only later, when confronted with the "physical reality" of what his "specious justifications" entailed, did Kádár feel guilt; he was allegedly seen vomiting after witnessing the execution (p. 46). Eighteen months later, Kádár himself was imprisoned for the fifth time. Released in 1954, he still praised Rákosi, again exhibiting his loyalty to a larger cause (p. 67).

In chapters seven and eight, which provide a useful day-by-day account of the Soviet and Hungarian decision-making process in 1956, we see Kádár at the height of his opportunism. Kádár agreed with Prime Minister Imre Nagy on the need for a full break with the old Rákosi-Ger? regime after he was appointed the new first secretary on October 30, 1956. Chosen suddenly by the Soviet elite to head a harsher, post-invasion regime, knowing the intervention was already underway, Kádár succumbed to a combination of fear and ambition. His belief in party unity and loyalty to the USSR prevailed. He certainly would not "opt for martyrdom" like Nagy. As Gough writes, "To view siding with the Soviet Union as a betrayal is to use a moral calculus alien to Kádár. [T]here was nothing in his thinking that made Soviet intervention wrong *in itself*" (p. 97). As he later warned Alexander Dub?ek in 1968, Nagy himself had not been a "counter-revolutionary," but had been "overtaken by events" (p. 164). Although initially acting as Leonid Brezhnev's "broker and soft cop" in the 1968 crisis, in contrast to hardliners Walter Ulbricht and Władysław Gomułka, Kádár ultimately joined Warsaw Pact forces in the invasion of Czechoslovakia when Dub?ek rejected a call from Brezhnev for yet another multilateral meeting (p. 167). The ever pragmatic Kádár "knew that Hungarian living standards were dependent on Soviet goodwill" (p. 169). Goulash communism

and the "New Economic Mechanism" (NEM) boosted Kádár's popularity by easing foreign trade restrictions, giving limited freedom to the workings of the market, and allowing a limited number of small businesses to operate in the services sector (p. 161). In contrast to the wasteful Ceaușescu of Romania, Kádár was known for his modest lifestyle, probably stemming from his poverty in childhood. All he wanted was "a bed of my own and shoes that don't leak in the winter" he once told his girlfriend Piroska (p. 15). Other factors contributing to Kádár's popularity include his peaceful abdication (again, in contrast to Ceaușescu), his sincere regret for the tragedy of 1956, especially regarding Nagy, and his death just three weeks after the reburial of Nagy on June 16, 1989.

Key strengths of Gough's biography include his lively writing style and extensive use of documents from Hungarian and U.S. archives, memoirs, and personal interviews. In short, although rather partial in places, this book is a welcome contribution to the dearth of archive-based biographies of communist leaders and should be read in conjunction with others, such as János Rainer's study of Nagy and Robert Levy's biography of Ana Pauker.

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STEPHEN M. NORRIS. *A War of Images: Russian Popular Prints, Wartime Culture, and National Identity, 1812–1945*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 277. \$40.00.

This book contributes to the growing body of literature on visual propaganda. Stephen M. Norris focuses on the *lubok*, a mass-produced illustrated broadside that enjoyed popularity among diverse strata of the rural and urban population. Combining a lively image with a brief text, the *lubok* depicted contemporary, historical, or fairy tale themes, most of them secular in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Inexpensive *lubok* prints served as one of the most effective means of conveying government-sanctioned ideas—and some that were not sanctioned—in imperial Russia, a country with low levels of literacy and a strong tradition of visual culture. After the Bolsheviks seized power, they used political posters as a vehicle for mass mobilization. *Lubok*-style posters, familiar and appealing to many Russians, circulated in the Soviet Union through World War II.

Anyone who studies Russian history comes across the imaginative and engaging *lubok*, but little has been available in English about these remarkable wood prints. Norris offers an informative account of a particular type of *lubok*—one designed for wartime—as it evolved in seven military conflicts, beginning with the Napoleonic invasion of 1812 (the "Patriotic War") and concluding with World War II (the "Great Patriotic War"). Two major themes bind together these instances of bellicist propaganda conducted under the tsarist and then the Soviet regime. First and foremost, Norris ac-

centuates the "visual world of nationhood" (p. xi) and the invention and repetition of certain visual markers of "Russianness." Russian identity acquires meaning, of course, only when it is juxtaposed to "the Other," and so it follows logically that Norris's second key theme centers around the visualization of the enemy. The author tracks these two themes in *lubok* prints and Soviet *lubok*-style posters aimed at mobilizing Russian patriotism in times of national peril.

Norris begins his story in 1812–1815 when the *lubok*, not yet under the firm grip of official government censorship, helped to mobilize Russians against the Napoleonic invasion. He identifies four major images—the male and female peasant, the Cossack, the tsar, and the church—that conveyed the "Russian spirit" in these early prints. As befits a study that foregrounds "the Other," Norris also analyzes the satirical style used by *lubok* artists to represent the enemy, including such devices as perspectival distortion (for example, miniaturization of the enemy).

By the onset of the Crimean War in 1853, the government had come to a full appreciation of the propagandistic potential of the *lubok* and installed a system to regulate its content. The Russian Orthodox faith figured more prominently than ever before, and images of individual heroes, such as exemplary soldiers, became more prevalent. Depictions of the tsar generally dropped out of the wartime *lubok* and, with the exception of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–1878, they are seldom encountered thereafter. A shift took place in the representation of enemies during the Russo-Turkish and Russo-Japanese wars with the portrayal of Russia's military opponents as "culturally and racially inferior peoples" (p. 126), a message expressed by dehumanizing imagery (the Japanese were often depicted as monkeys and dogs).

A visual repertoire signifying Russianness had accumulated by the outbreak of World War I (the "Great War"), and these images were incorporated into the wartime *lubok* by Kazimir Malevich, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Alexander Apsit, and others who contributed their talents to the war effort. The *lubok* style re-emerged in the Civil War (1918–1921) and then again during World War II when, under Soviet auspices, political posters circulated once again some of the same themes and images found in tsarist visual propaganda, now functioning within a very different political framework.

Reading Norris's book, I was struck by consistencies in the wartime *lubok* over a long period, even after revolutionary upheavals and regime change. The thirty-one well-chosen images in the volume—one wishes there had been more—illustrate the various continuities in imagery. The depiction of a resourceful and often larger-than-life peasant trouncing puny enemies appeared during the Napoleonic invasion and was still a central element in the representation of enemies one hundred years later.

At the core of the book is the claim that Russians embraced a national identity by 1917, thanks in part to

the popularity of the wartime *lubok*. This is a tricky argument because it introduces issues of reception in addition to production. In other words, Norris makes a persuasive case that these popular prints disseminated visual material designed to arouse nationalist and patriotic sentiments. But do we know how ordinary Russians interpreted these images? Evidence on reception remains limited, especially for the rural population, and commercial success in and of itself is not an adequate indicator of enthusiasm for the ideological content of the *lubok*. To his credit, Norris recognizes this problem and includes in his account fascinating material on publishers and artists, as well as consumers. Scholars will continue to debate the issue of Russian national consciousness but now they have a valuable new source on wartime visual culture.

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MARY BUCKLEY. *Mobilizing Soviet Peasants: Heroines and Heroes of Stalin's Fields*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2006. Pp. xv, 367. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$39.95.

This book takes as its subject Stakhanovism: the short-lived movement to achieve maximum productivity on collective farms in the mid to late 1930s, rather than its better-known variant in the factories. Mary Buckley finds more significance in rural Stakhanovism for the Stalinist countryside than any scholar before her. Her book focuses on the thousands of people, mostly women, who for various reasons devoted themselves to Stakhanovism in the countryside.

In this study, Buckley sets out "to capture something of the atmosphere surrounding rural Stakhanovism on farms, in conference settings, and on movie screens," in addition to its appearance and representation in party and legal settings. Buckley is interested in the ideology of Stakhanovism, the mobilization of Stakhanovites, the social backing for the phenomenon, and its impact on gender roles. Because most rural Stakhanovites were female, the book focuses on women's experiences. The author has scoured the press and central archives for information about rural Stakhanovites, and this level of detail is one of the most impressive aspects of the study. Buckley argues that people became Stakhanovites for a number of reasons, including self-interest, conformity, personal enthusiasm, and self-defense. A strength of the work is Buckley's attempt to show how local motivations interacted with and modified central directives and ideology to shape the nature of the phenomenon at the grass roots.

In making her case for the importance of the movement, Buckley argues that Stakhanovism had "relevance to the countryside at a time when leaders wished to inject diligence, dynamism, and technology into agriculture in order to produce more food and to offer peasants the opportunity for self-advancement in the grand Stalinist project and identification with it" (p.

321). This language of the state "offering opportunities" to peasants in the context of forced collectivization may strike some as incongruous. Indeed, the tension between extreme state coercion and local voluntarism lies, sometimes uncomfortably, at the heart of this study.

Buckley argues that Stakhanovism was received in various ways by different people, depending on individual and local variables, including gender, personality, and resources on the farm. Individual peasants on the ground experienced official exhortations to become Stakhanovites in many ways, often quite differently from what the regime intended. She explicitly wishes to move beyond the work of recent scholars who see little genuine enthusiasm for collectivization in the countryside. Rather, Buckley argues that many people found Joseph Stalin's dictums appealing and strived to "re-forge" their personalities in line with the remarkable participatory project of the construction of socialism.

The author shows that the Politburo was heavily involved in trying to guide and control rural Stakhanovite activities. The most interesting chapters concern the construction of official images of rural Stakhanovism. Buckley discusses some of the images of Stakhanovites in the press and films, including those that highlighted empowered women. She shows how village correspondents were encouraged by their editors and higher party authorities to locate, even "create" local Stakhanovites, and to write about their achievements.

In a chapter on collective farmers' resistance to Stakhanovism, Buckley argues, reasonably, that some peasants resisted central policies, while others embraced them with enthusiasm. Many Stakhanovite women were subject to mockery, ridicule, and even physical assault at the hands of rural dwellers who resented their hard work. Buckley uses a very broad definition of resistance, one that includes everything from "malicious gossip" to murder (p. 137). It includes acts and behaviors that were not intended to result in harm to Stakhanovites, including apparently random drunken beatings or snide comments by men to women who happened to be Stakhanovites. This definition, which includes "unconscious" and "unintentional" acts, does not advance the discussion very far.

The author is clearly sympathetic to many of those who participated in the Stakhanovite movement, arguing that they did so as a way of attacking some of the countryside's traditional problems. Buckley argues that "rural Stakhanovism was embraced by the more heroic women as a means to their own emancipation and as a challenge to gender hierarchies in the village" (p. 325). Buckley leaves unasked whether those who rejected their mobilization for shock work because it seemed to them to be a form of manipulation by a repressive regime or its local representatives could also be regarded as "heroic."

In the main, it is difficult to discern what kind of significance rural Stakhanovism really enjoyed. Buckley concludes that Stakhanovism was more important politically, ideologically, and socially than economically

since its contribution to productivity was, apparently, negligible. The book will be notable for those interested in Stakhanovism, gender in the Soviet Union, and Soviet rural life in the 1930s.

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LUDMILA STERN. *Western Intellectuals and the Soviet Union, 1920–40: From Red Square to the Left Bank*. (BASEES/Routledge Series on Russian and East European Studies.) New York: Routledge. 2007. Pp. 269. \$127.78.

It is no secret that a large number of distinguished Western intellectuals used to admire the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin, but far less is known about the specific Soviet policies and organizations designed to nurture these attitudes. One major tool was the meticulously designed conducted tour. It is the major objective of Ludmila Stern's original and well-researched study to establish and document precisely the Soviet contribution to the persuasion of Western intellectuals. The resulting picture is not flattering: official treatment combined with their subjects' favorable predisposition yielded the results the hosts sought: "[T]hese privileges made visitors close their eyes to many of the deficiencies of the system. . . Many of them were misled by their own vanity, believing the totally implausible assertions about their loyal readers and admirers in the Soviet Union and their own importance. They were seduced by luxuries, free meals and banquets, holidays and royalties and . . . flattered by the attention of the powerful" (pp. 35, 206).

Those discussed in the volume include Henri Barbusse, George Duhamel, Romain Rolland, André Malraux, Theodore Dreiser, Stefan Zweig, Victor Gollancz, Lion Feuchtwanger, and the lesser-known Jean-Richard Bloch, whose diaries provided an especially revealing documentation of a life-long commitment that included a "vow of silence" (p. 34) when defending Soviet policies became more difficult. Bloch based his sanguine assessment of Soviet food supplies in 1934 on his "impressions made by the buffet at the opening of the [Soviet Writers'] Congress and by the endless banquets, including a feast of 'incredible luxury and abundance' organized for the visiting writers at Gorky's dacha" (p. 220).

The author's complicated background helps to explain her interest in these matters. Her grandparents (of Polish-Jewish origin) lived and studied medicine in France and, being idealistic communists accused of spying for the Soviet Union, moved there in 1936. In the Soviet Union her grandfather was arrested on suspicion of spying and detained for a year and half; given his French background, he had found it difficult later to practice medicine. The author grew up in Moscow in the 1960s and 1970s and witnessed her grandparents' despair and disillusionment with the Soviet system. The family finally managed to leave for Australia in 1982. Stern has delved into the relevant archival sources in

both Russia and France. Although her findings are applicable to Western intellectuals in general, she makes particularly good use of French cases and sources.

In light of the Soviet preoccupation with ideas as weapons, it is not surprising that the Soviet (and other) communist authorities were anxious to influence public opinion in Western countries by using prominent Western intellectuals to disseminate favorable impressions of the Soviet system. The Russian tradition of "Potemkin villages" also helped to nurture these efforts, as did the totalitarian nature of the Soviet system: the attention to detail, the obsession with maximizing controls over the lives of citizens, and state control over all resources.

Specific organizations were set up to perform these tasks such as the International Association of Revolutionary Writers, the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, as well as the Foreign Commission of the Soviet Writers' Union. Interpreter-guides compiled detailed reports about the character, reactions, moods, and political attitudes of visitors; every aspect of their stay was carefully planned and controlled. The targeted visitors, mostly writers and artists, were subject to extensive flattery ranging from the heavy handed to more sophisticated. They were exposed to elaborate itineraries designed to display the most attractive features of Soviet society, including model prisons built to impress them. They were also introduced to important Soviet intellectuals and artists as well as "ordinary workers" who conveyed unconditional support for the system and were often intimately familiar with the writings of these visitors. The more important visitors also met high-ranking leaders.

It is a reflection of the stubborn persistence of old political loyalties, no matter how thoroughly discredited by historical evidence, that as recently as in the late 1990s Stern's findings received a "vitriolic response" (p. 202) from true believers in France unwilling to admit that their political beliefs and hopes made them vulnerable to both organized deception and self-deception. This informative volume deserves to be widely read and pondered.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

BETH BARON. *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 287. \$55.00.

This engagingly written book traces gendered iconography and women's nationalist activism in post-World War I Egypt. Correlations between feminized iconographies of nation and (representations of) women's activism were complex, given gender's centrality to nationalist articulations and groupings. As in many postcolonial nationalisms, an abiding point of contestation between nationalists and imperialists was where,

on modernity's thermometer, the mercury stopped when it came to women's status. Did Egyptians treat "their women" well enough to merit a place on the homosocial global stage of national political autonomy? That women aspired to walk onto the political stage complicated matters.

Part one of Beth Baron's book argues that particular kinship metaphors emerged in the nineteenth century as family definitions shifted, offering scaffolding for the metaphorization of territory-as-woman, which Baron then explores through discussions of caricature, monumental sculpture, and photography. The first chapter rehearses existing scholarship on the end of the harem system and elite transformations as connected to a forming idiom of nationalism. Baron is not the first to speak of a "perceived crisis of the family at the turn of the century" (p. 17), yet no one has investigated whether a few elite writers' warnings are borne out by demographics. Did slavery's (slow) end entail much more than a tempest in a tiny elite teacup? If this was the elite kernel that spearheaded nationalism, it remains unclear what the real contribution of the gradual dismantling of "harem" (itself a variable set of practices and understandings) was to nationalism or gender politics. More convincingly, Baron argues that familial metaphors allowed disparate (but privileged) elements of the nation to construct a unified national narrative with affective power and hierarchical authority.

Baron traces how these familial metaphors and gendered constructions of "the nation" play out in visual iconography. Although she promises to analyze "literary discourses," her discussion focuses on visual spheres. Through cartoons and photographs, painting and sculpture, she finds the nation's central representative persona shifting from peasant woman to (elite) pharaonic woman and on to the modern new woman and the young girl, linking these representational changes to broader conceptual and ideological shifts and changes in some women's educational and economic statuses. One could complicate this trajectory by analyzing images more fully alongside verbal texts: how did the imagery of the peasant woman as Egypt intersect with nationalist polemics on the peasantry or feminist uses of "the peasant woman" as verbal icon in arguing for women's rights to work? Were editors not only finding resonant ways to represent the nation (maternal, fecund, historically rooted, helpless, naïve), but also responding subtly to emerging discourses on women as autonomous political actors?

Part two offers the book's original contribution, charting women's political activities and memories of them in strong chapters on the 1919 elite women's nationalist demonstrations and Safiyya Zaghlul, spouse of nationalist leader Sa'd Zaghlul. In 1919, women entered public politics spurred by collective and individual nationalist sentiments. But it was as symbols of anti-imperialist mass popular protest, not as political actors, that they were remembered. Tracing the archival record, Baron finds discrepancies between a likely reconstruction of events and the dominant national/ist

memory of them. Certain dramatic moments became part of public memory; others, that might emphasize women's autonomous political acts, receded. Similarly, Safiyya Zaghlul—whose husband was exiled in 1919—was a central force in nationalist politics, but in representation, her political role was subsumed in a maternal idiom, partly due to Zaghlul's able manipulation of her public image. Here and elsewhere, Baron provides good analysis of the ways women's changing dress practices were both evident in visual representation and constitutive of it.

Any study of representation faces vexing questions of text reception. If being "Mother of the Egyptians," showing a gentle matronly demeanor in photographs, gave Zaghlul solid national "play," did this image reach beyond the urban middle class? How did viewers process it? Photography and caricature could offer emotive impact and a representational presence open to all at a time of low literacy. But what did consumers of national culture make of images? The book makes some assumptions that are open to question: for example, Baron says (adducing no evidence) that artists probably imagined a mostly male audience. Why? Print journalism meant publications could be enjoyed at home, by all. If capturing the nation as woman was meant to tap into received notions of national-familial honor, what happened when females were put in the position of viewer?

Similarly with photography: how can Baron know that for viewers, photographs in illustrated magazines "advance[d] a sense of national family" (p. 83)? And, if magazine photography was a kind of national glue, what about the presence in these magazines of many photos of (and features on) non-Egyptians? Many women portrayed in these and other magazines were not Egyptian, or were but led transnational careers; what did this do to people's imaginary national boundaries? Photographs often accompanied features that complicated the story (national and personal), offering narratives that belied photographs' constructions of instant identity. Such images must be read alongside other popular culture, as readers of the time would have done—the culture of ephemera, of printed songs and concert announcements, translated romance and adventure novels, fictional memoirs, and colloquial poetry, where central concerns were changing practices and understandings of gendered roles and the family, debates over prostitution and female poverty, stories of abandoned wives and cuckolded husbands, satires on elite mores, public politics, and consumption patterns. The production of iconographies of national unity was not uncontested in the cultural field. Baron finds that memories of women's activism were "suppressed or forgotten" (p. 3) while the imagery of woman-as-nation persisted. She labels such memories "counternarratives." Yet the "silenced, marginalized, or incorporated" counternarratives (p. 2) offered here are only partially that, as narratives lived and spoken by elite women and produced by mainstream magazines. Baron does not claim to tell the whole story, but resonances

of her selected images would be richer if set against a broader range of, and closer attention to, texts.

Baron does not offer close analysis of verbal texts. Less a problem when focusing on action and image, the lacuna is acute in a final chapter on Labiba Ahmad, daughter of an effendi (middle-class professional) family and 1919 demonstrator who marked out a path shaped by an Islam-centered view of national culture. Baron argues correctly for the importance of Ahmad's story to Egyptian women's activism and does a service by delineating Ahmad's activist and journalistic career. Yet, because she does not attend to the fine threads of rhetoric in the magazine Ahmad founded, she falls into the familiar but overly simple dichotomy of Islamist versus secularist (and/or "europeanizing"). Concerning the genre I know best, Baron is wrong to suggest that Ahmad's *Magazine of the Women's Awakening* featured biographies of Muslim women to the exclusion of "Western women" (and portrayals of "Western women" might also emphasize religion as basis of the community, as in biographies of Jeanne d'Arc that interestingly anachronize "the nation"). What is so interesting about women's journals is their intelligent wrangling over issues of collective identity, as "women," "Egyptians," "Muslims," or "Easterners." To evaluate Ahmed's importance then and now, one must enter the texture of her writing as well as her image.

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AMOS NADAN. *The Palestinian Peasant Economy under the Mandate: A Story of Colonial Bungling*. (Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, number 32.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 370. \$19.95.

ASSAF LIKHOVSKI. *Law and Identity in Mandate Palestine*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 312. \$49.95.

For years, historians writing about the mandate period in the Middle East concentrated on diplomatic and political issues, particularly the division of the former Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire into proto-states and the emergence of anticolonial and nationalist movements dominated by political elites. In the 1990s, historians began to shift their focus to the social and cultural effects of mandatory control. Over the past decade and a half, historians have produced a number of studies on issues as varied as the introduction of the welfare-oriented state into the region, the manner by which French and British policies fostered sectarianism and social stratification, the role played by new legal systems and urban reconstruction in reconstituting public and private domains, and the widening of the civic order to include feminist, labor, and Islamist movements. The two books under review fit comfortably into recent trends.

Amos Nadan's book is by far the better of the two

under review and, indeed, makes a substantial contribution to our understanding of both economic and social life in rural Palestine during the mandate period. Nadan makes three arguments in his book. First, he disputes the widely held notion that the Palestinian peasant economy expanded during the 1930s. Unlike many earlier historians of rural Palestine, Nadan is a trained historical economist. By culling and carefully analyzing every source he can get his hands on—from oral histories to documents held in British and Israeli archives and in collections at Oxford University and Barclay's Bank—he has produced a radically revisionist account of a rural economy that contracted during the first two decades of the mandate.

Nadan's second argument concerns the problematic foundation for British policy in rural Palestine. According to Nadan, the intercommunal disturbances in 1929 served as a wake-up call for the British, who hit on the idea that alleviating rural poverty would calm their unruly mandate. The British premised their efforts, however, on two faulty assumptions. First, they believed that peasant irrationality rendered the indigenous inhabitants of rural Palestine incapable of making proper market-oriented decisions. Second, the British applied what Nadan unfortunately calls "Marxist"-style assumptions about development. Like latter-day modernization theorists, the British believed that all that was needed to lift the peasantry out of poverty was the elimination of "traditional" structures that inhibited development—exploitative credit mechanisms, communal ownership of land—and their replacement by more rational structures. The British thus introduced schemes to accelerate land registration, restructure and rationalize credit mechanisms, and modernize agricultural infrastructure. With the exception of tax relief, British policies misfired. The rural economy of Palestine continued to decline until the 1940s, a period Palestinians still call "the prosperity." According to Nadan, this reversal had nothing to do with the efficacy of British programs; instead, it came about as a result of British military deployments to Palestine that began during the 1936–1939 Great Revolt and continued through World War II. The deployments expanded the market for locally produced goods and expanded job opportunities for urban migrants (and, it might be added, created inflationary pressures that diminished peasant debt).

Nadan's final argument is that Jewish immigration had mixed results on the Palestinian economy. On the one hand, immigration created an urban market for Palestinian goods and was thus potentially beneficial for the rural economy. These benefits were more than offset, however, by Zionist land purchases, which removed a crucial resource from the Arab/Palestinian sector of the economy. Furthermore, since programs aimed at ameliorating the rural sector were, more often than not, counterproductive, neither the indigenous inhabitants nor the Jewish community in Palestine benefited when the British adopted a tax policy that effectively transferred wealth from the predominantly

Jewish urban sector and applied it toward rural development.

As far as the decline of the rural economy during the 1920s and 1930s is concerned, Nadan's book presents a convincing case. Nevertheless, his subtitle may be too harsh. As Nadan describes, British policies during the interwar period did prove successful in the field of "human development"—life expectancy, educational attainment, per capita share of the GDP—in which there was a "major improvement in the Arab sector throughout the Mandate period" (p. 152). Could it be that the real bungling to which Nadan is referring is the aforementioned transfer of wealth from the Jewish to the Arab sector of the economy? Furthermore, although Nadan might differ with the particular stereotypes the British employed when dealing with the peasants of Palestine, he, too, seems to reify the categories of peasant and "traditional peasant economy" (pp. xxi), which he presents as timeless. (While the British viewed peasants as irrational, Nadan attributes the entire history of the Israel-Palestine conflict from 1948 on to the "immaturity" [p. 341] of Arab and Jewish leaders). Thus, readers would be well advised to ground themselves historically by reading Beshara Doumani's excellent *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700–1900* (1995), which provides the historical context for later developments.

Assaf Likhovski's book addresses a very different problem in the history of mandatory Palestine: law and identity. The book contains some interesting tidbits, mostly concerning the evolution of debates among British jurists about what aspects of British law and legal practice might be transferable overseas, but for the most part the book disappoints. Early on, Likhovski announces that his study will make three arguments. First, legal debates do not take place in a vacuum, and jurists are influenced by environmental and ideological factors. Second, "Law is not merely about power. It is also about self-definition" (p. 8). Finally, identities are unstable, people who appear to form a single community have different notions of identity, and therefore a simple dichotomization between "colonizer" (in this case the British) and "colonized" (in this case the Jewish and Arab inhabitants of Palestine) is an oversimplification.

Since none of these arguments is particularly novel, one would assume that the strength of the book would lie in its historical analysis. Alas, this is not the case. Likhovski is clearly more interested in the British side of the equation (which takes up half the book) than he is in the Jewish and Arab/Palestinian communities. Likhovski expunges entire domains of law from his discussion, as if rabbinic and shari'a courts and the issues of personal status they were entrusted with were not central to debates about identity. The section on law and identity in the Arab/Palestinian community—based almost entirely on articles published in a single legal journal and treatises on Bedouin law by a single author—is particularly superficial, and his statement that an author of a journal article "welcomed the female 'holy war' (jihad) for equality" (p. 182)—which might be bet-

ter rendered "the female struggle (jihad) for equality"—does little to bolster confidence in his skills as an Arabist. The book is replete with mistakes of fact (contrary to the author's assertion, the British never "promised to establish a Jewish national home in Palestine [p. 39] in the Balfour Declaration), commonplaces passed off as profundities ("Nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Western texts often portrayed the Islamic world as exotic and mysterious" [p. 47]; "Nationalists are both traditionalists and modernizers" [p. 202]), and questionable historical judgments (the author does not even consider the possibility that the 1936–1939 Great Revolt, and not the personalities of presiding judges, might have led to a Supreme Court ruling expressing the undesirability of imposing British customary law in Palestine—a strange conclusion for one whose purpose is to demonstrate how context influences law). In sum, those seeking to understand the law/identity dialectic in mandate Palestine are more likely to be frustrated than enlightened by Likhovski's book.

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REIDAR VISSER. *Basra, the Failed Gulf State: Separatism and Nationalism in Southern Iraq*. (Politik: Forschung und Wissenschaft.) Münster: Lit., 2005. Pp. x, 238. \$39.95.

As the threat of a fractured Iraqi state looms, Reidar Visser's timely exercise in counterfactual micro-history reminds us that what is southern Iraq today did not have to be part of the modern state. The question posed in this well-researched, instructive case study is not only whether or not Basra was merely a failed Persian Gulf state, but whether it could ever have become a maritime republic? In short, we learn that the possibility for independence was there, but that the Basra separatist movement of 1921 failed to exploit the opportunity. How so?

Basra had economic and demographic potential. Located at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, bordered in the north by marshes and the south by desert, the city sits at the center of the date-growing region and for much of its history was only tenuously connected to Baghdad, instead looking south as part of the Indian Ocean regional trade network. At the end of the nineteenth century with the opening of the Suez Canal and British commercial interests in the area that brought it into the world economy, Basra was revitalized as a commercial center. The grain and wool shipped south from Baghdad and the locally produced and packed dates were exported via the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean to Britain and America. Imports were transshipped from the Persian Gulf to points north. A cosmopolitan city of Muslims, Christians, Jews, Persians, and Indians, Basra was expanding; its economic growth, by the turn of the twentieth century, coincided with the process of Ottoman centralization that brought the city more directly within the imperial

orbit. Now living in a provincial capital instead of a port city, the old Sunni dominant commercial elites found themselves vying for power with Ottoman educated bureaucrats. They were also becoming increasingly marginalized demographically as Shi'ism expanded in the south through Persian immigration and the work of proselytizing clerics from the Shi'ite holy cities of Najaf and Karbala.

Twice during the twentieth century—first under Turkish rule and then after World War I—members of the Basra business community opted for independence under British protection rather than incorporation either in the Ottoman Empire or in the newly created Iraqi state. In 1921, taking Lebanon under French protection or Kuwait and the Trucial States under British tutelage as models, they petitioned the British for independence. But, the separatists did not exploit modern political methods to press their case; their timing was wrong; and, by the early 1930s, the Iraqi state machinery suppressed any chance for independence. Unlike the Arab nationalists who had the political expertise of the Ottoman trained bureaucratic *effendiyya*, the Basra separatists did not form political parties, propagate a political platform, or create a regional cultural mythology based on an area-specific identity. In the wake of the archaeological excitement in the south during the 1920s, they neither built on Basra's Sumerian antecedents nor marketed their dates as "Basra" exports. Other contenders for power excluded them even as they, too, withdrew from the political arena. The Shi'ites who by this time dominated southern Iraq and could have incorporated the Basra separatist movement into their own were no longer political players by the end of the 1920s. Pinning hope on the British was also futile as the movement was overtaken by events. Despite their protectionist policy in Kuwait, before World War I, the British supported Ottoman claims to Basra. By 1921, London had not only decided the future of Iraq but was in the process of implementing the course of action. Iraq was to elect a king, and the separatist petition arrived when Faisal was on his way to assume his post. What remained to be seen as oil entered imperial calculations was not an independent Basra but how hegemonic British domination of all of Iraq would be. After a decade as a British mandate, independence came in 1932, and the Iraqi political and bureaucratic juggernaut moved south. Conscription, that nationalist leveler, was imposed, and the bureaucrats from Baghdad regulated the export of Iraqi, not Basra, dates. All the while, the separatists had to contend with such erstwhile local politicians as Sayyid Talib of Basra and the Shiite tribal leader Abd al-Muhsin al-Saadun, whose allegiances shifted with the political winds. And on the borders, both the shaykh of Persia's border province with Iraq, Muhammara also known as Arabistan because of its Arab population, and the regimes of the Persians to the east and the Saudis to the south eyed Basra and its environs longingly.

Thus, an independent Basra would not materialize. Using archival sources, memoirs, private papers, and

newspapers, Visser weaves the story of imperial policy, state development, individual political pragmatism, changing tribal allegiances, and the territorial machinations of Iraq's neighbors to add this important contribution to the growing literature on Basra.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

TOYIN FALOLA and ANN GENOVA, editors. *Yorùbá Identity and Power Politics*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2006. Pp. x, 370. \$75.00.

The Yorùbá comprise one of Africa's largest and most visible ethnic groups. In Nigeria, the roughly 30 million Yorùbá include prominent government officials, entrepreneurs, intellectuals, musicians, and a Nobel prize-winner; in the diaspora, large numbers in Brazil and Cuba claim Yorùbá descent and culture. Yet as the contributors to this volume emphasize, "Yorùbá" identity is complicated. "The Yorùbá since time immemorial have occupied a region located in present-day southwestern Nigeria commonly referred to as *Yorùbáland*" (p. 1), editors Toyin Falola and Ann Genova write in their introduction. However, the region's people rarely thought of themselves as more than loosely connected before the late nineteenth century, and their primary geographic and political loyalties often were and are to their towns or subregions rather than *Yorùbáland* writ large. Indeed, the term *Yorùbá* itself apparently derives from the name more northerly peoples called the inhabitants of the Òyó Empire, whose heyday was in the eighteenth century. United by a common creation myth, Òyó imperialism, and the work of nineteenth-century cultural nationalists, "Yorùbá" people have most often overlooked their considerable differences and rivalries (and continue to do so) when in competition for power in an enlarged political sphere. It is this intersection of ethnic identity and politics that forms the focus of the volume, and although it seems primarily useful for specialists in Nigerian history and politics, the essays in this book may yield insights to those interested in ethnicity and colonial and postcolonial states more generally.

Contributors to the first section of the volume, called "Writing Yorùbá," focus on the development of Yorùbá studies from the nineteenth century to the present. Although they sometimes hedge the question of whether indigenous historians simply *recorded* Yorùbá history or whether they also helped produce the very identity they purported to describe, these chapters make clear that ethnic notions, and the power struggles to which they are related, rest on conceptions of history. As such, some of the contributors endeavor to place those on the geographic margins, along and across the Benin border, as migrants in northern Nigeria, and in North America firmly within the history of the Yorùbá. Some selections also draw on a range of sources mostly accessible inside Nigeria—including oral histories, di-

aries, and archaeological research—to offer glimpses of Yorùbá social histories.

If Yorùbá identity is in part based on notions of history, it is largely symbolized by chiefs. Traditional rulers such as the Aláàfin of Òyó, the Ooni of Ifè, and the Awujale of Ijèbú have been, and are, ceremonial representatives of their Yorùbá subgroups as well as political actors among their immediate constituents, in relation to other Yorùbá subgroups, and within the larger Nigerian political stage. The essays in part two of the volume address the changing powers and roles of Yorùbá chiefs from their cooptation into the colonial system of indirect rule, to their uneasy relationship with independence-era Yorùbá nationalists, through their encounters with post-independence civilian and military leaders in Nigeria. As Olufemi Vaughan and others show, the leaders of the anticolonial movement in southwestern Nigeria rallied support on the basis of a pan-Yorùbá ideology, and as such courted the chiefs' support, yet they also believed that the new nation should be governed by educated elites rather than those holding "traditional" offices. In part, their ethnically based nationalism was a legacy of colonialism: British policies had promoted chiefs as representatives of "their" people and pursued divide and rule tactics based on region and ethnicity. But postcolonial leaders have continued to play the politics of ethnicity and region, even as they relate uneasily to chiefs, and even as they compete with each other within ethnic groups. Similarly, chiefs during and since the colonial period have jockeyed to preserve and strengthen their own positions.

The shadow of Nigeria's aborted June 12, 1993, presidential election looms over the chapters in part three, on "Identity and Modern Politics." While Yorùbá individuals have substantially contributed to the development of Nigerian politics, Funso Afolayan and Olayiwola Abegunrin are in agreement that the Yorùbá as a group have been marginalized in the national sphere. The military's annulment of the first election in which a Yorùbá man, Chief M. K. O. Abiola, would have become president, they and others argue, underscores a pattern in which northern interests have unjustly dominated the central government of Nigeria, notwithstanding the recent presidency of the Yorùbá ex-general, Olusegun Obasanjo.

Ultimately, the chapters in this volume raise a key issue for many states that were created out of colonial rule over diverse peoples: how can ethnic differences be managed within a democratic national structure? Moreover, they highlight the historical production of ethnic identities and the complex, shifting ways in which the boundaries between "insiders" and "outsiders" are drawn, within and between local, regional, and national communities. Although grounded in the particularities of Yorùbá history, this volume speaks to issues relevant beyond Nigeria.

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STEPHEN J. ROCKEL. *Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa*. (Social History of Africa Series.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2006. Pp. xix, 345. Cloth \$124.95, paper \$29.95.

Stephen J. Rockel's book takes on two major themes in African historiography. The first of these is labor migration. There is a vast literature on colonial and post-colonial African migration to mines, railways, cities, and plantations. Arguably the study of labor migration is the predominant form of African labor history. Rockel's groundbreaking study of the porters who worked the nineteenth-century caravan routes of East Africa argues that labor migration and wage labor predate the colonial intervention and that international capitalism was drawing African porters into its orbit well before the mines of the South African Rand opened. The second theme Rockel engages, albeit less directly, is that of African exceptionalism. The most assertive proponent of African exceptionalism currently is Joseph Miller, who has argued that Africa might best serve as a foil or counterexample in comparative history, evidence that states and economies and social orders need not have taken the form they did in the rest of the world. Without directly engaging this debate, Rockel's argument that the organization of labor in the caravans and the culture of the porters themselves are best understood in light of the culture and organization of work crews in other places and times puts him at odds with this exceptionalist argument. By comparing the world of Nyamwezi porters to that of European sailors and New Zealand loggers, he places this aspect of African labor history firmly in the global mainstream.

Rockel's account begins in the late eighteenth century as groups of Yao and Nyamwezi men began to come to the coast to bring ivory and other goods for sale into the Indian Ocean and world economies. In both societies working as a caravan porter became a source of status and wealth and ultimately a profession. Rockel is adamant that the vast majority of porters were free, and not slaves, as much abolitionist propaganda insisted. The book focuses mostly on the Nyamwezi (who live in what is now west-central Tanzania) and makes the case that among the Nyamwezi being a porter was something one took pride in. The porters were a self-regulating group and enforced a code of behavior intended to protect the collective reputation of the Nyamwezi. For example, while it was perfectly acceptable for a porter to desert a caravan, deserting Nyamwezi porters did not steal goods entrusted to them and were expected to leave behind any wages they had received in advance. Porters caught stealing from their loads by their fellow porters were also punished by them. The Nyamwezi took pride in their capacity to carry heavy loads, especially in the transportation of ivory, which seems to have been a form of skilled labor. Upon their arrival in coastal towns they drank, fought, and generally ran amok. In all these respects Nyamwezi porters seem to have been comparable to other work crews in the early industrial world.

Rockel provides a thoroughly researched and finely detailed account of caravan life, looking at what the porters wore, how they were paid, how caravans were organized, how porters collectively negotiated for better pay and conditions, where they camped, what the most challenging parts of the routes were, what they ate, and so on. Parts of the book almost read like travel literature. There are good maps and a fine collection of photos and engravings. As detailed social history there is no comparable work available for the period and place.

If the book has a shortcoming it is its narrowness of focus. Almost unaddressed is Africa's unusual dependence on human porters for transportation. Save for the pre-Columbian Americas, the African dependence on human porters in unprecedented. In East Africa the paucity of easily navigable rivers and the presence of enzootic trypanosomiasis, which killed almost any potential pack animal, made human porters the only real option for long-distance trade. If the work crew culture of Nyamwezi was similar to that of other crew cultures, the economics of their work seems to have been quite exceptional. One has to wonder how humans could carry enough trade goods to buy food during the course of a three-month journey and still have anything left over to sell at the end of the trip. Obviously they did, because the caravan system worked until the railways were built, but there is no treatment of the economics of the caravan from the perspective of the merchants who fitted them out.

The book also suffers from sloppy production. Many of the photo captions have had their last line (or possibly more) excised. Worse, the last two chapters end in mid-sentence. Rockel's final summation of his work is missing or truncated. The author deserves better from his publisher. That said, the book should be of interest both to Africanists and to labor historians who work on other regions.

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BRETT L. SHADLE. *"Girl Cases": Marriage and Colonialism in Gusiiland, Kenya, 1890–1970*. (Social History of Africa Series.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2006. Pp. xliii, 256. Cloth \$92.95, paper \$29.95.

Brett L. Shadle's book on marriage in Gusiiland, Kenya, is a sound piece of empirical history. Analysis of marriage relationships is fundamental to African social history, because marriage regulated access to the vital productive resources of labor, land, and cattle and defined the web of kinship alliances on which social and political life was based. However, our understanding of the importance of marriage in African social history is not yet matched by a great knowledge of the various ways in which marriages were experienced. Shadle's book provides a useful case study of how marriage relationships were contested, renegotiated, and reformed in a part of Eastern Africa across the twentieth century.

Shadle's work does not contain any surprises. The book's value lies in its very clear exposition of how in-

ternal and external pressures acted to fulfill or frustrate the aspirations to love, marriage, and prosperity among farmers and herders in an isolated highland area of inland Kenya. It also includes a good case study of the invention of chiefships, and of how their ability to confer patronage enabled them to become effective authorities. These empirical accounts are interesting, if not particularly original. However, two elements of the book make it special: its attention to rural communities and its sources.

Many of the accounts we have of renegotiations in African marriage derive from urban contexts, where men and women had seized the opportunity to repudiate or neglect marriage arrangements negotiated in their rural homes. In Shadle's communities, there was no option to walk away from the problem, and so people consistently sought a solution to marital unhappiness within the existing framework of kin obligations and bridewealth investments. Consequently there is much discussion about the nature of marriage and the rights and duties it entails. None disputed that a legitimate marriage involved bridewealth negotiations between the contracting families. Yet Shadle draws vivid contrasts between women's claims that a marriage should also involve love, and the strictly formal understanding of a marriage as the outcome of an exchange of bride-wealth and the consent of the family elders. Moreover, Shadle found that when economic decline in the 1970s reduced the relative significance of bridewealth for family prosperity, the community began to downplay the importance of bridewealth in legitimizing a relationship.

We know about these discussions because they were preserved in the sources that Shadle uses. These sources are the records of elders' tribunals, which used local jurisprudence rather than a colonial "customary law." Such tribunals occurred everywhere in twentieth-century Africa, but because they were normally outside the officially sanctioned legal system, we rarely have records of them. In Gusiiland, the tribunals were a tool of indirect rule, and so were recorded for auditing purposes. Shadle uses them to identify how elders, husbands, junior men, wives, and single women defined and responded to their problems. He demonstrates how groups and individuals could have conflicting interests—not only economically but also emotionally—as they tried to respond to rapid economic and political change. Shadle moves beyond simple male/female and elder/junior dichotomies to show how difficult it can be to stop socioeconomic changes that offer great potential for individual wealth at the expense of broader social cohesion and stability. His sources enable him to reveal the constraints and pressures experienced by local people, while he uses more conventional archival records to paint in the background: economic boom with the introduction of cash crops; shifting administrative and legal policy; agitation for women's rights from metropolitan liberals; and economic decline from the late 1960s.

While this book is rich in empirical data, providing a convincing narrative of change, it is a pity that Shadle does not push some ideas a bit further. In particular, it

would have benefited from more interrogation of the conceptual differences between local people and the state. Much of the book traces the shift toward, and then away from, criminalization of adultery, but its discussion is thin on how (or even whether) the civil/criminal distinction was drawn (and redrawn?) by local African communities. Conversely, the book says little about how the state understood local jurisprudence and obtained knowledge of the power of elders and chiefs. We are told that when white officials heard marriage cases, they came to very different rulings from those handed down by elders (p. 196). Moreover, there are intriguing observations that white administrators believed elders' tribunals could order divorce more easily than was actually true in practice (p. 195). And despite the book's title, its analysis emphasizes that initiation and marriage were the preconditions for adulthood. These cases, by definition, involved women. Who called them "girl cases," and why? It is also a pity that so much interesting discussion is buried in footnotes. Nonetheless, this is a useful book, well written and with clear case studies for teaching purposes.

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LYNETTE A. JACKSON. *Surfacing Up: Psychiatry and Social Order in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1908–1968*. (Cornell Studies in the History of Psychiatry.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 230. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

There have been many studies of mental hospitals by social scientists, and studies of the creation of new forms of mass incarceration. Many of the histories take cues from Michel Foucault, especially *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1968) in that, ultimately, their claim to importance is to use madness and its treatment as diagnostic of ordinary, normative values and practices. It is doubly interesting to consider this dynamic in a colonial framework. One thinks of the paradigm of Jean Rouch's 1955 film *Les Maîtres Fous* (The Crazy Masters). But of course the people in Rouch's film were not mad.

The project here has been only partially successful. There is much to be said of interest about the history of defining and containing groups of people deemed unfit to exist on their own. But there is really no agreement about what Europe's past treatment of madness says about European society, much less colonial outposts. And there are few first-person accounts, unfortunately, from which to weave a hypothesis.

The specific focus of Lynette A. Jackson's book is Ingutsheni Mental Hospital, in Belmont, outside Bulawayo, an institution dating from the turn of the century in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. As one might expect, the "native ward" of the only mental asylum in the racist colony was not a pretty place. Poor people, pellagra sufferers, the malnourished, tertiary syphilis, and alcoholics made up much of the inmate population (numbering in the hundreds until the mid-twen-

tieth century). Jackson does not deny that something else may have bound them together: that they were perhaps also mad. In fact, she concedes this too quickly, on the grounds that space was always at a premium at Ingutsheni, so sane people were unlikely to have been held for very long. Jackson includes a couple of stories that show that insane women (especially women) could be taken out of the asylum and jailed, but little evidence that sane people were kept in.

But what determined the diagnosis "mad"? First of all, it began as a permanent judgment. These were "incurables." Most African men who lived in Ingutsheni over the years were also to be violent. Interestingly Jackson shows that the nomenclature "psychopath" was reserved exclusively for white men. So if the diagnoses were racially coded, why accept that the African men were mad? Taciturn, masturbatory, homosexual, surly: these characteristics among warring *impis* or associates of healing cults might have been dealt with very differently in the past. And we have to remember that in the 1920s, the 1930s, even in the 1950s the mentality of whole peoples was derided as infantile, even pathologized as schizophrenic by reputable "experts," as Jock McCulloch and Jonathan Sadowsky have also pointed out in their studies. (Jackson notes some of this literature on page 69.) Do we really know that unattached African women in the hospital were mad?

But that is not the whole story. There is the matter of the treatment of people at Ingutsheni, regardless of whether they were sane or mad. In light of recent books revising our understanding of medical "pioneers," from Benjamin Rush to early twentieth-century practitioners of phrenology, lobotomies, the Tuskegee experiments, and so forth, the varnish is now off the history of the medical profession. Yet by any standard Ingutsheni was a dismal place. It was a kind of human zoo with no audience, a warehouse with "keepers," in the late Victorian phase, for unmanageable and yet somehow nonculpable people. Next came the years of pretended modernization, mostly for whites, whereas the "native" halls still continued to feature people asleep in their own feces. Finally, in 1933, the state paid for the appointment of a psychiatrist ("alienist") instead of "head keeper." He and subsequent chiefs quickly pursued questionable and often deadly "therapies," all in the interests of moving people off the grounds, whether in a bag or upright. At Ingutsheni chemical "convulsive therapies" and egg-scrambling women's forebrains killed scores of African patients. Jackson tells this story well and economically. Too economically. What was the mortality rate of Ingutsheni compared to European hospitals? Or at least between the European and "native" sections of Ingutsheni? We do not know. Ingutsheni more than doubled in size from 1945 to 1960 Jackson tells us, to over 1700 "patients." But the story of therapy in those years—the ECT, ice-pick surgery, race-based mortality—is dealt with in only a few pages (pp. 174–178). And one learns next to nothing about white patients, their backgrounds, their treatments. I do not understand all of Jackson's decisions here.

On to a final question: Can any self-expression be recovered from the mad? In other words, what about the hope that the words of the mad can diagnose aspects of colonialism otherwise not so clear to us? Here we are disappointed although through no fault of Jackson's. There is apparently too little material for much to be concluded about what mad people at Ingutsheni said or thought, or whether their delusions threw light on the insane dimension of colonialism, its irrationality and harmfulness, or even their own lives.

Jackson's main conclusion seems to me to be that African women, as the "Other's Other," the "bestial Other," members of the sex considered "normally abnormal but generally sane," were picked off, as it were, when they were "Surfacing Up," living on their own terms. Jackson shows that it was arguably mad to be a woman uncontrolled by men in the colonial domain, and women whose presence was inexplicable to colonial authorities in this way might well wind up at Ingutsheni. Jackson even strikes an inspirational tone, citing Ma Rainey, Angela Davis, Frantz Fanon, and talks about Shona women's "defiance" (pp. 103, 116). Unfortunately, according to Jackson, most of the women put in Ingutsheni were probably also incommunicado, nonsensical, paranoid, or delusional.

The keen appreciation of male interest in order at Ingutsheni is not matched by a sophisticated understanding of what Jackson calls the "traditional" way, the "Shona" mode (versus the modern mode of Ingutsheni). Ingutsheni's several hundred beds were supposed to do for thousands of people, so most individuals with serious mental handicaps were kept within their extended families. Ingutsheni was clearly a place of very last resort. Yet the "African (Shona) therapeutic model" had undergone great changes in so constituting itself long before the professionalization movement of the 1960s, typified by H. S. M. Ushewokunze and G. L. Chavunduka's "Zimbabwean National Traditional Healers' Association" (ZNTHA). The business of "healer" developed into an urban concern outside the contexts of autonomous chiefly states in the same period that Ingutsheni incarcerated the insane. It was as much of an evolving mode as Ingutsheni was. Jackson says the growth of Western medical care as an option created a situation where there were many therapies available, but in which family decision makers began shifting cases whose etiology was "unnatural" or "spiritual" to "traditional healers" (p. 165). But this is really only what helped define the purview of the ZNTHA in the later period. Even chaining and handcuffing persons to trees is called "traditional therapy." The spiritualization of the culprit was opposed to what—an "imbalance" in the brain? A "blockage"? "Epileptic schizophrenia"? The Western "biomedical" explanation of mental abnormality over the decades (1908–1968) was hardly a model of clarity.

So what was this dividing line (Ingutsheni vs. traditional therapy) really about—community resolution versus finding one's context in the workplace? Or was the question whether one could afford a *ngaka* ("traditional" professional healer), if family ties had been broken?

The framing of the book, in which Ushewokunze's angry tour of Ingutsheni in 1980 begins and ends the story, would be more persuasive if Ushewokunze had not been purged by President Robert Mugabe the very next year. Apparently he was too enthusiastic about reform. Perhaps things got better at Ingutsheni after that. Still, one shudders to think about the place now, in the twilight years of the Mugabe autocracy.

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JEREMY KRIKLER. *White Rising: The 1922 Insurrection and Racial Killing in South Africa*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 405. \$59.95.

This book tackles one of the best-known episodes of violence in twentieth-century South African history yet brilliantly succeeds in offering a novel interpretation that changes our understanding of the race-class nexus at the center of South African historiography. Jeremy Krikler's sensitive and penetrating book immediately draws the reader into the lives not only of the main protagonists in the strike but also of black "bystanders" who suffered grievously at the hands of white mobs. The result is a first-rate narrative that honors the ordinary men and women who expired on the barricades as well as a subtle analysis that does justice to the complexities of white workers' cause against the powerful gold mining industry in a campaign that dismantled the authority of the state.

Krikler wisely forsakes the many, often "structural" debates about the origins of racial segregation in South Africa in favor of an approach that reconstructs the uncertain evolution of forces that culminated in pitched warfare between white miners and General Jan Smuts's pro-mining government. The book employs multiple archival sources to trace the interlocking strategies of white mineworkers, union leaders, mine owners, and state officials and demonstrate how a strike that all parties knew was coming became an explosion marked by two forms of violence. The first, the pitched battle between white "revolutionary" strikers and the state, is familiar but is nevertheless analyzed in such meticulous and lively detail that much of it appears fresh. By contrast, the second episode of violence will strike even seasoned scholars of South African history as a revelation. Because no previous scholar has explored the "racial pogrom" (p. 15) that rampaging white workers inflicted on innocent blacks, Krikler rescues the cold-blooded "racial killing" from oblivion. He also uses the event to illuminate the ambiguities of white workers' racial and class politics. White workers who were fired by increasingly militant socialist rhetoric were also infamously racist. Yet this book convincingly demonstrates that the "racial pogrom" was an accidental event that stemmed from a fortuitous fracas between African mining guards and a passing commando of white workers. Drawing on analyses of the "Red Summer race riots" that rocked several American cities immediately after World War I, Krikler argues that the "pogrom"

was sparked by a combination of immediate circumstances and wild rumors. When the "pogrom" ended, militant white workers resumed their focus on their primary antagonist—the police and army forces that were also assembling in the streets of Johannesburg, and who had decisively brought the pogrom to an end. Both the accidental nature of the pogrom as well its subsidence confirms a major argument that runs through this book. Like white workers in the American South, South Africa's militant white workers may have been driven by "the fear of competition" with cheaper black workers, but they were not long distracted by it. Class militancy trumped racial animosity and culminated in the violent strike against the state-supported mining industry. Krikler's conclusion that "black people were not identified as the enemy by plebian whites" (p. xi) therefore invites comparisons with the American South, where "race baiting" frequently overshadowed and diluted white labor militancy.

The inclusion of Afrikaner women is another salutary contribution to the analysis of the strike. Rescuing women from the image of the stern and rugged Afrikaner patriarch, Krikler argues that Afrikaner women were neither trapped by subservient "traditional" roles nor passive victims of fast-moving events centered around male employment on the gold mines. Women enthusiastically galvanized the *komando* system that strikers resuscitated in 1922 and "involved themselves in confrontations which either threatened, or resulted in, violence"; "there was even a female role in the test of arms between strikers and state forces when the strike developed into its revolutionary phase" (p. 79). Sustained attention to the politics of womanhood enables Krikler to emphasize how anxieties and assumptions about masculinity framed the evolution of the strike and the cataclysmic violence it spawned.

The wealth of sparkling archival detail, the scope of the analysis, and the lucidity of the prose yield a book that is novel and even gripping. Krikler's admiration and sympathy for workers who died heroically meshes seamlessly with his clear-eyed appreciation of their racism and proclivity for violence, a balancing act that is powerfully summarized in the book. The result is a mature, nuanced, perhaps definitive account of the 1922 uprising. Greater clarity about the number of Africans who were murdered in the "racial pogrom," the need for a separate bibliography, and most important, the failure to explore the concomitant emergence of African strikes after World War I (a crucial event that shaped emerging racial discourse) would have bolstered the book even more. None of these, however, detract from one of the best recent studies of the complexities of South African history.

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NEIL ROOS. *Ordinary Springboks: White Servicemen and Social Justice in South Africa, 1939–1961*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate. 2005. Pp. xvi, 233. \$89.95.

With the publication of Neil Roos's book, South African historiography on war has firmly moved out of the drum and trumpet type and into more nuanced war and society analyses. In this conceptually sophisticated presentation Roos also adds significantly to a deeper understanding of white social and cultural history by locating his topic within the wider socioeconomic contexts and ideological discourses of the time.

He makes particularly innovative use of the notion of "whiteness" in trying to assess the manner in which white South African troops saw fit to deal with their war experience and postwar trials and tribulations. Using the wider lens of postcolonial theory he refracts and reworks the key influences on servicemen. Equally central to his analysis is the idea of "social justice" as a kind of tacit contract that troops assumed to exist between them and the state. The act of enlistment not only reflected their rights and duties as white male citizens but also embodied expectations of postwar rewards and the belief that their social status as former combatants would be ringfenced.

Roos takes the reader systematically through the sociocultural and political dimensions of his topic. He points out that as the end of hostilities loomed, skepticism set in among poorer servicemen that the ruling United Party (UP) would perhaps not be able to live up to all its promises, and that the social contract of whiteness in volatile postwar South African politics might not be fully honored. While this can be readily conceded, Roos could have done more to highlight discourses in the UP on the matter, particularly as the UP leadership had several veterans in its ranks, among others Sir De Villiers Graaff.

The author provides a finely layered analysis of the various ex-servicemen organizations that kept intact the linkages forged during war and promoted the interests of veterans in the postwar period. It is from some of these organizations that a small group of radical individuals emerged in the 1950s invoking anti-authoritarian precepts stemming from their wartime experience to challenge the apartheid state.

The book is well researched, drawing on a wide variety of documentary and visual material as well as testimonies of veterans. Overall it takes South African scholarship on military history to a new level and also speaks to a wider audience interested in the sociocultural ramifications of war.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

KATHRYN KISH SKLAR and JAMES BREWER STEWART, editors. *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. xxiv, 385. \$35.00.

DAVID BRION DAVIS, *Declaring Equality: Sisterhood and Slavery*. JUDITH RESNIK, *Sisterhood, Slavery, and Sovereignty: Transnational Antislavery Work and Women's Rights Movements in the United States During the Twentieth Century*. KAREN OFFEN, *How (and Why) the Analogy of Marriage with Slavery Provided the Springboard for Women's Rights Demands in France, 1640–1848*. BONNIE S. ANDERSON, *Frauen-emancipation and Beyond: The Use of the Concept of Emancipation by Early European Feminists*. SEYMOUR DRESCHER, *Women's Mobilization in the Era of Slave Emancipation: Some Anglo-French Comparisons*. CLARE MIDGLEY, *British Abolition and Feminism in Transatlantic Perspective*. JULIE WINCH, *Sarah Forten's Anti-Slavery Networks*. JEAN FAGAN YELLIN, *Incidents Abroad: Harriet Jacobs and the Transatlantic Movement*. WILLI COLEMAN, "Like Hot Lead to Pour on the Americans . . .": Sarah Parker Remond—From Salem, Mass., to the British Isles. CARLA L. PETERSON, *Literary Transnationalism and Diasporic History: Frances Watkins Harper's "Fancy Sketches," 1859–60*. KATHRYN KISH SKLAR, "The Throne of My Heart": Religion, Oratory, and Transatlantic Community in Angelina Grimké's Launching of Women's Rights, 1828–1838. DEBORAH A. LOGAN, *The Redemption of a Heretic: Harriet Martineau and Anglo-American Abolitionism*. NANCY A. HEWITT, "Seeking a Larger Liberty": Remapping First Wave Feminism. ELLEN CAROL DUBOIS, *Ernestine Rose's Jewish Origins and the Varieties of Euro-American Emancipation in 1848*. ERICA ARMSTRONG DUNBAR, *Writing for True Womanhood: African-American Women's Writings and the Antislavery Struggle*. CAROL LASSER, *Enacting Emancipation: African American Women Abolitionists at Oberlin College and the Quest for Empowerment, Equality, and Respectability*. JANE RHODES, *At the Boundaries of Abolitionism, Feminism, and Black Nationalism: The Activism of Mary Ann Shadd Cary*.

MARK ATWOOD LAWRENCE and FREDRIK LOGEVALL, editors. *The First Vietnam War: Colonial Conflict and Cold*

War Crisis. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 374. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.95.

MARK PHILIP BRADLEY, *Making Sense of the French War: The Postcolonial Moment and the First Vietnam War, 1945–1954*. LIEN-HANG T. NGUYEN, *Vietnamese Historians and the First Indochina War*. STEIN TØNNESSEN, *Franklin Roosevelt, Trusteeship, and Indochina: A Reassessment*. DAVID G. MARR, *Creating Defense Capacity in Vietnam, 1945–1947*. MARK ATWOOD LAWRENCE, *Forging the "Great Combination": Britain and the Indochina Problem, 1945–1950*. MARTIN THOMAS, *French Imperial Reconstruction and the Development of the Indochina War, 1945–1950*. WILLIAM J. DUIKER, *Ho Chi Minh and the Strategy of People's War*. LAURENT CESARI, *The Declining Value of Indochina: France and the Economics of Empire, 1950–1955*. MARILYN B. YOUNG, "The Same Struggle for Liberty": Korea and Vietnam. JOHN PRADOS, *Assessing Dien Bien Phu*. CHEN JIAN, *China and the Indochina Settlement at the Geneva Conference of 1954*. KATHRYN C. STATLER, *After Geneva: The French Presence in Vietnam, 1954–1963*. ANDREW J. ROTTER, *Chronicle of a War Foretold: The United States and Vietnam, 1945–1954*.

ASIA

CHARLOTTE FURTH, JUDITH T. ZEITLIN, and PING-CHEN HSIUNG, editors. *Thinking with Cases: Specialist Knowledge in Chinese Cultural History*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 331. \$55.00.

CHARLOTTE FURTH, *Thinking With Cases*. YONGLIN JIANG and YANHONG WU, *Satisfying Both Sentiment and Law: Fairness-Centered Judicial Reasoning as Seen in Late Ming Casebooks*. PIERRE-ÉTIENNE WILL, *Developing Forensic Knowledge Through Cases in the Qing Dynasty*. YASUHIKO KARASAWA, *From Oral Testimony to Written Records in Qing Legal Cases*. CHARLOTTE FURTH, *Producing Medical Knowledge Through Cases: History, Evidence, and Action*. PING-CHEN HSIUNG, *Facts in the Tale: Case Records and Pediatric Medicine in Late Imperial China*. JUDITH T. ZEITLIN, *The Literary Fashioning of Medical Authority: A Study of Sun Yikui's Case Histories*. ROBERT SHARP, *How to Think with Chan Gong'an*. CHU HUNG-LAM, *Confucian "Case Learning": The Genre of Xue'an Writings*.

INDRANI CHATTERJEE and RICHARD M. EATON, editors. *Slavery and South Asian History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2006. Pp. xxi, 344. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

INDRANI CHATTERJEE, *Renewed and Connected Histories: Slavery and the Historiography of South Asia*. DAUD ALI, *War, Servitude, and the Imperial Household: A Study of Palace Women in the Chola Empire*. PETER JACKSON, *Turkish Slaves on Islam's Indian Frontier*. SUNIL KUMAR, *Service, Status, and Military Slavery in the Delhi Sultanate: Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. RICHARD M. EATON, *The Rise and Fall of Military Slavery in the Deccan, 1450–1650*. RAMYA SREENIVASAN, *Drudges, Dancing Girls, Concubines: Female Slaves in Rajput Polity, 1500–1850*. SUMIT GUHA, *Slavery, Society, and the State in Western India, 1700–1800*. MICHAEL H. FISHER, *Bound for Britain: Changing Conditions of Servitude, 1600–1857*. SYLVIA VATUK, *Bharattee's Death: Domestic Slave-Women in Nineteenth-Century Madras*. TIMOTHY WALKER, *Slaves or Soldiers? African Conscripts in Portuguese India, 1857–1860*. AVRIL A. POWELL, *Indian Muslim Modernists and the Issue of Slavery in Islam*. INDRANI CHATTERJEE, *Slavery, Semantics, and the Sound of Silence*.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

MICHAEL LEWIS, editor. *American Wilderness: A New History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 290. \$19.95.

MICHAEL LEWIS, *American Wilderness—An Introduction*. MELANIE PERREAULT, *American Wilderness and First Contact*. MARK STOLL, *Religion "Irradiates" the Wilderness*. STEVEN STOLL, *Farm Against Forest*. BRADLEY P. DEAN, *Natural History, Romanticism, and Thoreau*. ANGELA MILLER, *The Fate of Wilderness in American Landscape Art: The Dilemmas of "Nature's Nation"*. BENJAMIN JOHNSON, *Wilderness Parks and Their Discontents*. CHAR MILLER, *A Sylvan Prospect: John Muir, Gifford Pinchot, and Early Twentieth-Century Conservationism*. KIMBERLY A. JARVIS, *Gender and Wilderness Conservation*. PAUL SUTTER, *Putting Wilderness in Context: The Interwar Origins of the Modern Wilderness Idea*. MARK HARVEY, *Loving the Wild in Postwar America*. MICHAEL LEWIS, *Wilderness and Conservation Science*. CHRISTOPHER CONTE, *Creating Wild Places from Domesticated Landscapes: The Internationalization of the American Wilderness Concept*. JAMES MORTON TURNER, *The Politics of Modern Wilderness*. DONALD WORSTER, *Nature, Liberty, and Equality*.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

DARIÉN J. DAVIS, editor. *Beyond Slavery: The Multilayered Legacy of Africans in Latin America and the Caribbean*. (Jaguar Books on Latin America Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2007. Pp. vii, 289. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$29.95.

DAVID GEGGUS, *The Sounds and Echoes of Freedom: The Impact of the Haitian Revolution on Latin America*. CAMILLA TOWNSEND, *In Search of Liberty: The Efforts of the Enslaved to Attain Abolition in Ecuador, 1822–1852*. RICARDO D. SALVATORE, *Integral Outsiders: Afro-Argentines in the Era of Juan Manuel de Rosas and Beyond*. DARIO ERAQUE, *Free Pardos and Mulattos Vanquish Indians: Cultural Civility as Conquest and Modernity in Honduras*. EDUARDO SILVA, *Black Abolitionists in the Quilombo of Leblon, Rio de Janeiro: Symbols, Organizers, and Revolutionaries*. ALINE HELG, *To Be Black and to Be Cuban: The Dilemma of Afro-Cubans in Post-independence Politics*. DARIÉN J. DAVIS and JUDITH MICHELLE

WILLIAMS, *Pan-Africanism, Negritude, and the Currency of Blackness: Cuba, the Francophone Caribbean, and Brazil in Comparative Perspective, 1930–1950s*. AVIVA CHOMSKY, *The Logic of Displacement: Afro-Colombians and the War in Colombia*. SUJATHA FERNANDES and JASON STANYEK, *Hip-Hop and Black Public Spheres in Cuba, Venezuela, and Brazil*. BOBBY VAUGHN and BEN VINSON III, *Unfinished Migrations: From the Mexican South to the American South—Impressions on Afro-Mexican Migration to North Carolina*. DARIÉN J. DAVIS, *Fading In: Race and the Representation of Peoples of African Descent in Latin American Cinema*.

BERNARDO VEGA, editor. *Dominican Cultures: The Making of a Caribbean Society*. Translated by CHRISTINE AYORINDE. Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener. 2007. Pp. ix, 259. Cloth \$68.95, paper \$26.95.

BERNARDO VEGA, *The Indigenous Inheritance in Dominican Culture*. MARCIO VELOZ MAGGIOLO, *Commentary on "The Indigenous Inheritance in Dominican Culture"*. CARLOS DOBAL, *The Spanish Inheritance in Dominican Culture*. CARLOS ESTEBAN DEIVE, *The African Inheritance in Dominican Culture*. RUBÉN SILIÉ, *The Hato and the Conuco: The Emergence of Creole Culture*. JOSÉ DEL CASTILLO PICHARDO, *Immigration in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries and Its Contribution to Dominican Culture*. FRANK MOYA PONS, *Modernization and Change in the Dominican Republic*.

MARTIN AUSTIN NESVIG, editor. *Religious Culture in Modern Mexico*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2007. Pp. x, 281. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$29.95.

MATTHEW D. O'HARA, *Miserables and Citizens: Indians, Legal Pluralism, and Religious Practice in Early Republican Mexico*. DANIELA TRAFFANO, *"Para formar el corazón religioso de los jóvenes": Processes of Change in Collective Religiosity in Nineteenth-Century Oaxaca*. SILVIA MARINA ARROM, *Mexican Laywomen Spearhead a Catholic Revival: The Ladies of Charity, 1863–1910*. PAMELA VOEKEL, *Liberal Religion: The Schism of 1861*. ALEJANDRO CORTAZAR, *Priests and Caudillos in the Novel of the Mexican Nation*. MARK OVERMYER-VELÁZQUEZ, *"A New Political Religious Order": Church, State, and Workers in Porfirian Mexico*. JASON DORMADY, *Rights, Rule, and Religion: Old Colony Mennonites and Mexico's Transition to the Free Market, 1920–2000*. EDWARD WRIGHT-RIOS, *Visions of Women: Revelation, Gender, and Catholic Resurgence*. PAUL J. VANDERWOOD, *Juan Soldado: The Popular Canonization of a Confessed Rapist-Murderer*. ADRIAN BANTJES, *Religion and the Mexican Revolution: Toward a New Historiography*.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITORS:

Daniel Wickberg's excellent article, "What Is the History of Sensibilities? On Cultural Histories, Old and New" (*AHR* June 2007, 661–684), slips when it claims that "the problem with the history of emotions is its tendency to separate emotion from cognition, to treat emotions as if they were a discrete realm rather than seeing them as linked to larger characterological patterns involving modes of perception and thinking as well as feeling" (682). Recent historians of emotion, all heavily influenced by cognitive psychology, do precisely what he says they do not. In *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*, Peter N. Stearns looks at an "emotional culture" that he links to explicit standards of comportment, changing family structures, "culturally logical goals" (14), and "deeply held popular beliefs" (2). William M. Reddy, in *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, defines emotions as "goal-relevant activations of thought material that exceed the translating capacity of attention within a short time horizon" (128), thus recognizing that emotions are a form of thought. My own *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* points out that emotions "are 'upheavals of thoughts'—as Nussbaum has put it—that involve judgments about whether something is good or bad for us. These assessments depend, in turn, upon our values, goals, and presuppositions—products of our society, community, and individual experience" (191). I argue

that people live (and lived) in "emotional communities." The historian of these communities "seeks above all to uncover systems of feeling: what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations that they make about others' emotions; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore" ("Worrying about Emotions in History," *AHR*, June 2002, 842). This seems very close to seeking "patterns involving modes of perception and thinking as well as feeling."

Indeed, in my view the chief difference between the study of "sensibilities" and the study of "emotions" in history is that the methodology for the latter is more transparent and replicable than it is for the former. As Wickberg says, every sort of source is useful for the enterprise. But it is much easier to say (and prove) that a source expresses, say, anger (which—in the way it is expressed, its valuation, its context—must then be connected to values, ideals, goals, expectations, and other "characterological patterns") than to point to its "sensibility." We have a whole vocabulary for the emotions—anger, grief, joy, and so on—in addition to the term "emotional," which indicates expressions replete with emotions. Applying this vocabulary wholesale to the past is anachronistic, but, at least in Western cultures, there is a long history of emotionally valent terms. Cicero, for example, listed the *perturbationes*, his word for the Greek *pathê*, and thus we have a relevant vocabulary for the late Roman Republic. Thomas Aquinas did the same for the thirteenth century, Descartes for the seventeenth. Historians of emotions are on fairly solid ground, then, when they look for these and related terms within documents from the relevant periods, even if the documents are not explicitly concerned with emotions. Wickberg speaks of finding "the terms of representation" (662). Historians of emotions have them to hand. Like historians of sensibilities, they then see how these terms both express and work with "the generalized values and modes of perception and feeling" in the documents. Thus Stearns, for example, shows how the meanings and experiences of guilt, grief, and love in the Victorian period were transformed in the decades around 1920 to produce a very different culture that involved thoughts, feelings, and actions.

Reddy notes how the “sentimentalism” of the salons and theaters (a complex blend of emotional expectations and modes of expression) was replicated in the political life of the early French Revolution, becoming an ideology as well as a way of feeling. My own work shows how the various emotional configurations of different emotional communities were connected to particular religious beliefs, political goals, and familial concerns.

In the end, it is Wickberg who tends to separate emotion from cognition and to privilege the latter. He seems to be more interested in the “underlying epistemological, moral, and aesthetic framework for comprehending reality” (662) implied by modes of feeling than he is in the feelings themselves. I hope Wickberg will agree that it should be the historian’s goal, however elusive, to capture *both* emotions and cognition, contextualize them in a way that gives them purchase even for traditional historians of power, and show how they both reflect and motivate historical change.

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DANIEL WICKBERG RESPONDS:

I thank Barbara Rosenwein for her useful corrective to my brief comments on the history of emotions. I am happy to defer to her expertise in this area. Historians of emotions are indeed, as she points out, concerned with cognition. My own pointing to the significance of Stearns’s “emotionology” and Reddy’s use of psychology would indicate that I was not unaware of this. That said, I think what I was trying to get at, if somewhat clumsily, was that the isolation of emotion as a distinct object of historical analysis has the consequence of narrowing the range of mental and intellectual phenomena to those immediately relevant to the emotions and emotional life. This is true in two senses. First, the subject matter of intellectual history—philosophies, ideologies, conceptual schemes—becomes relevant to the historian of emotions when philosophers, polemicists, and thinkers take emotions themselves as their object of concern, but not otherwise. Undoubtedly, historians of emotions—and Rosenwein foremost among them—have looked to the various categories and terminology of emotions found in the writings of philosophers, psychologists, religious and social thinkers, among others. The result is that we get Plato on the passions separated from Platonic metaphysics; Descartes on the emotions undisturbed by Cartesian foundationalism; Adam Smith on sympathy divorced from Smith on market society. My point in trying to define a history of sensibilities was to suggest that metaphysical outlooks, epistemological commitments, modes of perception, and ways of feeling are bound up with one another. The history of emotions foregrounds thinking about emotion—its norms, its categories, its place in human nature—at the expense of other kinds of thought. And

while I use canonical thinkers as a matter of easy reference here, I want to suggest that this is more generally true of the treatment of thought: the historian of emotions rifles through texts looking for specific and explicit references to emotion, rather than to the underlying sensibility of the text. Second, historians of emotions are concerned with cognition as a psychological process in which emotions are expressed or restrained. Here we should distinguish between thought as process and thought as product. I have no doubt that Reddy and others are concerned with the specifically psychological *processes* by which emotions are expressed in particular situations with particular constraints, with emotions as part of the thought process, and bound up with ideas in that sense. I am less convinced that the culturally specific ideas and forms of thought—the product of thinking, if we may put it that way—beyond those focused on emotions themselves, have been integrated into the history of emotions. Certainly Reddy’s focus on sentimentalism points in this direction; I would be more convinced if sentimentalism and rationalism were *both* understood as emotional systems.

My intent was not to pit the history of emotions against the history of sensibilities, but to show the ways in which they partake of similar concerns; my own work on the history of humor and of sympathy might very well be seen as part of the history of emotions. But Rosenwein wants to argue that the history of emotions is epistemologically superior to what I call the history of sensibilities, that the history of emotions has a “transparent and replicable” methodology lacking in the history of sensibilities. I must disagree. Rosenwein argues that “it is much easier to say (and prove) that a source expresses, say, anger . . . than to point to its ‘sensibility.’” The presence of a vocabulary of emotions that find particular instantiation within texts is hardly the same thing as the “expression” of those emotions. The text or source, read carefully in conjunction with other texts and sources, can tell us about the representation of emotion, the way it figures in a discourse, the values attached to it, its role in a way of thinking. But it requires the same sophistication in looking for the ways in which emotion is discussed as the historian of sensibilities requires in looking for underlying forms of perception, feeling, and value. I am sure that Rosenwein would concur that the discussion of heated emotions in the most clinical and dispassionate way, for instance, indicates a sensibility quite different from that of a fiery polemic full of fury and bitterness that never mentions the term “anger.” In other words, just looking to the vocabulary of emotions is inadequate in the interpretation of sources, whether we are writing a history of emotions or a history of sensibilities. In any case, an “easier” method is not necessarily a better one. The fact that sensibilities are not the explicit subject matter of sources does not mean that we should regard them as unknowable.

I hope that my essay will be read, among other things, as a brief for bringing intellectual and emotional history together, and not the privileging of one over the other.

I thought I was being more critical of intellectual history for its separation of formal thought from the terms of perception and feeling than I was of the history of emotions. Rosenwein, however, finds a lurking intellectual historian in my text, busy separating emotion from cognition and privileging the latter, because I am not interested in “the feelings themselves,” but only the sensibilities of which they are a part. I would be the last to say that I am in full control of the meanings in my essay, and I find it interesting that she has found this orientation where I thought I was doing the opposite. I will leave it to readers to decide whether Rosenwein is correct about my predispositions. At the very least, I appreciate the opportunity she has given me to clarify my ideas (if not my feelings!).

DANIEL WICKBERG
University of Texas,
Dallas

REVIEWS

TO THE EDITORS:

Stephen G. Rabe recently reviewed my book *Gunboat Democracy: U.S. Interventions in the Dominican Republic, Grenada, and Panama* (AHR, June 2007, 823–824). Rabe is known for the well-researched books on U.S. foreign relations with Latin America that he has penned over the past twenty-five years. Rabe advocates the conventional scholarly interpretation of the motives behind U.S. interventions in Latin America during the Cold War. He may include himself as one of those historians who have “concluded that the U.S. interventions degraded the political, military, and socioeconomic structures of these Western Hemisphere societies and that, especially in the Cold War period, the interventions undermined constitutional procedures and democratic processes.”

Unfortunately, the conventional interpretation fails to fully answer the question posed to me by one of my Davidson students several years ago, “If the U.S. invasion of Grenada was so bad, why is Grenada now one of the world’s most stable democracies?” My inability to adequately answer the student sparked my research, and I eventually focused on the only three episodes of large-scale armed U.S. intervention in Latin America during the Cold War.

Any serious challenge to an orthodox historical interpretation must be thoroughly researched and documented. For *Gunboat Democracy*, I reviewed over 1,000 recently declassified U.S. government documents on the invasions that were previously unavailable to scholars. I consulted over 200 books and secondary articles, over 100 primary public sources such as U.S. congressional testimony and government reports, and conducted oral interviews. The conventional position asserts that during the Cold War the United States decided to intervene in Latin America and the Caribbean

even though policymakers saw no serious security threat; instead, they manufactured reasons in order to justify more nefarious motives such as race and economic imperialism.

Yet the evidence makes it clear that in these three episodes, the decision to intervene was “predicated on a strongly held view that a serious security threat existed” (*Gunboat Democracy*, 1). I also contend that the perception of a security threat is only part of the story of what motivated these policymakers to intervene. Successive U.S. policymakers also decided to put “boots on the ground” in these cases because the costs of doing so were relatively low; Central America and the Caribbean was an area of the world where Washington was quite comfortable exercising military force; and forceful action in America’s “backyard” would send a clear domestic and international message of U.S. resolve regarding communism (Dominican Republic and Grenada) or the War on Drugs (Panama).

The evidence is also quite clear that after each intervention the countries in question eventually emerged more democratic than before—and democracy is appropriately defined as including free elections, civil society, a professional military, and more. In these three cases, the conventional interpretation ignores what happened next.

To reach conclusions on the need, morality, and lasting impact of these interventions, it is important to also consider the post-intervention element as part of the story—whether things went well (these three countries) or not. For example, the violent and highly unstable aftermath in Iraq will play a significant role in how history will judge the U.S. decision to invade the country. Given that U.S. vice president Richard Cheney, former secretary of state Colin Powell, and former deputy secretary of defense Paul Wolfowitz were all key officials in both the Panama and Iraq invasions, the relative ease of regime change and democracy by force in the Panama case might have led these same policymakers to mistakenly conclude that the same thing would be likely in Iraq.

The conventional interpretation holds that “U.S. military invasions and occupations rarely produce salubrious results.” As evidence, Rabe states that the Dominican Republic “usually ranks on the lists of ‘failed states’ compiled by foreign policy analysts.” It does not. In 2007, the annual Failed States Index from *Foreign Policy* and the *Fund for Peace* ranked 177 countries from failed (#1) to best (#177). The Dominican Republic scored #69, between China and Israel; Grenada, #105, between Mexico and India; and Panama, #131, near Costa Rica.

All told, these countries enjoy relatively good, if imperfect, constitutional procedures and democratic processes. Further, unlike the intervention in the Dominican Republic, the stronger democracies of Panama and Grenada are the two that experienced full-scale military invasion and regime change. They also happen to be two of the few countries in the world that have permanently dismantled their armed forces.

The conventional interpretation can be right: the U.S.-hatched overthrow of Guatemala's Jacobo Arbenz was cynical and unquestionably deleterious to Guatemala's future development. But the Guatemala case does "not automatically make the Dominican Republic, Grenada, or Panama interventions equally wrong or immoral" (*Gunboat Democracy*, 228).

RUSSELL CRANDALL
Davidson College

STEPHEN G. RABE RESPONDS:

I stand by my review (*AHR*, June 2007, 823–824) of *Gunboat Democracy* by Russell Crandall.

Gunboat Democracy is a "neo-conservative" advocacy piece posing as scholarship. The author did not conduct archival research in the United States, Latin America, or the Caribbean; and relied on published U.S. government documents, which are readily available, and interviews with U.S. government officials who played a role in the invasions of sovereign nations. Scholars examining Crandall's bibliography will come to similar conclusions.

When I began composing the review in 2006, I relied on the 2005 "Failed States Index" developed by the Fund for Peace and published in *Foreign Policy* (July/August 2005, 56–65). It listed the Dominican Republic as a "failed state." The Dominican Republic is happily making political and socioeconomic progress. But recent developments can hardly be ascribed to the 1965 U.S. military invasion, as Professor Crandall would have it. The 1965 invasion blocked the restoration of constitutional rule and the return of the popularly elected Dominican leader Juan Bosch. Lyndon Johnson thereafter ordered the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to spare no effort to ensure the election of a U.S.-backed candidate. The CIA, through lavish campaign spending, succeeded in "electing" in 1966 the authoritarian, arch-conservative Joaquín Balaguer as president of the Dominican Republic. Balaguer, who was a protégé of the notorious dictator Rafael Trujillo (1930–1961), dominated Dominican political life for the next three decades. How the events of 1965–1966 promoted democracy, constitutionalism, and respect for human rights, as Crandall claims, is beyond me and other scholars who work in the field of inter-American relations.

Perhaps Professor Crandall would benefit if he secured something like a Fulbright Fellowship and taught for a time in Latin America and the Caribbean. He would probably find that his international students would be far more skeptical than his Davidson College students about his thesis that U.S. interventionism and imperialism makes for human progress. Indeed, Latin Americans reacted strongly to Woodrow Wilson's rationalization that "I am going to teach the South American republics to elect good men," when he ordered the military invasion of Mexico in 1916. *Gunboat Democracy* is a reiteration of President Wilson's hoary policy

dressed up in the contemporary language of neo-conservatism.

STEPHEN G. RABE
University of Texas,
Dallas

TO THE EDITORS:

I recently came across James C. Schneider's reply to my reply to his *AHR* review of my book *Hitler Attacks Pearl Harbor: Why the U.S. Declared War on Germany* (*AHR*, October 2004, 1367). I write you now to reply to his last reply. Please let me respond to his criticisms point by point.

Professor Schneider asserts that I lacked support for my argument that the U.S. public essentially accepted Hitler's denial/retraction of his declaration of war. The fact is that I did provide some documentary support for that part of the story in my book, in that I cited a few pertinent examples from the U.S. press. However, Professor Schneider is correct if he is arguing that what I cited was not nearly enough evidence to support my contention. However, and as I explained repeatedly throughout my book, the evidence to support my contention is abundant and overwhelming, but it was not the major thesis of my book. As I explained throughout my book, my book's purpose was to explain why the United States did go to war against Germany—that is, Pearl Harbor—and not to explain why the United States did not go to war—that is, Hitler's declaration of war.

As I explained repeatedly throughout my book, the reason why the United States did not go to war would be the subject of an entirely different book, or at least a tremendously expanded version of my book which was not possible. My book's purpose, therefore, was to stimulate more and honest research by objective historians. But I suppose that was a naïve intention on my part, considering the partisan nature of my book's subject. I do applaud Professor Schneider's admission that to simply focus on the one-day news story from December 11, 1941, would be to take this momentous history out of its true context. Professor Schneider has done just that in his reply, however, and he seems satisfied with the result.

If Professor Schneider would like to discover for himself just exactly why the United States did or did not go to war against Hitler in the month of December 1941, all he needs to do is read the president's speeches, the Congressional Record, or any press reports—the essential sources of my book. If this business of Hitler's declaration of war was so important, I would ask Professor Schneider again to explain why no historian has ever written a book on what exactly Hitler's supposedly all-important declaration meant to Americans. The fact that no such book has ever been written, and the fact that Professor Schneider has himself again avoided ad-

addressing that central question, should speak volumes to the objective and impartial observer.

RICHARD HILL

Palm Beach Atlantic University

JAMES C. SCHNEIDER RESPONDS:

I am happy to have "objective" historians review the record surrounding the formal inauguration of war between Germany and the United States. They will find, as I did again today in a quick review of some key documents, that from Congress to Keokuk, Americans understood that Germany had declared war on the United States. Speculation and confusion certainly were rampant in December 1941. As Richard Hill has shown, many people indeed posited links between Berlin and the Pearl Harbor attack. The nature of those links, however, varied widely according to the observer. That Franklin Roosevelt overestimated the level of strategic coordination between Germany and Japan has long been observed by historians (e.g., David Reynolds, *The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance*) whose work Professor Hill is quick to dismiss. Many contemporary accounts—including those by *Times* military affairs writer Hanson Baldwin and columnist Anne O'Hare McCormick, to name only two—recognized that Japan was quite capable of planning and conducting an operation like Pearl Harbor. The central point remains that overwhelming majorities in America had come to see the Axis nations as a common threat to the security and well being of the United States.

Professor Hill makes much of the lack of a book exploring what the German declaration meant to Americans. There is, however, a rich literature, of which my own *Should America Go to War?* is a modest component, exploring what Naziism and German expansionism had come to mean to Americans by December 1941. The significance of the German declaration was that it removed the last vestiges of ambiguity about the seriousness of that menace.

JAMES C. SCHNEIDER
*University of Texas,
San Antonio*

TO THE EDITORS:

In response to Erik Kulavig's review of *Ideology and Challenges of Political Liberalisation in the USSR, 1957–1961* (AHR, June 2007, 961), I cannot see what Kulavig's black-and-white position contributes to the field of Soviet studies. Surely there have always been people (some of whom were Marxists) in Russia who held a more sober view of Bolshevik power than did the communists themselves—even before the October coup. This does not, however, mean that they were completely detached from reality, or always shared a common or unchanging mindset. Above all, the party leadership's thinking had a vast impact on the country and the world, whether we like it or not. We now know

rather well what happened in Soviet history, but our understanding of how and why something did or did not take place demands much further study.

Contrary to what Kulavig's review implies, my dissertation does not play down the apparent contradictions and simplicities in Kuusinen's political thinking. In fact, these have been analyzed in detail, and their impact on the success and failure of his "reform programme" pondered. But neither have I chosen—to the irritation of my critic—to belittle the boldness of Kuusinen's ideas in the context of post-Stalin era politics. True, his and Khrushchev's understanding of, for example, democracy and the use of political compulsion is quite different from ours, but it differed from that of Stalin as well, which must serve here as the main comparison point—not Western politico-economic models that do not fit even a modern Russian context. Under Khrushchev mass terror was permanently abolished, and the ideological seeds of perestroika planted.

Kulavig seems to ignore that Kuusinen, as a leading politician, did not function in a vacuum. If he wanted his ideas to succeed, they had to be presented in a form both understandable and acceptable to the majority of party leadership. His political priorities also led to difficult compromises: bold domestic policy proposals were balanced by a more hawkish international orientation, and the emphasis on people's political unity—a vital justification for the abolition of terror—easily undermined the case for any attempt at socialist democratization. Thus, the bold private citizens demanding the restoration of capitalism and the multi-party system—to whom Kulavig refers with admiration—were the ones "surrounded by fog" as far as Soviet political realities are concerned.

My critic further fails to mention that in Kuusinen's opinion the Soviet system had not yet sufficiently distanced itself from "Stalinist" thinking and practices. He held this view as late as the early 1960s, after having failed to achieve some of the central goals he had pursued, such as the introduction of limitations to the party's practical power and functions. The role of the CPSU was just one issue on which his and Khrushchev's thinking clashed heavily.

Kulavig's review contains a few inaccuracies, the most significant of which is his claim that the work does not add to our knowledge of the period beyond Kuusinen's role in it. I humbly believe that the book reveals something of the writing process of the CPSU program; Kuusinen's direct participation in the project ended in the summer of 1958—that is, three years before the publication of the document—and the role the state concept played in the hands of Kremlin conservatives, which had not been widely known until recently. Nor have I argued that Kuusinen drew much of his liberal inspiration from Hungary and Yugoslavia. Instead I speculate that he might have, for example, borrowed a few tricks from Imre Nagy on how to "sell" liberal thinking to Khrushchev. Most of Kuusinen's reform ideas resulted from an independent search for an answer to the Soviet Union's problems.

I readily accept, however, Kulavig's final point of criticism. Alas, as a Ph.D. student I could not afford to publish one edition for my doctoral committee and another for outside experts, or to hire an editor. If my primary focus had been on language, structure, composition, and narrative, I would have written the book in my native language, Finnish.

JUKKA RENKAMA
University of Tampere

Erik Kulavig does not wish to respond.

TO THE EDITORS:

In response to Lee Mitchell's review of my book *Manly Arts: Masculinity and Nation in Early American Cinema* (AHR, June 2007, 872–873), I wish to address a key point that he overlooks in his otherwise thoughtful reading of my book. As I see it, Mitchell oversimplifies the historical connection between my discussion in chapter one, which studies actor Edwin Forrest and the Astor Place Riot (1849), and its relation to the first film I consider in chapter two, *The Battle Cry of Peace* (1915). I go to great lengths in chapter one not to make a historical “leap,” as Mitchell characterizes it, between these two events. I disagree with his categorization particularly since chapter one deals extensively with the resonance of Forrest's body and concepts of American art as it unfolded following the Riot during the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth. These cultural developments were complex and forcefully shaped—particularly through discourses of (American) Nature and the “primitive” (i.e., the American Indian)—the long-standing terms of not merely the artist and masculinity; moreover, the discourse of “Edwin Forrest,” as my book shows, fed the nationalist ideals of aesthetic form that American art assumed as white and androcentric. This, I argue, especially holds true as the cinematic arts took hold of the public's imagination in the early part of the twentieth century.

If *Manly Arts* moves through figures as diverse as Theodore Roosevelt, Walt Whitman, Max Nordau, Oscar Micheaux, George Balanchine, and Marsden Hartley, it is precisely because their “diversity” shares and

expands upon the repetition of tropes that Forrest ultimately established for the American male artist and the arts in general. This is why *Manly Arts* does not seek to identify, as Mitchell suggests, “alternatives to white, heterosexual, masculine figures” as much as it seeks to establish the relational—not *oppositional*—effects on male artists that were facilitated under the terms of Forrestesque masculinist creativity. My book is quite careful to link the range of artist-figures as they respond to one another and/or to the prevalent rhetoric of American masculinity and aesthetics. The bridge between chapters is succinctly marked to indicate these connections. Indeed, Forrest's virile corporeality and aesthetic concepts that were dramatically introduced at the moment of the Astor Place Riot are traced in detail and referred to throughout *Manly Arts*. The opening of the final chapter, in which Minnelli's *Cabin in the Sky* is discussed, summarizes this book-long connection. And though Mitchell concludes that “in the end the Astor Place Riot seems to share little with obscure [?] films like *Cabin in the Sky* or *Manhatta*,” I respectfully disagree: the Astor Place Riot and the actor who personified this event as a turning point in the gendering and racializing of national aesthetics have *everything* to do with the concept of masculinity and the American cinema of the twentieth and, certainly, twenty-first centuries.

DAVID A. GERSTNER
CUNY,
Graduate Center and College of Staten Island

Lee Mitchell does not wish to respond.

ERRATUM

On p. 930 of the June 2007 issue, in the first line of the second column of Geoffrey Parker's review of Markus Reinbold's *Jenseits der Konfession: Die frühe Frankreichspolitik Philipps II. von Spanien 1559–1571* and Valentín Vázquez de Prada's *Felipe II y Francia (1559–1598): Política, Religión y Razón de Estado*, “more than twenty pages” should read “more than 120 pages.” The editors regret the error.

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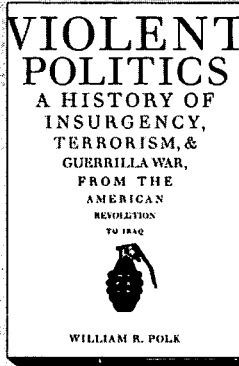
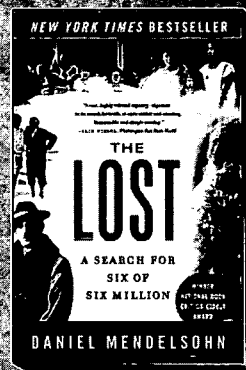
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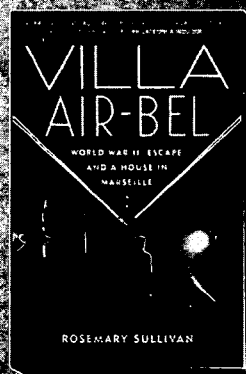
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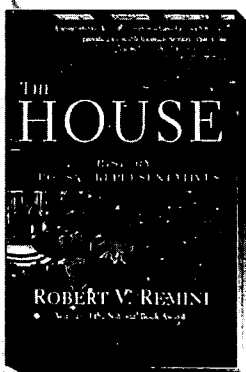
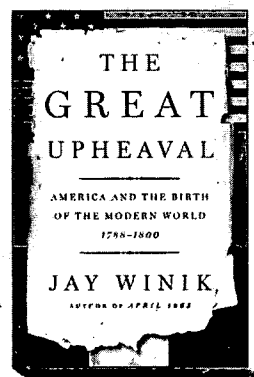
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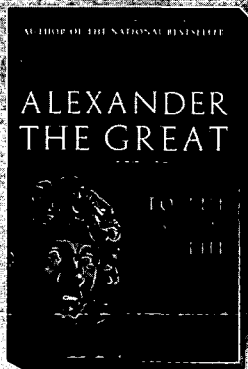
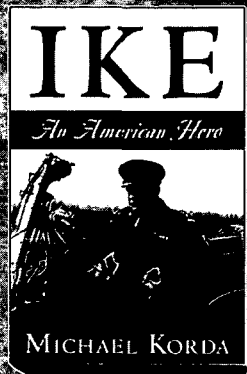
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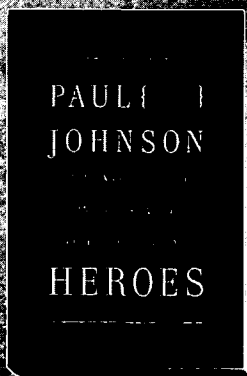
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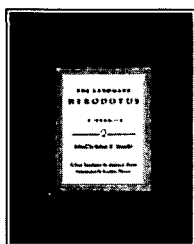
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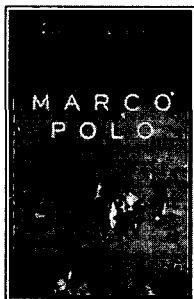
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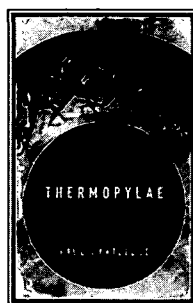
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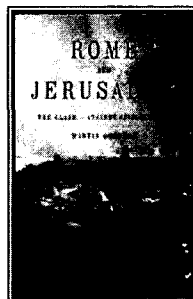
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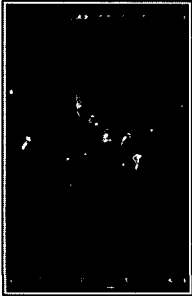
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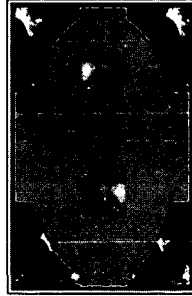
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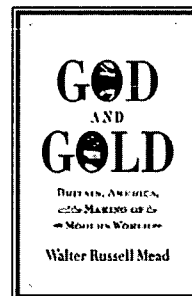


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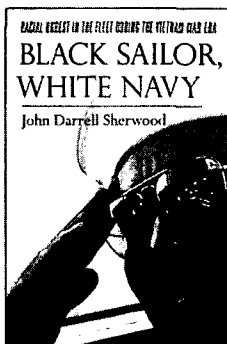
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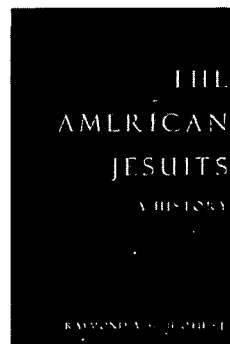
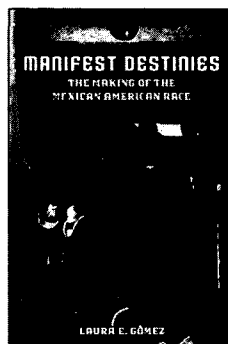
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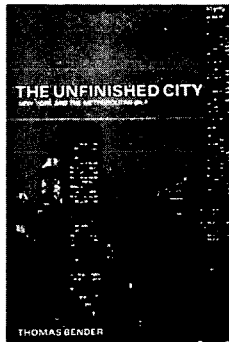
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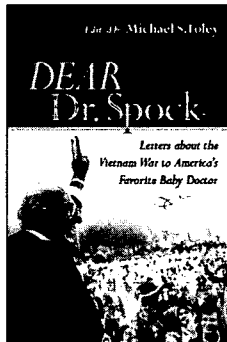
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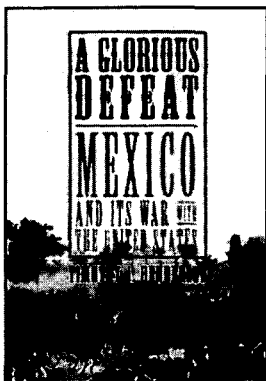
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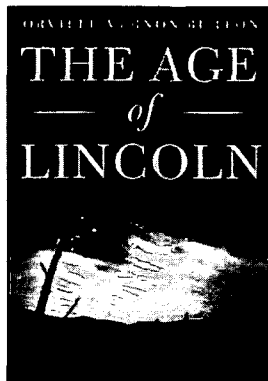
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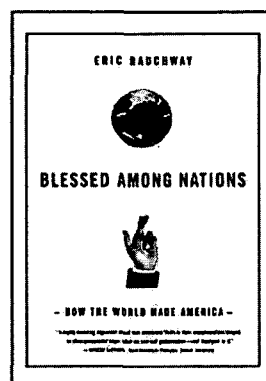
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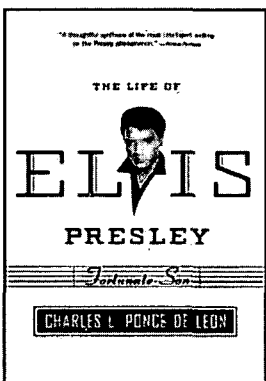
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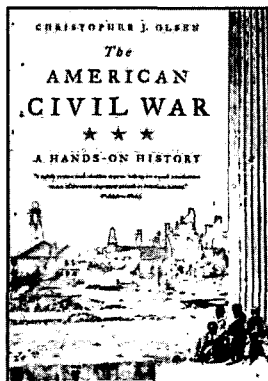
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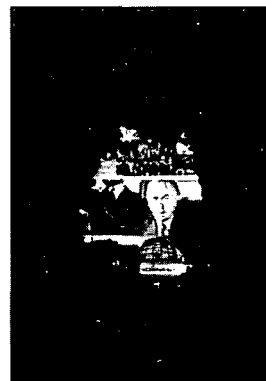
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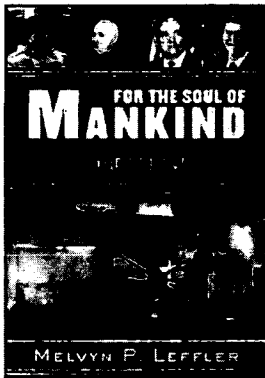
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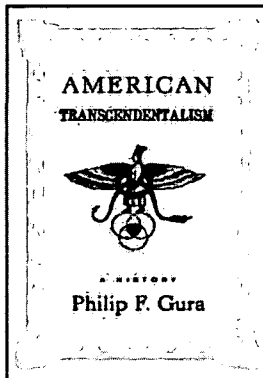
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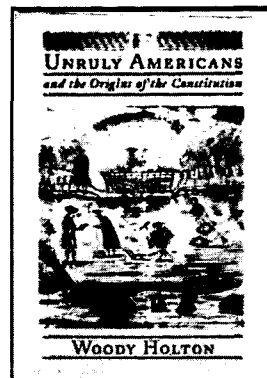
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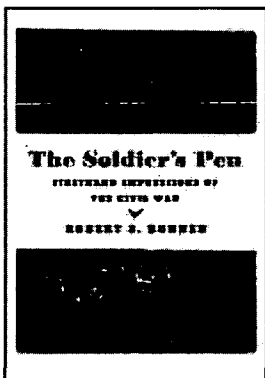
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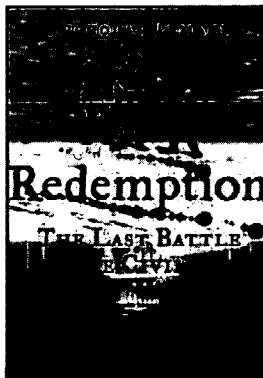
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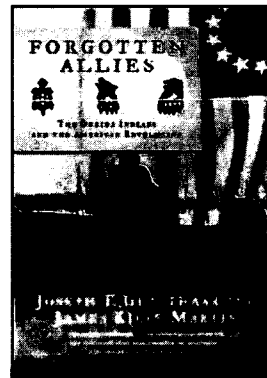
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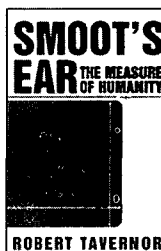


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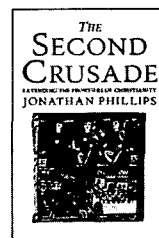
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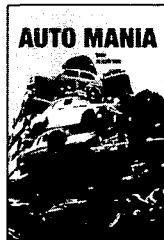
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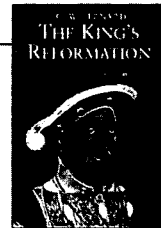
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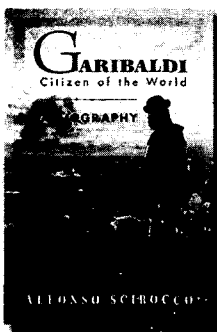
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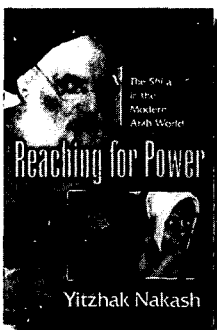
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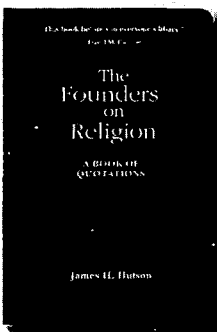
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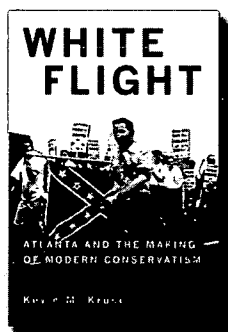
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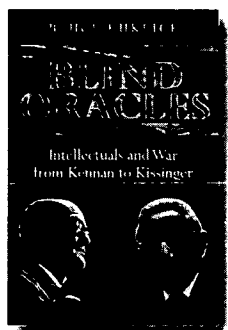
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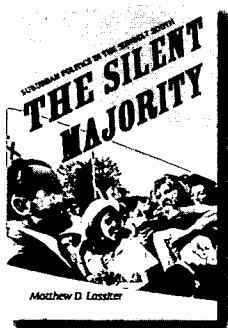
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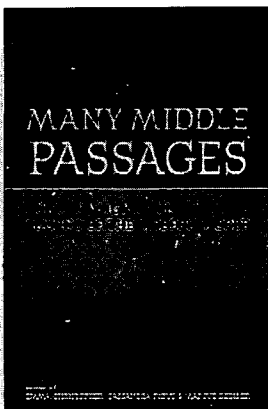
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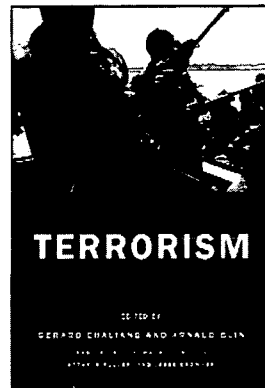
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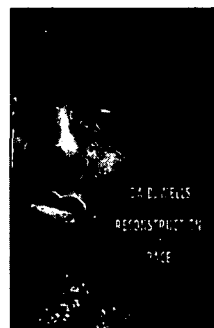
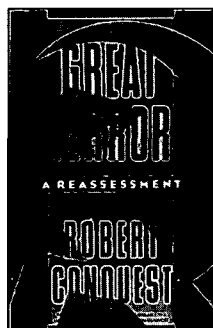
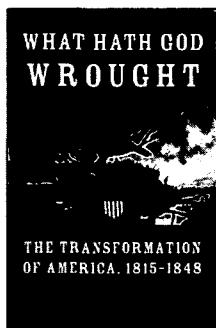
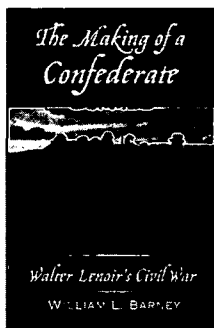
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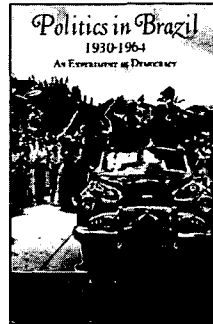
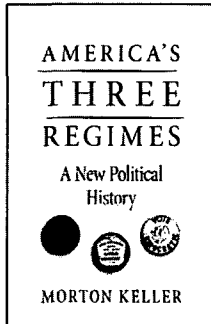
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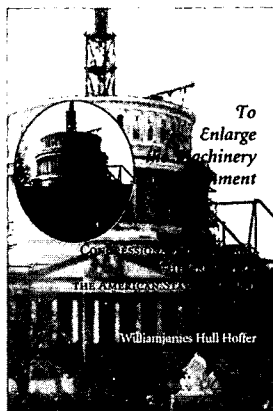
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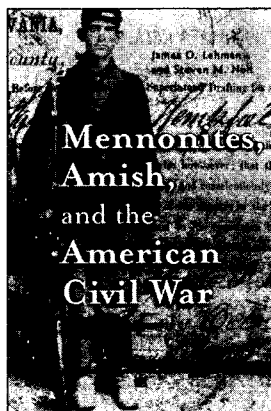
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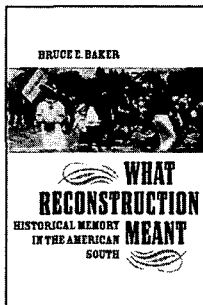


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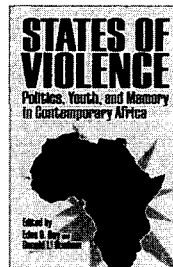
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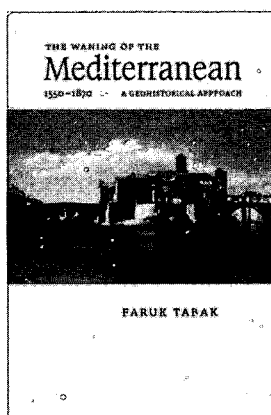
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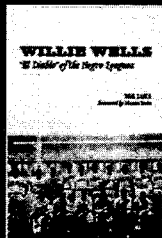
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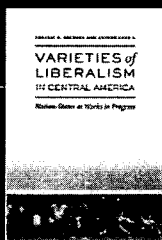
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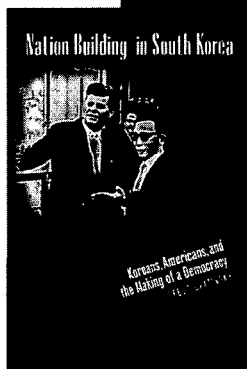
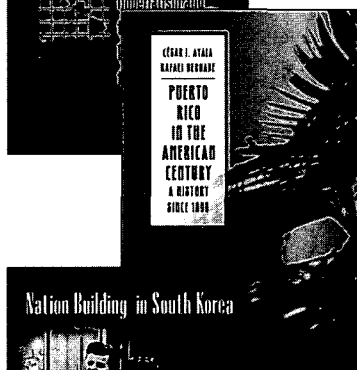
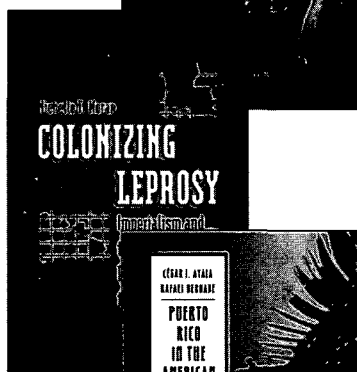
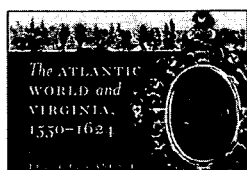
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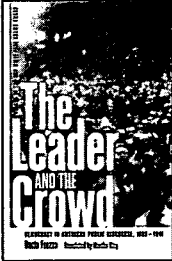
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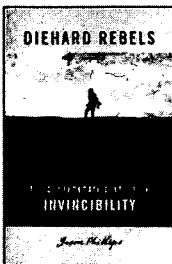
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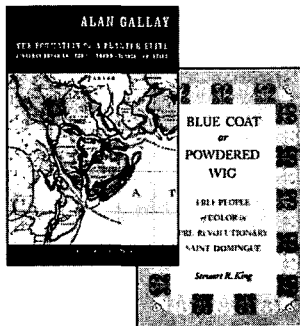
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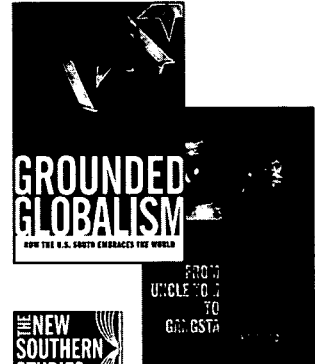
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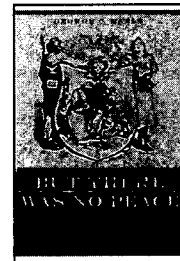
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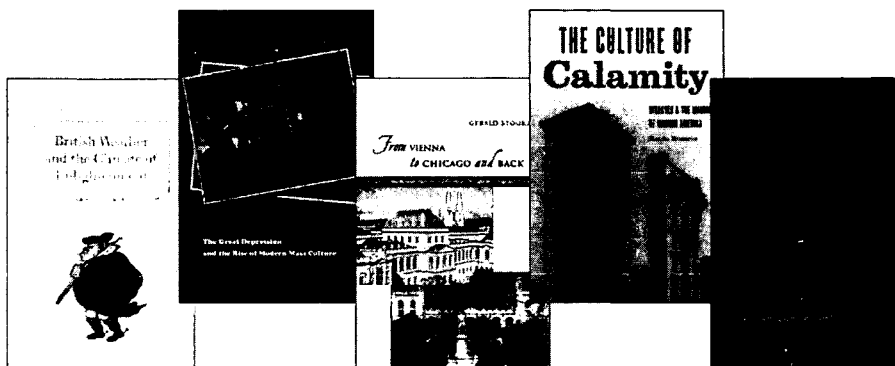
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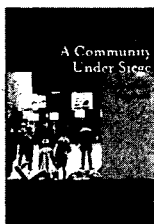
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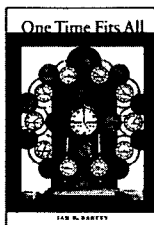
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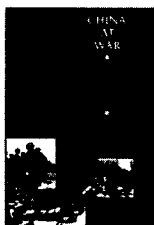


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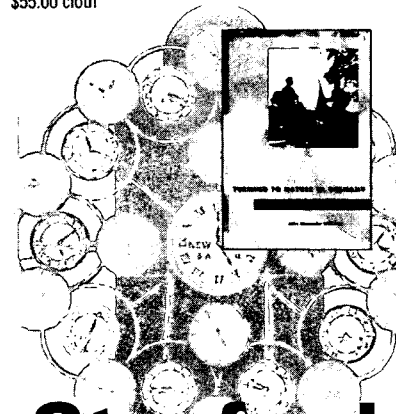
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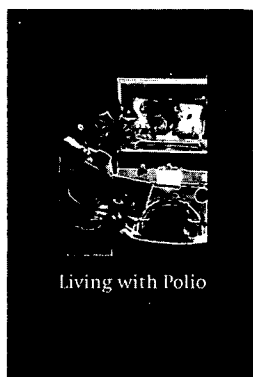
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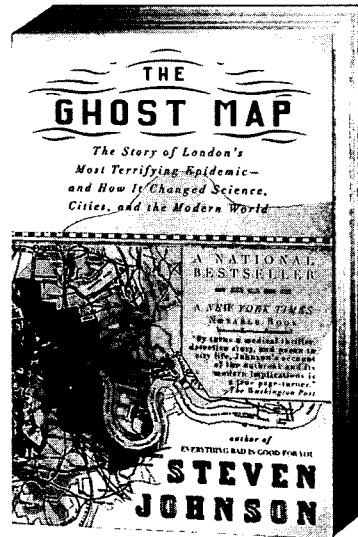
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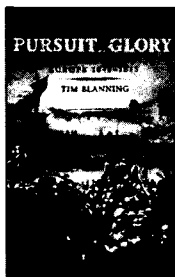
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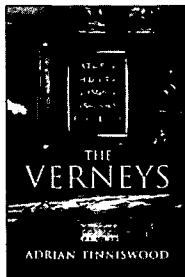
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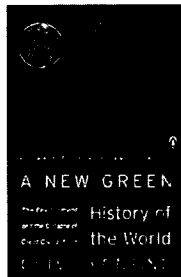
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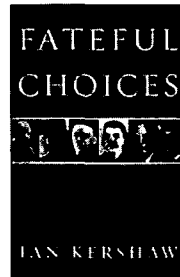
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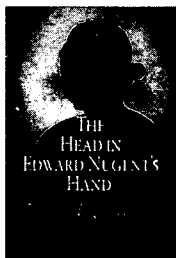
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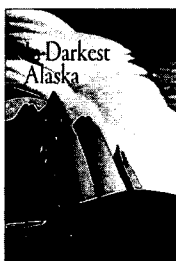
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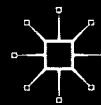
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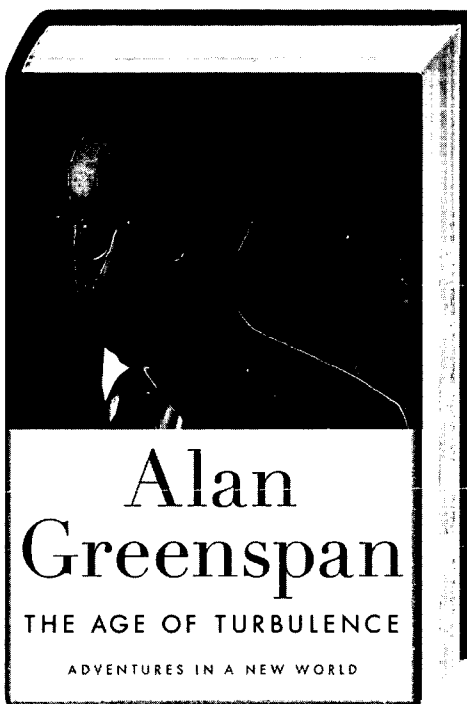
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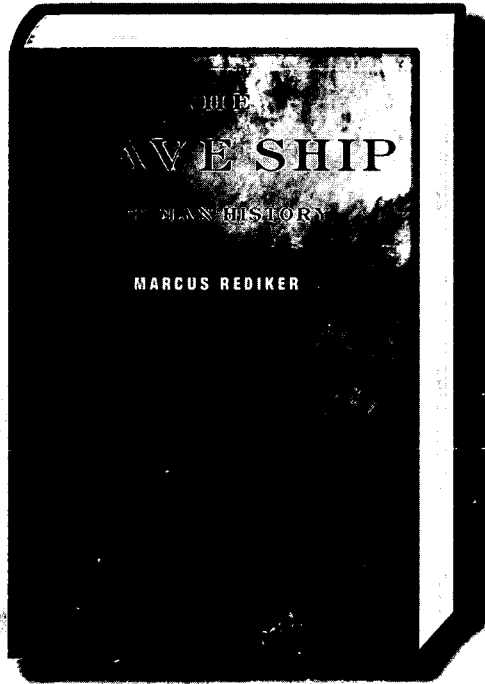
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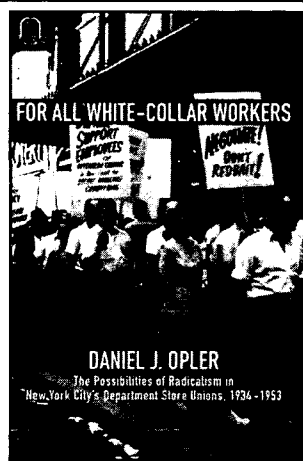
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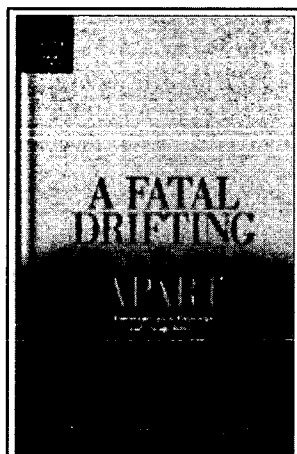
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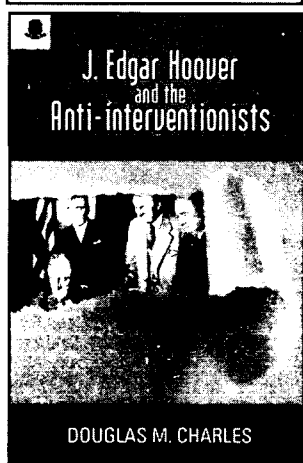
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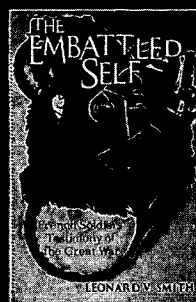
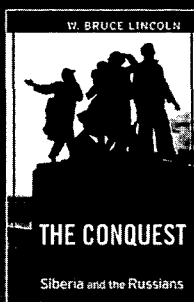
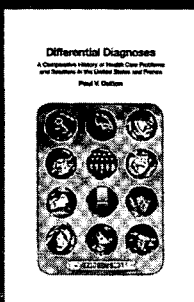
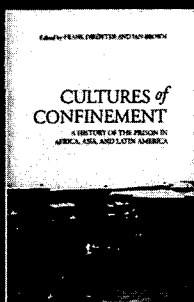
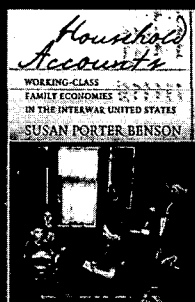
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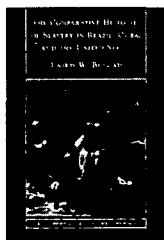
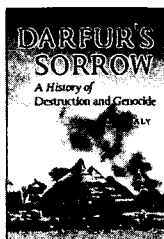
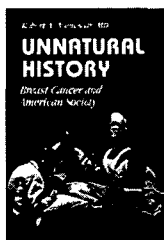
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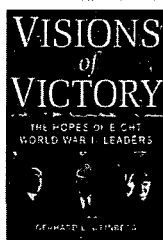
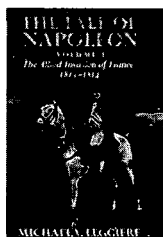
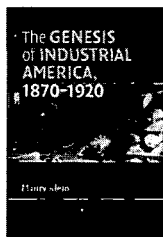
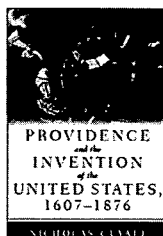
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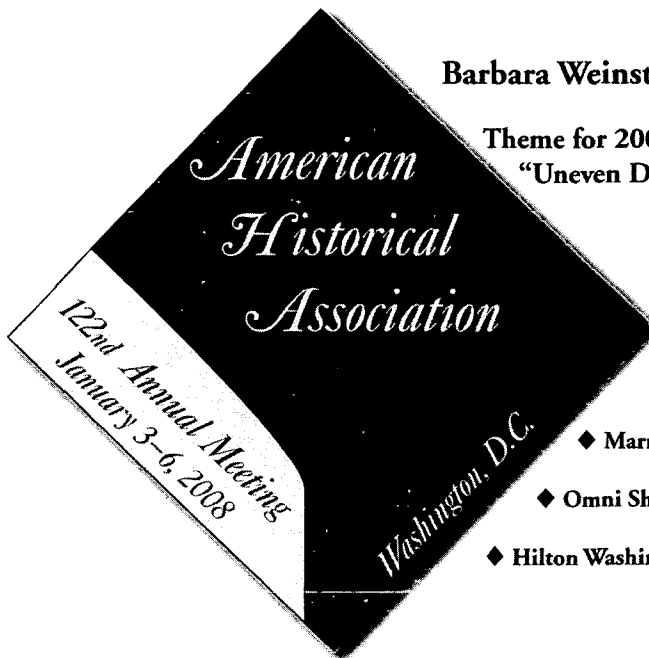
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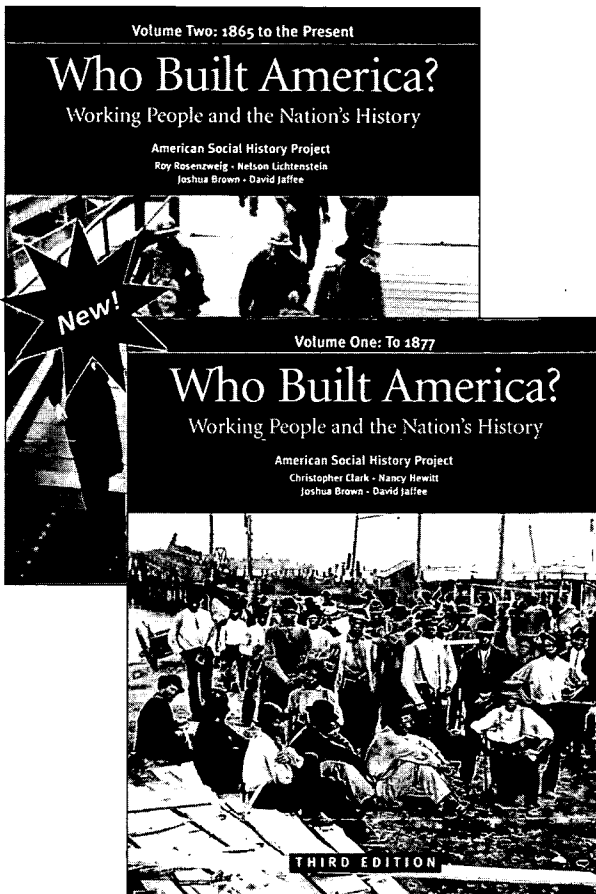
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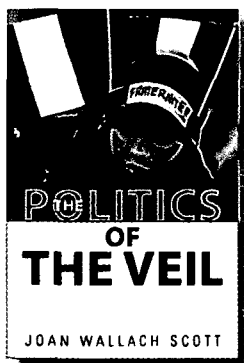
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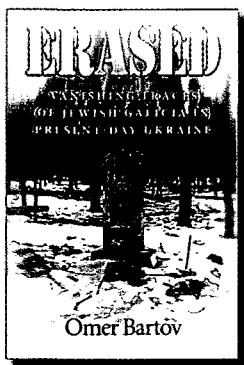
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